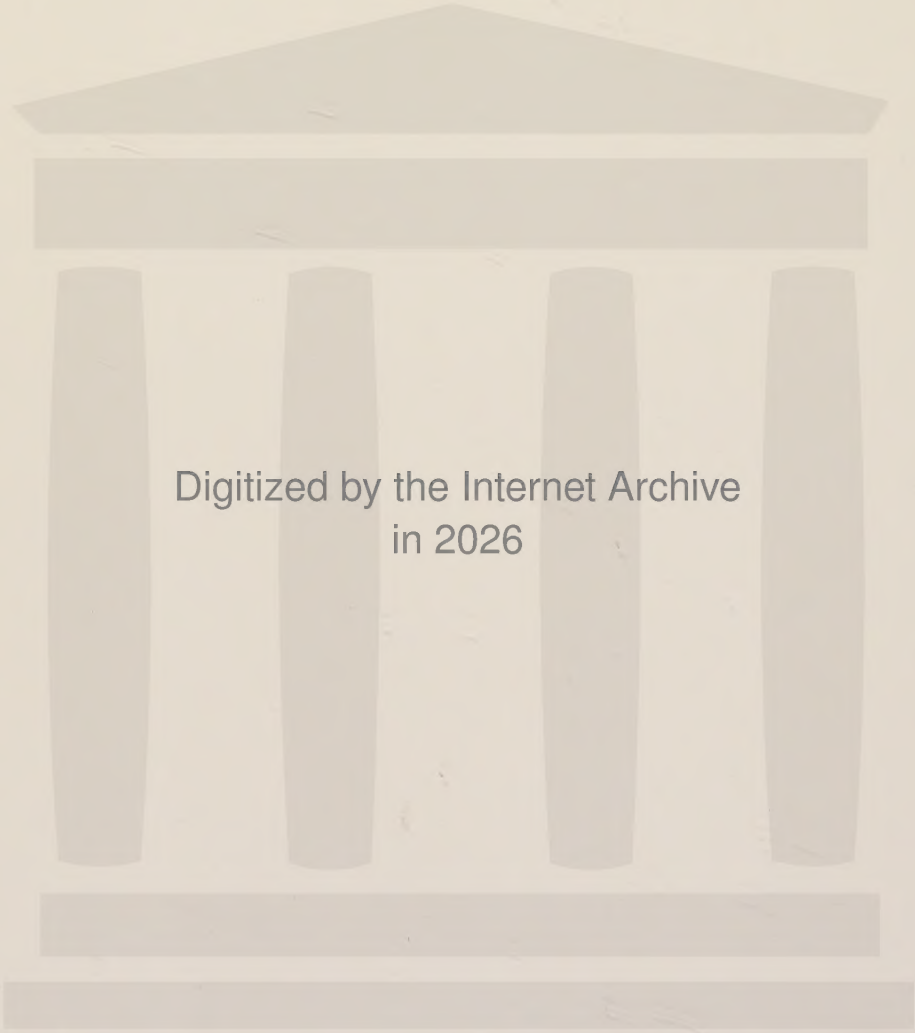
The American Spirit

Sixth Edition • Volume II

Thomas A. Bailey
David M. Kennedy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The American Spirit

Selected and Edited with
Introductions and Commentary by

Thomas A. Bailey
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The American Spirit

Sixth Edition

United States History as Seen by Contemporaries

Volume II

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Preface

The American Spirit attempts to recapture the spirit of the American past as expressed by the men and women who lived it. Movers and shakers who shaped events share the spotlight with humble folk whose lives were touched by them. In all cases I have tried to find clear and pungent documents that combine intrinsic human interest with significant historical perspectives. Students in American history courses will discover in these selections the satisfactions of working with "primary" documents—the "raw material" from which coherent historical accounts are crafted.

The objective is to convey a sense of the wonder and the woe, the passion and the perplexity, with which Americans have confronted their lives and their times. *The American Spirit* seeks especially to stimulate reflection on the richness, variety, and complexity of American history, and an appreciation of the problems and prejudices of people in the past. It consequently devotes much attention to the unpopular or unsuccessful side of controversial issues, to the plight of minorities, and to the criticisms of foreigners. A number of these selections will also introduce the reader to the techniques of historical analysis and criticism.

The American Spirit has been revised to make it fully compatible with the Eighth Edition of *The American Pageant.* For each chapter in the *Pageant* there is a corresponding chapter in the *Spirit.* If they choose, instructors may use the two books together; but I have also maintained the chronological framework and enriched the explanatory materials of the *Spirit,* so that it can be used with virtually any conventional text, or on its own. Prologues for each chapter, headnotes for each document, and occasional explanatory inserts provide continuity. Selections relating to the same topic are grouped together in sections within chapters. Questions at the end of each headnote and Thought Provokers at the end of each chapter stimulate students to think critically. Several specially drawn maps and numerous cartoons add visual interest and perspective.

Like the revised *Pageant,* this new *Spirit* contains more material than previous editions about Native Americans, blacks, women, family history, and economic history. I have also added several documents illustrative of recent or current social debates over foreign policy, arms control, and abortion. The result, I hope, is a more balanced and much improved *Spirit* that will enable readers to savor the taste and feel the texture of the American past.

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The American Spirit

25

The Ordeal of Reconstruction

The years of war tried our devotion to the Union; the time of peace may test the sincerity of our faith in democracy.

Herman Melville, *c.* 1866

Prologue: President Johnson, a rough-hewn Tennessean, favored reconstruction of the seceded states on a "soft" basis. But he soon ran afoul of the congressional Republicans. Though divided into hard-line ("radical") and more accommodating ("moderate") factions, Republicans agreed that the seceding states should not be readmitted until they had adopted the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment (ratified in 1868) would guarantee civil rights to the blacks while reducing congressional representation in states where the ex-slave was denied a vote. But such terms were spurned by ten of the eleven high-spirited Southern states. The Republicans in Congress thereupon passed the drastic military reconstruction acts of 1867, under which black suffrage was forced upon the white South. The Congress also came within a hairsbreadth, in 1868, of removing the obstructive President Johnson by impeachment. Meanwhile the partly black Southern legislatures, despite grievous excesses, passed stacks of long-overdue social and economic legislation. The whites struck back through secret terrorist organizations, and ultimately secured control of their state governments by fraud, fright, and force.

A. The Status of the South

1. Schurz Reports Southern Defiance (1865)

President Johnson sent Carl Schurz—the lanky, bewhiskered, and bespectacled German-American reformer—into the devastated South to report objectively on conditions there. But Schurz was predisposed to see continued defiance. He was on intimate terms with the radical Republican leaders, who favored a severe reconstruction of the South, and in addition he was financially obligated to the radical Charles Sumner. President Johnson, evidently hoping for evidence that would support his lenient policies, brushed aside Schurz's elaborate report with ill-concealed annoyance. Schurz partially financed his trip by selling a series of letters under an assumed

[1] *Georgia Historical Quarterly 35* (1951): 244–247 (July 31, 1865). Reprinted by permission.

name to the Boston Advertiser, *which presumably welcomed his pro-radical bias. In the following letter, which he wrote from Savannah to the newspaper, what class of people does he deem responsible for the trouble? What motivated them? Why were their outbursts not more serious?*

But there is another class of people here [in Savannah], mostly younger men, who are still in the swearing mood. You can overhear their conversations as you pass them on the streets or even sit near them on the stoop of a hotel. They are "not conquered but only overpowered." They are only smothered for a time. They want to fight the war over again, and they are sure in five years they are going to have a war bigger than any we have seen yet. They are meaning to get rid of this d____d military despotism. They will show us what stuff Southern men are made of. They will send their own men to Congress and show us that we cannot violate the Constitution with impunity.

They have a rope ready for this and that Union man when the Yankee bayonets are gone. They will show the Northern interlopers that have settled down here to live on their substance the way home. They will deal largely in tar and feathers. They have been in the country and visited this and that place where a fine business is done in the way of killing Negroes. They will let the Negro know what freedom is, only let the Yankee soldiers be withdrawn.

Such is their talk. You can hear it every day, if you have your ears open. You see their sullen, frowning faces at every street corner. Now, there may be much of the old Southern braggadocio in this, and I do not believe that such men will again resort to open insurrection. But they will practice private vengeance whenever they can do it with impunity, and I have heard sober-minded Union people express their apprehension of it. This spirit is certainly no evidence of true loyalty.

It was this spirit which was active in an occurrence which disgraced this city on the Fourth of July. Perhaps you have heard of it. The colored firemen of this city desired to parade their engine on the anniversay of our independence. If nobody else would, they felt like celebrating that day. A number will deny that it was a legitimate desire. At first the engineer of the fire department, who is a citizen of this town, refused his permission. Finally, by an interposition of an officer of the "Freedmen's Bureau,"* he was prevailed upon to give his consent, and the parade took place. In the principal street of the city the procession was attacked with clubs and stones by a mob opposed to the element above described, and by a crowd of boys all swearing at the d____d niggers. The colored firemen were knocked down, some of them severely injured, their engine was taken away from them, and the peaceable procession dispersed. Down with the d____d niggers. A Nothern gentleman who loudly expressed his indignation at the proceeding was in danger of being mobbed, and had to seek safety in a house. . . .

To return to the "unconquered" in Savannah—the occurrence of the Fourth of July shows what they are capable of doing even while the Yankee bayonets are still here. If from this we infer what they will be capable of doing when the Yankee bayonets are withdrawn, the prospect is not altogether pleasant, and Union people,

*A federal agency designed to help the ex-slaves adjust to freedom.

Primary School for Freedmen in Vicksburg, Mississippi
Note the wide range of ages. (Harper's Weekly, *1866)*

white and black, in this city and neighborhood may well entertain serious apprehensions. . . .

Unfortunately, this spirit receives much encouragement from the fair sex. We have heard so much of the bitter resentment of the Southern ladies that the tale becomes stale by frequent repetition, but when inquiring into the feelings of the people, this element must not be omitted. There are certainly a good many sensible women in the South who have arrived at a just appreciation of the circumstances with which they are surrounded. But there is a large number of Southern women who are as vindictive and defiant as ever, and whose temper does not permit them to lay their tongues under any restraint. You can see them in every hotel, and they will treat you to the most ridiculous exhibitions, whenever an occasion offers.

A day or two ago a Union officer, yielding to an impulse of politeness, handed a dish of pickles to a Southern Lady at the dinner-table of a hotel in this city. A look of unspeakable scorn and indignation met him. "So you think," said the lady, "a Southern woman will take a dish of pickles from a hand that is dripping with the blood of her countrymen?"

It is remarkable upon what trifling material this female wrath is feeding and growing fat. In a certain district in South Carolina, the ladies were some time ago, and perhaps are now, dreadfully exercised about the veil question. You may ask me what the veil question is. Formerly, under the old order of things, Negro women were not permitted to wear veils. Now, under the new order of things, a great many are wearing veils. This is an outrage which cannot be submitted to; the white ladies of the neigh-

borhood agree in being indignant beyond measure. Some of them declare that whenever they meet a colored woman wearing a veil they will tear the veil from her face. Others, mindful of the consequences which such an act of violence might draw after it, under this same new order of things, declare their resolve never to wear veils themselves as long as colored women wear veils. This is the veil question, and this is the way it stands at present.

Such things may seem trifling and ridiculous. But it is a well-known fact that a silly woman is sometimes able to exercise a powerful influence over a man not half as silly, and the class of "unconquered" above described is undoubtedly in a great measure composed of individuals that are apt to be influenced by silly women. It has frequently been said that had it not been for the spirit of the Southern women, the rebellion would have broken down long ago, and there is, no doubt, a grain of truth in it.

2. General Grant Is Optimistic (1865)

President Johnson, hoping to capitalize on Grant's enormous prestige, also sent the general on a fact-finding trip to the South. Grant spent less than a week hurriedly visiting leading cities in four states. Schurz had ranged far more widely over a longer period, from July to September 1865. But just as Schurz was predisposed to see defiance, Grant was predisposed to see compliance. Bear in mind also that Schurz was an idealist, strongly pro-black, and a leading Republican politician closely in touch with the radicals. Grant was none of these. Which of their reports is more credible?

I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiment of the people of the two sections—slavery and state rights, or the right of a state to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in council.

Four years of war, during which law was executed only at the point of the bayonet throughout the states in rebellion, have left the people possibly in a condition not to yield that ready obedience to civil authority the American people have generally been in the habit of yielding. This would render the presence of small garrisons throughout those states necessary until such time as labor returns to its proper channel, and civil authority is fully established. I did not meet anyone, either those holding places under the government or citizens of the Southern states, who think it practicable to withdraw the military from the South at present. The white and the black mutually require the protection of the general government.

There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the general government

[2] *Senate Executive Documents,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., I, no. 2, pp. 106–107.

throughout the portions of country visited by me that the mere presence of a military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. . . .

My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern states are anxious to return to self-government, within the Union, as soon as possible; that whilst reconstructing they want and require protection from the government; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the government, not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course were pointed out they would pursue it in good faith.

3. The Former Slaves Confront Freedom

The reactions of the freed slaves to their new liberty ran the gamut of human emotions from jubilation to anxiety. Attitudes toward former masters—and toward whites generally—ranged from resentment and fear to pity. Booker T. Washington was a young boy no more than eight years of age when the day of freedom came. What was his response? From what he describes as the first reactions of his family members and other freed slaves, what might one conclude were the worst deprivations suffered in slavery?

Finally the war closed, and the day of freedom came. It was a momentous and eventful day to all upon our plantation. We had been expecting it. Freedom was in the air, and had been for months. Deserting soldiers returning to their homes were to be seen every day. Others who had been discharged, or whose regiments had been paroled, were constantly passing near our place. The "grape-vine telegraph" was kept busy night and day. The news and mutterings of great events were swiftly carried from one plantation to another. In the fear of "Yankee" invasions, the silverware and other valuables were taken from the "big house," buried in the woods, and guarded by trusted slaves. Woe be to any one who would have attempted to disturb the buried treasure. The slaves would give the Yankee soldiers food, drink, clothing—anything but that which had been specifically intrusted to their care and honour. As the great day drew nearer, there was more singing in the slave quarters than usual. It was bolder, had more ring, and lasted later into the night. Most of the verses of the plantation songs had some reference to feedom. True, they had sung those same verses before, but they had been careful to explain that the "freedom" in these songs referred to the next world, and had no connection with life in this world. Now they gradually threw off the mask, and were not afraid to let it be known that the "freedom" in their songs meant freedom of the body in this world. The night before the eventful day, word was sent to the slave quarters to the effect that something unusual was going to take place at the "big house" the next morning. There was little, if any, sleep that night. All was excitement and expectancy. Early the next morning word was sent to all the slaves, old and young, to gather at the house. In company with my mother, brother, and sister, and a large number of other slaves, I went to the master's house. All of our master's family were either standing or seated on the veranda of the house,

[3]Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1901), pp. 224–227.

where they could see what was to take place and hear what was said. There was a feeling of deep interest, or perhaps sadness, on their faces, but not bitterness. As I now recall the impression they made upon me, they did not at the moment seem to be sad because of the loss of property, but rather because of parting with those whom they had reared and who were in many ways very close to them. The most distinct thing that I now recall in connection with the scene was that some man who seemed to be a stranger (a United States officer, I presume) made a little speech and then read a rather long paper—the Emancipation Proclamation, I think. After the reading we were told that we were all free, and could go when and where we pleased. My mother, who was standing by my side, leaned over and kissed her children, while tears of joy ran down her cheeks. She explained to us what it all meant, that this was the day for which she had been so long praying, but fearing that she would never live to see.

For some minutes there was great rejoicing, and thanksgiving, and wild scenes of ecstasy. But there was no feeling of bitterness. In fact, there was pity among the slaves for our former owners. The wild rejoicing on the part of the emancipated coloured people lasted but for a brief period, for I noticed that by the time they returned to their cabins there was a change in their feelings. The great responsibility of being free, or having charge of themselves, of having to think and plan for themselves and their children, seemed to take possession of them. It was very much like suddenly turning a youth of ten or twelve years out into the world to provide for himself. In a few hours the great questions with which the Anglo-Saxon race had been grappling for centuries had been thrown upon these people to be solved. These were the questions of a home, a living, the rearing of children, education, citizenship, and the establishment and support of churches. Was it any wonder that within a few hours the wild rejoicing ceased and a feeling of deep gloom seemed to pervade the slave quarters? To some it seemed that, now that they were in actual possession of it, freedom was a more serious thing than they had expected to find it. Some of the slaves were seventy or eighty years old; their best days were gone. They had no strength with which to earn a living in a strange place and among strange people, even if they had been sure where to find a new place of abode. To this class the problem seemed especially hard. Besides, deep down in their hearts there was a strange and peculiar attachment to "old Marster" and "old Missus," and to their children, which they found it hard to think of breaking off. With these they had spent in some cases nearly a half-century, and it was no light thing to think of parting. Gradually, one by one, stealthily at first, the older slaves began to wander from the slave quarters back to the "big house" to have whispered conversation with their former owners as to the future. . . .

After the coming of freedom there were two points upon which practically all the people on our place were agreed, and I find that this was generally true throughout the South: that they must change their names, and that they must leave the old plantation for at least a few days or weeks in order that they might really feel sure that they were free.

In some way a feeling got among the coloured people that it was far from proper for them to bear the surname of their former owners, and a great many of them took other surnames. This was one of the first signs of freedom. When they were slaves, a coloured person was simply called "John" or "Susan." There was seldom occasion for more than the use of the one name. If "John" or "Susan" belonged to a white man by the name of "Hatcher," sometimes he was called "John Hatcher," or as often "Hatch-

er's John." But there was a feeling that "John Hatcher" or "Hatcher's John" was not the proper title by which to denote a freeman; and so in many cases "John Hatcher" was changed to "John S. Lincoln" or "John S. Sherman," the initial "S" standing for no name, it being simply a part of what the coloured man proudly called his "entitles."

As I have stated, most of the coloured people left the old plantation for a short while at least, so as to be sure, it seemed, that they could leave and try their freedom on to see how it felt. After they had remained away for a time, many of the older slaves, especially, returned to their old homes and made some kind of contact with their former owners by which they remained on the estate.

My mother's husband, who was the stepfather of my brother John and myself, did not belong to the same owners as did my mother. In fact, he seldom came to our plantation. I remember seeing him there perhaps once a year, that being about Christmas time. In some way, during the war, by running away and following the Federal soldiers, it seems, he found his way into the new state of West Virginia. As soon as freedom was declared, he sent for my mother to come to the Kanawha Valley, in West Virginia. At that time a journey from Virginia over the mountains to West Virginia was rather a tedious and in some cases a painful undertaking. What little clothing and few household goods we had were placed in a cart, but the children walked the greater portion of the distance, which was several hundred miles.

4. Emancipation Violence in Texas

In the following recollection by a former slave woman in Texas, what is revealed about the response of some slaveowners to emancipation? What implications did such responses have for the future of the freed slaves? for federal policy during Reconstruction?

I heard about freedom in September and they were picking cotton and a white man rode up to master's house on a big, white horse and the houseboy told master a man wanted to see him and he hollered, "Light, stranger." It was a government man and he had the big book and a bunch of papers and said why hadn't master turned the niggers loose. Master said he was trying to get the crop out and he told master to have the slaves in. Uncle Steven blew the cow horn that they used to call to eat and all the niggers came running, because that horn meant, "Come to the big house, quick." The man read the paper telling us we were free, but master made us work several months after that. He said we would get 20 acres of land and a mule but we didn't get it.

Lots of niggers were killed after freedom, because the slaves in Harrison County were turned loose right at freedom and those in Rusk County weren't. But they heard about it and ran away to freedom in Harrison County and their owners had them bushwhacked, then shot down. You could see lots of niggers hanging from trees in Sabine bottom right after freedom, because they caught them swimming across Sabine River and shot them. There sure are going to be lots of souls crying against them in judgment!

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[4] George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), vol. 5, Texas Narratives, part 3, p. 78.

B. The Debate on Reconstruction Policy

1. Southern Blacks Ask for Help (1865)

As the smoke of war cleared, blacks throughout the South gathered in "Conventions of Freedmen" to determine the best strategies for protecting their fragile freedom. Several of these conventions formally petitioned the Congress for help. In the following petition from a convention meeting in Alexandria, Virginia, in August 1865, what forms of support are deemed most essential? What is the freedmen's greatest fear?

We, the undersigned members of a Convention of colored citizens of the State of Virginia, would respectfully represent that, although we have been held as slaves, and denied all recognition as a constituent of your nationality for almost the entire period of the duration of your Government, and that by *your permission* we have been denied either home or country, and deprived of the dearest rights of human nature; yet when you and our immediate oppressors met in deadly conflict upon the field of battle—the one to destroy and the other to save your Government and nationality, *we*, with scarce an exception, in our inmost souls espoused your cause, and watched, and prayed, and waited, and labored for your success. . . .

When the contest waxed long, and the result hung doubtfully, you appealed to us for help, and how well we answered is written in the rosters of the two hundred thousand colored troops now enrolled in your service; and as to our undying devotion to your cause, let the uniform acclamation of escaped prisoners, "whenever we saw a black face we felt sure of a friend," answer.

Well, the war is over, the rebellion is "put down," and we are *declared* free! Four fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other fifth are being pardoned, and the President has, in his efforts at the reconstruction of the civil government of the States, late in rebellion, left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels, in *everything* save the privilege of bringing us, our wives and little ones, to the auction block. . . . We *know* these men—know them *well*—and we assure you that, with the majority of them, loyalty is only "lip deep," and that their professions of loyalty are used as a cover to the cherished design of getting restored to their former relations with the Federal Government, and then, by all sorts of "unfriendly legislation," to render the freedom you have given us more intolerable than the slavery they intended for us.

We warn you in time that our only safety is in keeping them under Governors of the *military persuasion* until you have so amended the Federal Constitution that it will prohibit the States from making any distinction between citizens on account of race or color. In one word, the only salvation for us besides the power of the Government, is in the *possession of the ballot*. Give us this, and we will protect ourselves. . . . But, 'tis said we are ignorant. Admit it. Yet who denies we *know* a traitor from a loyal man, a gentleman from a rowdy, a friend from an enemy? . . . All we ask is an *equal chance*

[1] "Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia, Held in the City of Alexandria, August 2, 3, 4, 5, 1865" (Alexandria, Va., 1865), in W. L. Fleming, ed., *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1906), vol. 1, pp. 195–196.

with the white *traitors* varnished and japanned with the oath of amnesty. Can you deny us this and still keep faith with us? . . .

We are "sheep in the midst of wolves," and nothing but the military arm of the Government prevents us and all the *truly* loyal white men from being driven from the land of our birth. Do not then, we beseech you, give to one of these "wayward sisters" the rights they abandoned and forfeited when they rebelled until you have secured *our* rights by the aforementioned amendment to the Constitution. . . .

2. The White South Asks for Unconditional Reintegration into the Union (1866)

The Joint Committee on Reconstruction, composed of nine congressional representatives and six senators, held extensive hearings in the spring of 1866 about the condition of the South and various proposals for reintegrating the Southern states into the Union. One leading proposal was the legislation that eventually became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was designed to reduce the representation in Congress of any state that denied the freedmen the right to vote. Congressional Republicans wanted to make any state's restoration to the Union conditional on its ratification of the amendment. In the following testimony, former Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens comments on the congressional plan. What are his main objections to it? What alternatives does he propose? Does his statement confirm or cast doubt on the concerns of blacks presented in the preceding selection?

I think the people of the State would be unwilling to do more than they have done for restoration. Restricted or limited suffrage would not be so objectionable as general or universal. But it is a matter that belongs to the State to regulate. The question of suffrage, whether universal or restricted, is one of State policy exclusively, as they believe. Individually I should not be opposed to a proper system of restricted or limited suffrage to this class of our population. . . . The only view in their opinion that could possibly justify the war that was carried on by the federal government against them was the idea of the indissolubleness of the Union; that those who held the administration for the time were bound to enforce the execution of the laws and the maintenance of the integrity of the country under the Constitution. . . . They expected as soon as the confederate cause was abandoned that immediately the States would be brought back into their practical relations with the government as previously constituted. That is what they looked to. They expected that the States would immediately have their representatives in the Senate and in the House; and they expected in good faith, as loyal men, as the term is frequently used—loyal to law, order, and the Constitution—to support the government under the Constitution. . . . Towards the Constitution of the United States the great mass of our people were always as much devoted in their feelings as any people ever were towards any laws or people . . . they resorted to secession with a view of more securely maintaining these principles. And when they found they were not successful in their object in perfect good faith, as far as

[2] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* (Washington, D.C., 1866), Part III, pp. 163ff.

I can judge from meeting with them and conversing with them, looking to the future development of their country . . . their earnest desire and expectation was to allow the past struggle . . . to pass by and to co-operate with . . . those of all sections who earnestly desire the preservation of constitutional liberty and the perpetuation of the government in its purity. They have been . . . disappointed in this, and are . . . patiently waiting, however, and believing that when the passions of the hour have passed away this delay in representation will cease. . . .

My own opinion is, that these terms ought not to be offered as conditions precedent. . . . It would be best for the peace, harmony, and prosperity of the whole country that there should be an immediate restoration, an immediate bringing back of the States into their original practical relations; and let all these questions then be discussed in common council. Then the representatives from the south could be heard, and you and all could judge much better of the tone and temper of the people than you could from the opinions given by any individuals. . . . My judgment, therefore, is very decided, that it would have been better as soon as the lamentable conflict was over, when the people of the south abandoned their cause and agreed to accept the issue, desiring as they do to resume their places for the future in the Union, and to look to the arena of reason and justice for the protection of their rights in the Union—it would have been better to have allowed that result to take place, to follow under the policy adopted by the administration, than to delay or hinder it by propositions to amend the Constitution in respect to suffrage. . . . I think the people of all the southern States would in the halls of Congress discuss these questions calmly and deliberately, and if they did not show that the views they entertained were just and proper, such as to control the judgment of the people of the other sections and States, they would quietly . . . yield to whatever should be constitutionally determined in common council. But I think they feel very sensitively the offer to them of propositions to accept while they are denied all voice . . . in the discussion of these propositions. I think they feel very sensitively that they are denied the right to be heard.

3. The Radical Republicans Take a Hard Line (1866)

After weeks of testimony, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction made its report. With only three Democrats among its fifteen members, and dominated by the imperious Thaddeus Stevens, the committee reflected radical Republican views on Reconstruction policy. What were its principal conclusions? In light of the evidence provided in the previous two selections, were the committee's views justified?

A claim for the immediate admission of senators and representatives from the so-called Confederate States has been urged, which seems to your committee not to be founded either in reason or in law, and which cannot be passed without comment. Stated in a few words, it amounts to this: That inasmuch as the lately insurgent States had no legal right to separate themselves from the Union, they still retain their

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[3] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* (Washington, D.C., 1866), pp. 4ff.

position as States, and consequently the people thereof have a right to immediate representation in Congress without the interposition of any conditions whatever. . . . It has even been contended that until such admission all legislation affecting their interests is, if not unconstitutional, at least unjustifiable and oppressive.

It is believed by your Committee that these propositions are not only wholly untenable, but, if admitted, would tend to the destruction of the government. . . . It cannot, we think, be denied that the war thus waged was a civil war of the greatest magnitude. The people waging it were necessarily subject to all the rules which, by the law of nations, control a contest of that character, and to all the legitimate consequences following it. One of these consequences was that, within the limits prescribed by humanity, the conquered rebels were at the mercy of the conquerors. . . .

It is moreover contended . . . that from the peculiar nature and character of our government . . . from the moment rebellion lays down its arms and actual hostilities cease all political rights of rebellious communities are at once restored; that because the people of a state of the Union were once an organized community within the Union, they necessarily so remain, and their right to be represented in Congress at any and all times, and to participate in the government of the country under all circumstances, admits of neither question nor dispute. If this is indeed true, then is the government of the United States powerless for its own protection, and flagrant rebellion, carried to the extreme of civil war, is a pastime which any state may play at, not only certain that it can lose nothing in any event, but may even be the gainer by defeat?

It is the opinion of your committee—

I. That the States lately in rebellion were, at the close of the war, disorganized communities, without civil government, and without constitutions or other forms, by virtue of which political relation could legally exist between them and the federal government.

II. That Congress cannot be expected to recognize as valid the election of representatives from disorganized communities, which, from the very nature of the case, were unable to present their claim to representation under those established and recognized rules, the observance of which has been hitherto required.

III. That Congress would not be justified in admitting such communities to a participation in the government of the country without first providing such constitutional or other guarantees as will tend to secure the civil rights of all citizens of the republic; a just equality of representation; protection against claims founded in rebellion and crime; a temporary restoration of the right of suffrage to those who have not actively participated in the efforts to destroy the Union and overthrow the government, and the exclusion from position of public trust of, at least, a portion of those whose crimes have proved them to be enemies of the Union, and unworthy of public confidence. . . .

The necessity of providing adequate safeguards for the future, before restoring the insurrectionary States to a participation in the direction of public affairs, is apparent from the bitter hostility to the government and people of the United States yet existing throughout the conquered territory. . . .

The conclusion of your committee therefore is, that the so-called Confederate States are not, at present, entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States. . . .

4. President Johnson Tries to Restrain Congress (1867)

Alarmed by the outbreak of race riots in several Southern cities, and frustrated by the South's rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress passed the First Reconstruction Act on March 2, 1867. The act divided the South into military districts subject to martial law. It also stipulated that the seceding states could be restored to the Union only when they had called constitutional conventions, on the basis of universal manhood suffrage, which must guarantee black voting rights and ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. President Johnson promptly vetoed the bill, which just as promptly was passed over his veto. In his veto message, which follows, what reasons does he offer for his action? Are his arguments sound? Why might they have especially provoked the Republicans in Congress?

WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1867*

To the House of Representatives:

I have examined the bill "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States" with the care and anxiety which its transcendent importance is calculated to awaken. I am unable to give it my assent, for reasons so grave that I hope a statement of them may have some influence on the minds of the patriotic and enlightened men with whom the decision must ultimately rest.

The bill places all the people of the ten States therein named under the absolute domination of military rulers; and the preamble undertakes to give the reason upon which the measure is based and the ground upon which it is justified. It declares that there exists in those States no legal governments and no adequate protection for life or property, and asserts the necessity of enforcing peace and good order within their limits. Is this true as matter of fact? . . .

Have we the power to establish and carry into execution a measure like this? I answer, Certainly not, if we derive our authority from the Constitution and if we are bound by the limitations which it imposes.

This proposition is perfectly clear, that no branch of the Federal Government—executive, legislative, or judicial—can have any just powers except those which it derives through and exercises under the organic law of the Union. Outside of the Constitution we have no legal authority more than private citizens, and within it we have only so much as that instrument gives us. This broad principle limits all our functions and applies to all subjects. It protects not only the citizens of States which are within the Union, but it shields every human being who comes or is brought under our jurisdiction. We have no right to do in one place more than in another that which the Constitution says we shall not do at all. If, therefore, the Southern States were in truth out of the Union, we could not treat their people in a way which the fundamental law forbids.

Some persons assume that the success of our arms in crushing the opposition which was made in some of the States to the execution of the Federal laws reduced those States and all their people—the innocent as well as the guilty—to the condition

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[4]J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1911), vol. 5, pp. 3690–3696.

of vassalage and gave us a power over them which the Constitution does not bestow or define or limit. No fallacy can be more transparent than this. Our victories subjected the insurgents to legal obedience, not to the yoke of an arbitrary depotism. . . .

Invasion, insurrection, rebellion, and domestic violence were anticipated when the Government was framed, and the means of repelling and suppressing them were wisely provided for in the Constitution; but it was not thought necessary to declare that the States in which they might occur should be expelled from the Union. Rebellions, which were invariably suppressed, occurred prior to that out of which these questions grow; but the States continued to exist and the Union remained unbroken. In Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode Island, and in New York, at different periods in our history, violent and armed opposition to the United States was carried on; but the relations of those States with the Federal Government were not supposed to be interrupted or changed thereby after the rebellious portions of their population were defeated and put down. It is true that in these earlier cases there was no formal expression of a determination to withdraw from the Union, but it is also true that in the Southern States the ordinances of secession were treated by all the friends of the Union as mere nullities and are now acknowledged to be so by the States themselves. If we admit that they had any force or validity or that they did in fact take the States in which they were passed out of the Union, we sweep from under our feet all the grounds upon which we stand in justifying the use of Federal force to maintain the integrity of the Government. . . .

The United States are bound to guarantee to each State a republican form of government. Can it be pretended that this obligation is not probably broken if we carry out a measure like this, which wipes away every vestige of republican government in ten States and puts the life, property, liberty, and honor of all the people in each of them under the domination of a single person clothed with unlimited authority?

The purpose and object of the bill—the general intent which pervades it from beginning to end—is to change the entire structure and character of the State governments and to compel them by force to the adoption of organic laws and regulations which they are unwilling to accept if left to themselves. The negroes have not asked for the privilege of voting; the vast majority of them have no idea what it means. This bill not only thrusts it into their hands, but compels them, as well as the whites, to use it in a particular way. If they do not form a constitution with prescribed articles in it and afterwards elect a legislature which will act upon certain measures in a prescribed way, neither blacks nor whites can be relieved from the slavery which the bill imposes upon them. Without pausing here to consider the policy or impolicy of Africanizing the southern part of our territory, I would simply ask the attention of Congress to that manifest, well-known, and universally acknowledged rule of constitutional law which declares that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, authority, or power to regulate such subjects for any State. To force the right of suffrage out of the hands of the white people and into the hands of the negroes is an arbitrary violation of this principle. . . .

The bill also denies the legality of the governments of ten of the States which participated in the ratification of the amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery forever within the jurisdiction of the United States [the Thirteenth Amendment] and practically excludes them from the Union. If this assumption of the bill be

correct, their concurrence can not be considered as having been legally given, and the important fact is made to appear that the consent of three-fourths of the States—the requisite number—has not been constitutionally obtained to the ratification of that amendment, thus leaving the question of slavery where it stood before the amendment was officially declared to have become a part of the Constitution.

That the measure proposed by this bill does violate the Constitution in the particulars mentioned and in many other ways which I forbear to enumerate is too clear to admit of the least doubt. . . .

It is part of our public history which can never be forgotten that both Houses of Congress, in July, 1861, declared in the form of a solemn resolution that the war was and should be carried on for no purpose of subjugation, but solely to enforce the Constitution and laws, and that when this was yielded by the parties in rebellion the contest should cease, with the constitutional rights of the States and of individuals unimpaired. This resolution was adopted and sent forth to the world unanimously by the Senate and with only two dissenting voices in the House. It was accepted by the friends of the Union in the South as well as in the North as expressing honestly and truly the object of the war. On the faith of it many thousands of persons in both sections gave their lives and their fortunes to the cause. To repudiate it now by refusing to the States and to the individuals within them the rights which the Constitution and laws of the Union would secure to them is a breach of our plighted honor for which I can imagine no excuse and to which I can not voluntarily become a party. . . .

C. Impeaching the President

1. Johnson's Cleveland Speech (1866)

A tactless and stubborn President Johnson clashed openly with the Republicans in Congress, including the embittered Thaddeus Stevens, when he vetoed a series of reconstruction bills. Two of the measures designed to help the former slaves—the Civil Rights Bill and the New Freedmen's Bureau Bill—were speedily repassed over his veto. Nothing daunted, Johnson embarked on a speech-making tour to urge the election of congressmen favorable to his policies. But the public was in an ugly mood. Former President Jefferson Davis, though still in prison, was untried and unhanged, as were other former Confederates. A recent antiblack riot in New Orleans had resulted in some two hundred casualties. Johnson had earlier distinguished himself as a rough-and-ready stump speaker in Tennessee, but, as Secretary Seward remarked, the president of the United States should not be a stump speaker. Johnson's undignified harangue in Cleveland contained passages (here italicized) that formed the basis of some of the impeachment charges later brought by the House. What criticisms can be legitimately leveled against this speech? Which one is the most serious?

[1] Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America during the Period of Reconstruction,* 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Philip and Salomons, 1871), pp. 134–136.

Notwithstanding the subsidized gang of hirelings and traducers [in Congress?], I have discharged all my duties and fulfilled all my pledges, and I say here tonight that if my predecessor had lived, the vials of wrath would have been poured out upon him. [Cries of "Never!" "Three cheers for the Congress of the United States!"]

. . . Where is the man or woman who can place his finger upon one single act of mine deviating from any pledge of mine or in violation of the Constitution of the country? [Cheers.] . . . Who can come and place his finger on one pledge I ever violated, or one principle I ever proved false to? [A voice, "How about New Orleans?" Another voice, "Hang Jeff Davis."] Hang Jeff Davis, he says. [Cries of "No," and "Down with him!"] . . . Hang Jeff Davis. Why don't you hang him? [Cries of "Give us the opportunity."] Have not you got the court? Have not you got the Attorney General? . . .

I will tell you what I did do. I called upon your Congress that is trying to break up the government. [Emphasis added.] [Cries, "You be d——d!" and cheers mingled with hisses. Great confusion. "Don't get mad, Andy!"] Well, I will tell you who is mad. "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." Did your Congress order any of them to be tried? ["Three cheers for Congress."] . . .

You pretend now to have great respect and sympathy for the poor brave fellow who has left an arm on the battlefield. [Cries, "Is this dignified?"] I understand you. . . . I care not for dignity. . . . [A voice, "Traitor!"] I wish I could see that man. I would bet you now that if the light fell on your face, cowardice and treachery would be seen in it. Show yourself. Come out here where I can see you. [Shouts of laughter.] If you ever shoot a man you will do it in the dark, and pull the trigger when no one is by to see you. [Cheers.]

I understand traitors. I have been fighting them at the south end of the line, and we are now fighting them in the other direction. [Laughter and cheers.] I come here neither to criminate or recriminate, but when attacked, my plan is to defend myself. [Cheers.] . . . As Chief Magistrate, I felt so after taking the oath to support the Constitution, and when I saw encroachments upon your Constitution and rights, as an honest man I dared to sound the tocsin of alarm. ["Three cheers for Andrew Johnson."] . . .

I love my country. Every public act of my life testifies that is so. Where is the man that can put his finger upon any one act of mine that goes to prove the contrary? And what is my offending? [A voice, "Because you are not a Radical," and cry of "Veto."] Somebody says veto. Veto of what? What is called the Freedmen's Bureau bill? . . . I might refer to the Civil Rights Bill, the results of which are very similar. I tell you, my countrymen, that though the powers of hell and Thad Stevens and his gang were by, they could not turn me from my purpose. . . .

In conclusion, beside that, Congress had taken such pains to poison their constituents against him. But what had Congress done? Had they done anything to restore the Union of these states? No; on the contrary, they had done everything to prevent it; and because he stood now where he did when the rebellion commenced, he had been denounced as a traitor. Who had run greater risks or made greater sacrifices than himself? But Congress, factious and domineering, had [under]taken to poison the minds of the American people.* [Emphasis added.]

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*The reporter now lapses into the third person.

2. Senator Trumbull Defends Johnson (1868)

Johnson's unrestrained oratory backfired, and at the polls in November the Republicans won control of a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. They proceeded to pass the Tenure of Office Act, which was designed to entrap Johnson. Doubting its constitutionality (by indirection it was later judged unconstitutional) and seeking to bring a test case, he deliberately challenged it by removing Secretary Stanton. The House thereupon impeached Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors." Most of its indictment related to Johnson's alleged violation of the Tenure of Office Act; other charges related to his "scandalous harangues." Particularly objectionable was a speech at the White House in which the president had declared that acts of Congress were not binding upon him because the South did not enjoy proper representation in it. One of the ablest of those who spoke for Johnson was Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, a brilliant constitutional lawyer and a former associate of Lincoln. As one who followed principle rather than partisanship, he changed parties three times during his career. In the following speech, what is his main reason for thinking that Johnson's removal would be unfortunate?

In coming to the conclusion that the President is not guilty of any of the high crimes and misdemeanors with which he stands charged, I have endeavored to be governed by the case made, without reference to other acts of his not contained in the record, and without giving the least heed to the clamor of intemperate zealots who demand the conviction of Andrew Johnson as a test of party faith, or seek to identify with and make responsible for his acts those who from convictions of duty feel compelled, on the case made, to vote for his acquittal.

His speeches and the general course of his administration have been as distasteful to me as to anyone, and I should consider it the great calamity of the age if the disloyal element, so often encouraged by his measures, should gain political ascendancy. If the question was, Is Andrew Johnson a fit person for President? I should answer, no; but it is not a party question, nor upon Andrew Johnson's deeds and acts, except so far as they are made to appear in the record, that I am to decide.

Painful as it is to disagree with so many political associates and friends whose conscientious convictions have led them to a different result, I must, nevertheless, in the discharge of the high responsibility under which I act, be governed by what my reason and judgment tell me is the truth, and the justice and law of this case. . . .

Once set the example of impeaching a President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided, will be regarded as insufficient causes, as several of those now alleged against the President were decided to be by the House of Representatives only a few months since, and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate on any measure deemed by them important, particularly if of a political character. Blinded by partisan zeal, with such an example before them, they will not scruple to remove out of the way any obstacle to the accomplishment of their purposes, and what then becomes of the checks and balances of the Constitution, so carefully devised and so vital to its perpetuity? They are all gone.

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[2] *Congressional Globe,* 40th Cong., 2d sess. (May 7, 1868), Supplement, p. 420.

In view of the consequences likely to flow from this day's proceedings, should they result in conviction on what my judgment tells me are insufficient charges and profits, I tremble for the future of my country. I cannot be an instrument or produce such a result; and at the hazard of the ties even of friendship and affection, till calmer times shall do justice to my motives, no alternative is left me but the inflexible discharge of duty.

[President Johnson escaped removal by the margin of a single vote, and only because seven conscientious Republican senators, including Trumbull, risked political suicide by refusing to go along with the majority].

D. "Black Reconstruction"

1. Stevens Demands Black Suffrage (1867)

The most influential radical Republican in the House, crippled and vindictive Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, loathed slavery, slaveholders, and slave-breeders. He felt a deep compassion for blacks and, in fact, arranged to be buried in a black cemetery. But in his demands for black suffrage he was motivated, like many other Republicans, by a mixture of idealism and opportunism. Of the arguments for black voting that he set forth in the following speech in the House, which ones were the most selfish? the most idealistic?

There are several good reasons for the passage of this bill [for reconstructing the South].

In the first place, it is just. I am now confining my argument to Negro suffrage in the rebel states. Have not loyal blacks quite as good a right to choose rulers and make laws as rebel whites?

In the second place, it is a necessity in order to protect the loyal white men in the seceded states. The white Union men are in a great minority in each of those states. With them the blacks would act in a body; and it is believed that in each of said states, except one, the two united would form a majority, control the states, and protect themselves. Now they are the victims of daily murder. They must suffer constant persecution, or be exiled. . . .

Another good reason is, it would insure the ascendancy of the Union [Republican] Party. "Do you avow the party purpose?" exclaims some horror-stricken demagogue. I do. For I believe, on my conscience, that on the continued ascendancy of that party depends the safety of this great nation.

If impartial suffrage is excluded in the rebel states, then every one of them is sure to send a solid rebel representative delagation to Congress, and cast a solid rebel electoral vote. They, with their kindred Copperheads of the North, would always elect the President and control Congress. While Slavery sat upon her defiant throne, and insulted and intimidated the trembling North, the South frequently divided on

[1] *Congressional Globe,* 39th Cong., 2d sess. (January 3, 1867), p. 252.

questions of policy between Whigs and Democrats, and gave victory alternately to the sections. Now, you must divide them between loyalists, without regard to color, and disloyalists, or you will be the perpetual vassals of the free-trade, irritated, revengeful South.

For these, among other reasons, I am for Negro suffrage in every rebel state. If it be just, it should not be denied; if it be necessary, it should be adopted; if it be a punishment to traitors, they deserve it.

2. Black-and-White Legislatures (c. 1876)

Black suffrage was finally forced on the Southern whites by their new state constitutions and by the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution (1870). Tension grew worse as designing Northern "carpetbaggers" and Unionist Southern whites ("scalawags") moved in to exploit the inexperienced former slaves. J. W. Leigh, an English clergyman turned Georgia rice planter, recorded the following observations in a personal letter. What conditions were most galling to the former Confederates?

The fact is, the poor Negro has since the war been placed in an entirely false position, and is therefore not to be blamed for many of the absurdities he has committed, seeing that he has been urged on by Northern "carpetbaggers" and Southern "scalawags," who have used him as a tool to further their own nefarious ends.

The great mistake committed by the North was giving the Negroes the franchise so soon after their emancipation, when they were not the least prepared for it. In 1865 slavery was abolished, and no one even among the Southerners, I venture to say, would wish it back. In 1868 they [Negroes] were declared citizens of the United States, and in 1870 they had the right of voting given them, and at the same time persons concerned in the rebellion were excluded from public trusts by what was called the "iron-clad" oath. And as if this was not enough, last year [1875] the Civil Rights Bill was passed, by which Negroes were to be placed on a perfect equality with whites, who were to be compelled to travel in the same cars with them, and to send their children to the same schools.

The consequence of all this is that where there is a majority of Negroes, as is the case in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, these states are placed completely under Negro rule, and scenes occur in the state legislatures which baffle description.

I recollect at the beginning of 1870 being at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, and paying a visit to the State House there, when a discussion was going on with respect to a large grant which was to be made for the building of the Alabama and Chattanooga Railway, the real object of which was to put money into the pockets of certain carpetbaggers, who, in order to gain their object, had bribed all the Negroes to vote for the passing of the bill.

The scene was an exciting one. Several Negro members were present, with their legs stuck up on the desks in front of them, and spitting all about them in free and independent fashion. One gentleman having spoken for some time against the bill,

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[2] Frances B. Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation since the War* (London: R. Bentley and Sons, 1883), pp. 268–292 (Appendix).

and having reiterated his condemnation of it as a fraudulent speculation, a stout Negro member from Mobile sprung up and said, "Mister Speaker, when yesterday I spoke, I was not allowed to go on because you said I spoke twice on the same subject. Now what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Dis Member is saying over and over again de same thing; why don't you tell him to sit down? for what is sauce for," etc. To which the Speaker said, "Sit down yourself, sir." Another member (a carpet-bagger) jumped up and shook his fist in the speaking member's face, and told him he was a liar, and if he would come outside he would give him satisfaction.

This is nothing, however, to what has been going on in South Carolina this last session. Poor South Carolina, formerly the proudest state in America, boasting of her ancient families, remarkable for her wealth, culture, and refinement, now prostrate in the dust, ruled over by her former slaves, an old aristocratic society replaced by the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw invested with the functions of government. Of the 124 representatives, there are but 23 representatives of her old civilization, and these few can only look on at the squabbling crowd amongst whom they sit as silent enforced auditors. Of the 101 remaining, 94 are colored, and 7 their white allies. The few honest amongst them see plundering and corruption going on on all sides, and can do nothing. . . .

The Negroes have it all their own way, and rob and plunder as they please. The Governor of South Carolina lives in luxury, and treats his soldiers to champagne, while the miserable planters have to pay taxes amounting to half their income, and if they fail to pay, their property is confiscated.

Louisiana and Mississippi are not much better off. The former has a Negro barber for its Lieutenant-governor, and the latter has just selected a Negro steamboat porter as its United States Senator, filling the place once occupied by Jefferson Davis.

3. Du Bois Justifies Black Legislators (1910)

W. E. B. Du Bois, a Massachusetts-born black of French Huguenot extraction, received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1895. Distinguished as a teacher, lecturer, historian, economist, sociologist, novelist, poet, and propagandist, he became a militant advocate of equal rights. A founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), he served for twenty-four years as editor of its chief organ. Du Bois, who was born the day before the House impeached Johnson, here writes as a scholar. In what important respects does he argue that Reconstruction legislatures have been unfairly represented? In what ways were these bodies responsible for significant achievements?

Undoubtedly there were many ridiculous things connected with Reconstruction governments: the placing of ignorant field-hands who could neither read nor write in the legislature, the gold spittoons of South Carolina, the enormous public printing bill of Mississippi—all these were extravagant and funny; and yet somehow, to one who sees, beneath all that is bizarre, the real human tragedy of the upward striving of downtrodden men, the groping for light among people born in darkness, there is less

[3] *American Historical Review 15* (1910): 791–799, passim.

tendency to laugh and jibe than among shallower minds and easier consciences. All that is funny is not bad.

Then, too, a careful examination of the alleged stealing in the South reveals much. First, there is repeated exaggeration. For instance, it is said that the taxation in Mississippi was fourteen times as great in 1874 as in 1869. This sounds staggering until we learn that the state taxation in 1869 was only ten cents on one hundred dollars, and that the expenses of government in 1874 were only twice as great as in 1860, and that too with a depreciated currency. . . .

The character of the real thieving shows that white men must have been the chief beneficiaries. . . . The frauds through the manipulation of state and railway bonds and of banknotes must have inured chiefly to the benefit of experienced white men, and this must have been largely the case in the furnishing and printing frauds. . . .

That the Negroes, led by astute thieves, became tools and received a small share of the spoils is true. But . . . much of the legislation which resulted in fraud was represented to the Negroes as good legislation, and thus their votes were secured by deliberate misrepresentation. . . .

Granted, then, that the Negroes were to some extent venal but to a much larger extent ignorant and deceived, the question is: Did they show any signs of a disposition to learn better things? The theory of democratic governments is not that the will of the people is always right, but rather that normal human beings of average intelligence will, if given a chance, learn the right and best course by bitter experience. This is precisely what Negro voters showed indubitable signs of doing. First, they strove for schools to abolish ignorance, and, second, a large and growing number of them revolted against the carnival of extravagance and stealing that marred the beginning of Reconstruction, and joined with the best elements to institute reform. . . .

We may recognize three things which Negro rule gave to the South:

1. Democratic government.
2. Free public schools.
3. New social legislation. . . .

In South Carolina there was before the war a property qualification for officeholders, and, in part, for voters. The [Reconstruction] constitution of 1868, on the other hand, was a modern democratic document . . . preceded by a broad Declaration of Rights which did away with property qualifications and based representation directly on population instead of property. It especially took up new subjects of social legislation, declaring navigable rivers free public highways, instituting homestead exemptions, establishing boards of county commissioners, providing for a new penal code of laws, establishing universal manhood suffrage "without distinction of race or color," devoting six sections to charitable and penal institutions and six to corporations, providing separate property for married women, etc. Above all, eleven sections of the Tenth Article were devoted to the establishment of a complete public-school system.

So satisfactory was the constitution thus adopted by Negro suffrage and by a convention composed of a majority of blacks that the state lived twenty-seven years under it without essential change. And when the constitution was revised in 1895, the revision was practically nothing more than an amplification of the constitution of 1868.

No essential advance step of the former document was changed except the suffrage article. . . .

There is no doubt but that the thirst of the black man for knowledge—a thirst which has been too persistent and durable to be mere curiosity or whim—gave birth to the public free-school system of the South. It was the question upon which black voters and legislators insisted more than anything else, and while it is possible to find some vestiges of free schools in some of the Southern states before the war, yet a universal, well-established system dates from the day that the black man got political power. . . .

Finally, in legislation covering property, the wider functions of the state, the punishment of crime, and the like, it is sufficient to say that the laws on these points established by Reconstruction legislatures were not only different from and even revolutionary to the laws in the older South, but they were so wise and so well suited to the needs of the new South that in spite of a retrogressive movement following the overthrow of Negro governments, the mass of this legislation, with elaboration and development, still stands on the statute books of the South.

4. Tillman's Antiblack Tirade (1907)

Reared in a slaveowning family, Senator Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina had participated in antiblack outrages during Reconstruction days. His face contorted, his one good eye glowing like a live coal, and his voice rising to a whine, "Tillman the Terrible" shocked the Senate and the nation with wild speeches in which he boasted that "we took the government away [from blacks]," we "stuffed the ballot boxes," we used "tissue ballots," "we shot them," "we are not ashamed of it," and "we will do it again." Whom does he blame most for the alleged conditions to which he refers?

It was in 1876, thirty years ago, and the people of South Carolina had been living under Negro rule for eight years. There was a condition bordering upon anarchy. Misrule, robbery, and murder were holding high carnival. The people's substance was being stolen, and there was no incentive to labor. Our legislature was composed of a majority of Negroes, most of whom could neither read nor write. They were the easy dupes and tools of as dirty a band of vampires and robbers as ever preyed upon a prostrate people. . . . Life ceased to be worth having on the terms under which we were living, and in desperation we determined to take the government away from the Negroes.

We reorganized the Democratic Party [of South Carolina] with one plank, and only one plank, namely, that "this is a white man's country, and white men must govern it." Under that banner we went to battle.

We had 8000 Negro militia organized by carpetbaggers. . . . They used to drum up and down the roads with their fifes and their gleaming bayonets, equipped with new Springfield rifles and dressed in the regulation uniform. It was lawful, I suppose, but these Negro soldiers—or this Negro militia, for they were never soldiers—growing

[4] *Congressional Record,* 59th Cong., 2d sess. (January 21, 1907), p. 1440.

In Self-defense
Southern Chiv. [Chivalrous gentleman] "Ef I hadn't-er killed you, you would hev growd up to rule me." A brutal Northern reference to the fact that some blacks were killed during the Hayes-Tilden Presidential campaign. (Harper's Weekly, *1876)*

more and more bold, let drop talk among themselves where the white children might hear their purpose, and it came to our ears. This is what they said: "The President [Grant] is our friend. The North is with us. We intend to kill all the white men, take the land, marry the white women, and then these white children will wait on us." . . .

We knew—who knew better—that the North then was a unit in its opposition to Southern ideas, and that it was their purpose to perpetuate Negro governments in those states where it could be done by reason of there being a Negro majority. Having made up our minds, we set about it as practical men. . . .

Clashes came. The Negro militia grew unbearable and more and more insolent. I am not speaking of what I have read; I am speaking of what I know, of what I saw. There were two militia companies in my township and a regiment in my county. We had clashes with these Negro militiamen. The Hamburg riot was one clash, in which seven Negroes and one white man were killed. A month later we had the Ellenton riot, in which no one ever knew how many Negroes were killed, but there were forty or fifty or a hundred. It was a fight between barbarism and civilization, between the African and the Caucasian, for mastery.

It was then that "we shot them"; it was then that "we killed them"; it was then that "we stuffed ballot boxes." After the [federal] troops came and told us, "You must stop this rioting," we had decided to take the government away from men so debased as were the Negroes. . . .

[President] Grant sent troops to maintain the carpetbag government in power and to protect the Negroes in the right to vote. He merely obeyed the law. . . . Then it was that "we stuffed ballot boxes," because desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and having resolved to take the state away, we hestiated at nothing. . . .

I want to say now that we have not shot any Negroes in South Carolina on account of politics since 1876. We have not found it necessary. Eighteen hundred and seventy-six happened to be the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the action of the white men of South Carolina in taking the state away from the Negroes we regard as a second declaration of independence by the Caucasian from African barbarism.

E. The Legacy of Reconstruction

1. Editor Godkin Grieves (1871)

Irish-born E. L. Godkin, a fearless liberal, founded the distinguished and long-lived New York Nation *in 1865. So biting were his criticisms that the magazine was dubbed "the weekly day of judgment." His views on the blunders of Reconstruction were aired with incisiveness. He argued that there were two ways of dealing with the postwar South: (1) reorganize the section "from top to bottom"; (2) treat the whole community as made up of "unfortunate Americans, equally entitled to care and protection, demoralized by an accursed institution for which the whole Union was responsible, and which the whole Union had connived at, and, down to 1860, had profited by. . . ." But the North, wrote Godkin, followed neither course. Which aspects of Reconstruction does he regard as the most regrettable?*

The condition of the Negro after emancipation . . . attracted the carpertbagger as naturally as a dead ox attracts the buzzard. The lower class of demagogue scents an unenlightened constituency at an almost incredible distance, and travels towards it over mountain, valley, and river with the certainty of the mariner's compass.

But then we hastened his coming by our legislation. We deliberately, and for an indefinite period, excluded all the leading Southern men from active participation in the management of their local affairs, by a discrimination not unlike that which would be worked in this city [New York], but very much worse, if every man who had not at some time belonged to the Tammany Society were declared incapable of holding office.

It was before the war the time-honored custom of the Southern states, and a very good custom too, to put their ablest men, and men of the highest social standing and character, in office. The consequence was that it was these men who figured most prominently in the steps which led to the rebellion, and in the rebellion itself. When the war was over, we singled these men out, and not unnaturally, for punishment by the 14th Amendment and other legislation.

But we forgot that, as the President points out, they were no worse, so far as disloyalty went, than the rest of the community. They broke their oaths of allegiance to the United States, but the other white men of the South would have done the same thing if they had got the chance of doing it by being elevated to office, either under the

[1] *The Nation* (New York) *13* (December 7, 1871): 364.

United States or under the Confederacy. We forgot, too, that when putting a mutinous crew in irons, the most justly indignant captain leaves at liberty enough able-bodied seamen to work the ship. . . .

The results . . . have been positively infernal. In the idea that we were befriending the Negroes, we gave them possession of the government, and deprived them of the aid of all the local capacity and experience in the management of it, thus offering the states as a prey to Northern adventurers, and thus inflicting on the freedmen the very worst calamity which could befall a race newly emerged from barbarism—that is, familiarity, in the very first movements of enfranchisement, with the process of a corrupt administration, carried on by gangs of depraved vagabonds, in which the public money was stolen, the public faith made an article of traffic, the legislature openly corrupted, and all that the community contained of talent, probity, and social respectability put under a legal ban as something worthless and disreputable.

We do not hesitate to say that a better mode of debauching the freedmen, and making them permanently unfit for civil government, could hardly have been hit on had the North had such an object deliberately in view. Instead of establishing equal rights for all, we set up the government of a class, and this class the least competent, the most ignorant and inexperienced, and a class, too, whose history and antecedents made its rule peculiarly obnoxious to the rest of the community.

Out of this state of things Ku-Kluxing has grown . . . naturally. . . . We cannot gainsay anything anybody says of the atrocity of riding about the country at night with one's face blackened, murdering and whipping people. But we confess we condemn Ku-Kluxing very much as we condemn the cholera. . . . There is no more use in getting in a rage with Ku-Kluxery, and sending cavalry and artillery after it, than of legislating against pestilence, as long as nothing is done to remove the causes.

2. Frederick Douglass Complains (1882)

The incredible former slave Frederick Douglass (see Vol. I, p. 352) raised two famous black regiments in Massachusetts during the Civil War. Among the first recruits were his own sons. Continuing his campaign for civil rights and suffrage for the freedmen, he wrote the following bitter commentary in his autobiography. One of his keenest regrets was that the federal government, despite the urgings of Thaddeus Stevens and others, failed to provide land for the freed slaves. In the light of his observations, how would free land have alleviated the conditions he describes? Why did the former slaveowners make life extremely difficult for the former slaves?

Though slavery was abolished, the wrongs of my people were not ended. Though they were not slaves, they were not yet quite free. No man can be truly free whose liberty is dependent upon the thought, feeling, and action of others, and who has himself no means in his own hands for guarding, protecting, defending, and maintaining that liberty. Yet the Negro after his emancipation was precisely in this state of destitution.

The law on the side of freedom is of great advantage only where there is power to

[2] *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford Park Publishing Company, 1881), pp. 458–459.

make that law respected. I know no class of my fellow men, however just, enlightened, and humane, which can be wisely and safely trusted absolutely with the liberties of any other class. Protestants are excellent people, but it would not be wise for Catholics to depend entirely upon them to look after their rights and interests. Catholics are a pretty good sort of people (though there is a soul-shuddering history behind them); yet no enlightened Protestants would commit their liberty to their care and keeping.

And yet the government had left the freedmen in a worse condition than either of these. It felt that it had done enough for him. It had made him free, and henceforth he must make his own way in the world, or, as the slang phrase has it, "root, pig, or die." Yet he had none of the conditions for self-preservation or self-protection.

He was free from the individual master, but the slave of society. He had neither money, property, nor friends. He was free from the old plantation, but he had nothing but the dusty road under his feet. He was free from the old quarter that once gave him shelter, but a slave to the rains of summer and the frosts of winter. He was, in a word, literally turned loose, naked, hungry, and destitute, to the open sky.

The first feeling toward him by the old master classes was full of bitterness and wrath. They resented his emancipation as an act of hostility toward them, and, since they could not punish the emancipator, they felt like punishing the object which that act had emancipated. Hence they drove him off the old plantation, and told him he was no longer wanted there. They not only hated him because he had been freed as a punishment to them, but because they felt that they had been robbed of his labor.

An element of greater bitterness still came into their hearts: the freedman had been the friend of the government, and many of his class had borne arms against them during the war. The thought of paying cash for labor that they could formerly extort by the lash did not in any wise improve their disposition to the emancipated slave, or improve his own condition.

Now, since poverty has, and can have, no chance against wealth, the landless against the landowner, the ignorant against the intelligent, the freedman was powerless. He had nothing left him but a slavery-distorted and diseased body, and lame and twisted limbs, with which to fight the battle of life.

3. Booker T. Washington Reflects (1901)

Booker T. Washington was reared in a one-room, dirt-floored shanty, and never slept on a bed until after emancipation. Obtaining an education under grave hardships, he ultimately became the head of the famed industrial institute at Tuskegee, Alabama. The acknowledged leader of his race after Frederick Douglass died in 1895, he won additional fame as an orator and as an apostle of "gradualism" in achieving equality with the whites. He believed that blacks should acquire manual skills and otherwise prove themselves worthy of a place beside whites. Black intellectuals like Du Bois (see earlier, p. 19) criticized this conservative "Uncle Tomism" as condemning the race to permanent inferiority. In the following selection from Washington's justly famous autobiography, what does the author regard as the chief mistakes made by both whites and blacks in Reconstruction?

[3]Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1901), pp. 83–86.

Though I was but little more than a youth during the period of Reconstruction, I had the feeling that mistakes were being made, and that things could not remain in the condition that they were in then very long. I felt that the Reconstruction policy, so far as it related to my race, was in a large measure on a false foundation, was artificial and forced. In many cases it seemed to me that the ignorance of my race was being used as a tool with which to help white men into office, and that there was an element in the North which wanted to punish the Southern white men by forcing the Negro into positions over the heads of the Southern whites. I felt that the Negro would be the one to suffer for this in the end. Besides, the general political agitation drew the attention of our people away from the more fundamental matters of perfecting themselves in the industries at their doors and in securing property.

The temptations to enter political life were so alluring that I came very near yielding to them at one time, but I was kept from doing so by the feeling that I would be helping in a more substantial way by assisting in the laying of the foundation of the race through a generous education of the hand, head, and heart. I saw colored men who were members of the state legislatures, and county officers, who, in some cases, could not read or write, and whose morals were as weak as their education.

Not long ago, when passing through the streets of a certain city in the South, I heard some brick-masons calling out, from the top of a two-story brick building on which they were working, for the "Governor" to "hurry up and bring up some more bricks." Several times I heard the command, "Hurry up, Governor!" "Hurry up, Governor!" My curiosity was aroused to such an extent that I made inquiry as to who the "Governor" was, and soon found that he was a colored man who at one time had held the position of Lieutenant-Governor of his state.

But not all the colored people who were in office during Reconstruction were unworthy of their positions, by any means. Some of them, like the late Senator B. K. Bruce, Governor Pinchback, and many others, were strong, upright, useful men. Neither were all the class designated as carpetbaggers dishonorable men. Some of them, like ex-Governor Bullock of Georgia, were men of high character and usefulness.

Of course the colored people, so largely without education, and wholly without experience in government, made tremendous mistakes, just as any people similarly situated would have done. Many of the Southern whites have a feeling that, if the Negro is permitted to exercise his political rights now to any degree, the mistakes of the Reconstruction period will repeat themselves. I do not think this would be true, because the Negro is a much stronger and wiser man than he was thirty-five years ago, and he is fast learning the lesson that he cannot afford to act in a manner that will alienate his Southern white neighbors from him. . . .

During the whole of the Reconstruction period our people throughout the South looked to the federal government for everything, very much as a child looks to its mother. This was not unnatural. The central government gave them freedom, and the whole nation had been enriched for more than two centuries by the labor of the Negro. Even as a youth, and later in manhood, I had the feeling that it was cruelly wrong in the central government, at the beginning of our freedom, to fail to make some provision for the general education of our people in addition to what the states might do, so that the people would be the better prepared for the duties of citizenship.

It is easy to find fault, to remark what might have been done, and perhaps, after all, and under all the circumstances, those in charge of the conduct of affairs did the only thing that could be done at the time. Still, as I look back now over the entire period of our freedom, I cannot help feeling that it would have been wiser if some plan could have been put in operation which would have made the possession of a certain amount of education or property, or both, a test for the exercise of the franchise, and a way provided by which this test should be made to apply honestly and squarely to both the white and black races.

Thought Provokers

1. Was the white South ever really defeated in spirit? Would the results have been more satisfactory from its point of view if it had accepted the rule of the conqueror with better grace?
2. What were the major differences between presidential and congressional Reconstruction plans? What accounts for those different approaches? Who had the better *constitutional* arguments? Who advocated the soundest policies?
3. It has been said that Johnson was his own worst enemy, and that the white Southerners were damaged by his determination to befriend them with a "soft" policy. Comment critically.
4. Present the cases for and against *immediate* and *gradual* black suffrage. Form conclusions. Why have the excesses of the black–white legislatures been overplayed and their achievements downgraded?
5. Why did organizations like the Ku Klux Klan flourish in the Reconstruction South? In what ways did the KKK resemble a modern "terrorist" group?
6. What was the most serious long-run mistake made during Reconstruction?

26

Politics in the Gilded Age, 1869–1889

The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their government, its functions do not include the support of the people.

Grover Cleveland, *Inaugural Address,* 1893

Prologue: War hero Ulysses S. Grant came to the White House in 1869, when corruption abounded at many levels of government. A great general, the politically infantile Grant proved to be a great disappointment as president. Disaffected Republicans, unable to stomach Grant for a second term, organized the Liberal Republican Party in 1872 and, together with the Democrats, chose the outspoken—and outrageous—Horace Greeley as their presidential standard-bearer. Greeley went down to inglorious defeat. Politics at the national level turned into a petty and highly partisan stalemate, as the delicately balanced major parties hesitated to upset the shaky electoral standoff by emphasizing controversial issues. Rutherford B. Hayes narrowly triumphed over Democrat Samuel Tilden in 1877. As part of the arrangements that eventually secured his election, Hayes effectively ended Reconstruction in the South. The assassination of newly elected President Garfield in 1881 dramatized the need for civil service reform. Former spoilsman President Arthur, unexpectedly elevated to the highest office in the land after Garfield's death, cooperated with reformers in launching the Pendleton Act, which brought badly needed changes to the civil service. The widening reform movement was further strengthened by the outcome of the gutter-low presidential contest of 1884, from which Grover Cleveland emerged triumphant. Cleveland, the first Democratic president since 1861, displayed a fierce commitment to fiscal orthodoxy and to lowering sky-high Republican-passed tariffs.

A. The Liberal Republican Revolt

1. Schurz Exposes the Spoilsmen (1871)

The whiteness of the White House was blackened by the scramble for offices under the gullible Grant. Cigar-chomping politicians, like hogs at the swill-box, grunted and shoved for soft jobs. The reformers, soon to organize the Liberal Republican party, were prodded into protest. Conspicuous among them was the angular gadfly Carl

[1] *Congressional Globe,* 41st Cong., 3d sess., (January 27, 1871) Appendix, p. 70.

Schurz (see earlier, p. 1), who had grown up under the efficient German civil service. Now a liberal senator from Missouri, he delivered the following indictment in the Senate. What evils does he find in the existing spoils system? Which one does he regard as the most serious?

After the incoming of this administration, a gentleman of my acquaintance who had strong "claims" desired to be appointed postmaster in a Western city. But the President happened to put one of his own friends into that office; and so the man to be provided for could not be postmaster. Then the [Congressional] delegation of his state agreed to make him pension agent at the same place; but an influential member of that delegation opposed it, and so he could not be pension agent.

Then he took his case into his own hands, for he knew that he was a man to be provided for, and the President nominated him as minister resident to a South American republic. Having obtained that, he thought he could obtain more. He saw a chance to be appointed minister plenipotentiary to another government, and, sure enough, he received the nomination for that also. Then his nomination came into the Senate, and was rejected. There was a terrible disappointment! And yet the man to be provided for was provided for. He was finally sent as a governor to a territory.

Thus, sir, under the present intelligent system of making appointments, the same man aspired to a post office, a pension agency, a minister residentship, a full mission, and finally landed in the governorship of a territory. And the appointing power, yielding to the peculiar pressure characteristic of the existing system, declared him fit for all these places consecutively. And all this in seven days, save the territorial governorship, which was discovered for him afterward.

And with him there were a multitude of men to be provided for at the same time; there always are a good many more than places to put them in. Do you complain of the unnecessary multiplication of offices? That evil is unavoidable as long as we suffer under the system which recognizes men to be provided for.

Must it not be clear to every observing mind that our present mode of making appointments is a blindfold game, a mere haphazard proceeding? Was Mr. Lincoln very wrong when once, in a moment of despair, he said with grim humor: "I have discovered a good way of providing officers for the government: put all the names of the applicants into one pepper-box and all the offices into another, and then shake the two, and make appointments just as the names and the offices happen to drop out together."

2. Greeley Praises Greeley (1872)

The voices of the liberals, including that of Carl Schurz, swelled to a roar. With scandals bursting like popcorn, the reformers clamored for a renovation of the civil service. With the most difficult phase of Reconstruction going forward, they demanded more lenient treatment of the vanquished. When the spoilsmen and regulars of the Republican party insisted on renominating the "old man" Grant, the reformers bolted and formed the short-lived Liberal Republican party. Meeting in a chaotic convention in Cincinnati, they emerged with a most unlikely nominee in the erratic and politi-

[2] New York *Tribune,* November 5, 1872.

cally inept editor Horace Greeley. His own influential paper published the following appeal on the eve of the election. In reading this statement, note the extent to which the Southern question was involved. What did the slogan "Reunion and Reform" mean?

We ask those who are accustomed to read and trust the *Tribune* to vote today for Horace Greeley for President of the United States—

Because he is the best man for the place. He is incomparably abler, better informed, safer than his antagonist.

Because his election would mean reconciliation with the South, an end of the war, a revival of Southern industry, increased markets for Northern products, a homogeneous country, with consequent safety and prosperity.

Because his election would mean reform at the North—an end of government patronage in elections, an end of administering the civil service not to do the government work but to defeat one party and help another—an investigation of the corruptions which have seemed to pervade all branches of the national government, and have made the rule at Washington as much worse than Tweed's* rule as its scope was wider and its power more resistless.

Because his election would mean an end of carpetbag governments at the South, propped up by Washington interference for yet longer robbery of already bankrupt communities.

Because, in a word, it would secure those great ends of Reunion and Reform for which the Cincinnati [Liberal Republican] movement was begun, and the triumph of which, whether today hastened or delayed, is as sure to come as the Republic is to endure.

3. The Democrats Arraign Grant (1876)

"Eight long years of scandal" was the tag that the Democrats tellingly attached to the Grant era. Meeting in their national convention in St. Louis and nominating the reformer Samuel J. Tilden, they flayed the Republican regime in their platform, excerpted here. How realistic is the assumption that a change of administration will eliminate the evils described?

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be an approved reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of our public men nor an instrument of their ambition. Here, again, profession falsified in the performance attests that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite;

*Tweed was the corrupt "boss" of New York City who filched millions of dollars.

[3]K. H. Porter, comp., *National Party Platforms* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), pp. 89–90.

they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show disgrace and censure of a Vice-President [Schuyler Colfax]; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives [James G. Blaine] marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury [W. A. Richardson] forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General [G. H. Williams] misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy [G. M. Robeson] enriched and enriching friends by a percentage levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England [R. C. Schenck] censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's Private Secretary [O. E. Babock] barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War [W. W. Belknap] impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican Party, create a necessity for reform, confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides. Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

[The Republican platform of 1876 naturally praised Grant's "honorable work" as president, while stressing the rebellion-stained record of the Democrats. The scandals were dismissed in one brief paragraph: "We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing." Yet precisely here Grant had failed tragically. In 1876 he had shielded his private secretary, Babcock (when tried for graft involving the whiskey revenue frauds), and also his secretary of war, Belknap (when involved in graft regarding Indian supplies). But Grant had nothing whatever to do with the scandals besmirching Speaker Blaine and Vice-President Colfax. Cabinet members Richardson, Williams, and Robeson were all his appointees, and to that extent he was responsible for their shortcomings. Minister Schenck in London, who used his popularity as the "high priest of draw poker" to sell bogus mining stock, also falls into this category.]

4. Grant's Farewell Apology (1876)

Grant had voted only once for a president prior to his own nomination. (Though a Republican, he had backed the Democrat Buchanan in the hope of averting secession.) A regimented military life had not fitted him for civilian administration, and his blind

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[4]J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), vol. 7, pp. 399–401.

In For It
U. S. [Grant]: "I hope I shall get to the bottom soon." Grant, after promising a probe, has not reached bottom yet. (Harper's Weekly, *1876)*

loyalty to his thieving appointees was carried to an incredible point. Into his last annual message to Congress he inserted a farewell apology that indicated that he was becoming aware of his own shortcomings. This remarkable statement has been called both naïve and lacking in manliness. Where does he lay the blame for his failures?

It was my fortune, or misfortune, to be called to the office of Chief Executive without any previous political training. From the age of seventeen, I had never even witnessed the excitement attending a presidential campaign but twice antecedent to my own candidacy, and at but one of them was I eligible as a voter.

Under such circumstances, it is but reasonable to suppose that errors of judgment must have occurred. Even had they not, differences of opinion between the Executive, bound by an oath to the strict performance of his duties, and writers and debaters must have arisen. It is not necessarily evidence of blunder on the part of the Executive because there are these differences of views. Mistakes have been made, as all can see and I admit, but it seems to me oftener in the selections made of the assistants appointed to aid in carrying out the various duties of administering the government—in nearly every case selected without a personal acquaintance with the appointee, but upon recommendations of the representatives chosen directly by the people.

It is impossible, where so many trusts are to be allotted, that the right parties should be chosen in every instance. History shows that no administration from the time of Washington to the present has been free from these mistakes. But I leave comparisons to history, claiming only that I have acted in every instance from a conscientious desire to do what was right, constitutional, within the law, and for the very best interests of the whole people. Failures have been errors in judgment, not of intent.

My civil career commenced, too, at a most critical and difficult time. Less than four years before, the country had emerged from a conflict such as no other had ever survived. . . . Immediately on the cessation of hostilities the then noble President, who had carried the country so far through its perils, fell a martyr to his patriotism at the hands of an assassin.

The intervening time of my first inauguration was filled up with wrangling between Congress and the new Executive [Johnson] as to the best mode of "reconstruction," or, to speak plainly, as to whether the control of the government should be thrown immediately into the hands of those who had so recently and persistently tried to destroy it, or whether the victors should continue to have an equal voice with them in this control. Reconstruction, as finally agreed upon, means this and only this, except that the late slave was enfranchised, giving an increase, as was supposed, to the Union-loving and Union-supporting votes. If *free* in the full sense of the word, they would not disappoint this expectation.

Hence at the beginning of my first administration, the work of Reconstruction, much embarrassed by the long delay, virtually commenced. It was the work of the legislative branch of the government. My province was wholly in approving their acts, which I did most heartily, urging the legislatures of states that had not yet done so to ratify the 15th Amendment [giving blacks the vote] to the Constitution.

The country was laboring under an enormous debt, contracted in the suppression of rebellion, and taxation was so oppressive as to discourage production. Another danger also threatened us—a foreign war. The last difficulty had to be adjusted, and was adjusted without a war and in a manner highly honorable to all parties concerned.

B. Hayes and the Southern Problem

1. Hayes Believes Himself Defrauded (1876)

In 1876 the Republicans nominated, as Grant's successor, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. Hayes was a political puritan so serious-minded that at the age of twelve he had written in his diary of the necessity of reading law books rather than the frivolous newspapers. The Democrats nominated a multimillionaire bachelor, Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a prominent corporation lawyer and a noted but overrated reformer. The first electoral returns, though not the later ones, indicated a Democratic landslide, and Hayes privately conceded defeat in his diary. Why does he feel that he would have won in a fair election?

Sunday, November 12.—The news this morning is not conclusive. The headlines of the morning papers are as follows: the *News,* "Nip and Tuck"; "Tuck has it"; "The Mammoth National Doubt"; and the *Herald* heads its news column, "Which?" But to my mind the figures indicate that Florida has been carried by the Democrats. No

[1] C. R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (1924), vol. 3, pp. 377–378. By permission of the Ohio Historical Society.

doubt both fraud and violence intervened to produce the result. But the same is true in many Southern states.

We shall, the fair-minded men of the country will, history will hold that the Republicans were by fraud, violence, and intimidation, by a nullification of the 15th Amendment, deprived of the victory which they fairly won. But we must, I now think, prepare ourselves to accept the inevitable. I do it with composure and cheerfulness. To me the result is no personal calamity.

I would like the opportunity to improve the civil service. It seems to me I could do more than any Democrat to put Southern Affairs on a sound basis. I do not apprehend any great or permanent injury to the financial affairs of the country by the victory of the Democrats. The hard-money wing of the party is at the helm. . . .

We are in a minority in the electoral colleges; we lose the administration. But in the former free states—the states that were always loyal—we are still in a majority. We carry eighteen of the twenty-two and have two hundred thousand majority of the popular vote. In the old slave states, if the recent Amendments were cheerfully obeyed, if there had been neither violence nor intimidation nor other improper interference with the rights of the colored people, we should have carried enough Southern states to have held the country and to have secured a decided popular majority in the nation.

Our adversaries are in power, but they are supported by a minority only of the lawful voters of the country. A fair election in the South would undoubtedly have given us a large majority of the electoral votes, and a decided preponderance of the popular vote.

2. Chandler Assails the Solid South (1879)

With the electoral vote of three Southern states in hot dispute, the Hayes–Tilden deadlock of 1876 was broken in 1877 by the specially constituted Electoral Commission of fifteen men. Its questionable decision for Hayes was grudgingly accepted by the Democrats. But they did not yield until they had received assurances that federal bayonets would no longer prop up Republican regimes in Louisiana and South Carolina—the last of the states under military reconstruction. Hayes honored this pledge and withdrew the troops, despite Republican outcries. The two states then went over to the Democratic solid South. Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, who had been an outspoken antislaveryite, deplored these developments in a fiery speech in Chicago. (He died the next day.) The Democrats at that time controlled both houses of Congress. Why does Chandler regard the Southern states as grossly overrepresented?

They [the Confederates] have forfeited all their property—we gave it back to them. We found them naked, and we clothed them. They were without the rights of citizenship, and we restored to them those rights. We took them to our bosoms as brethren, believing that they had repented of their sins. We killed for them the fatted calf and invited them to the feast, and they gravely informed us that they had always owned that animal, and were not grateful for the invitation.

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[2] C. M. Depew, ed., *The Library of Oratory* (New York: The Globe Publishing Company, 1902), vol. 8, pp. 448–451 (October 31, 1879).

"Of Course He Wants to Vote the Democratic Ticket!"
*Democratic "Reformer": "You're free as air, ain't you? Say you are, or I'll blow yer black head off!" A satire on the Southern claim that the former slaves of the South were "free as air" in the Hayes–Tilden campaign. (*Harper's Weekly, *1876)*

By the laws of war, and by the laws of nations, they were bound to pay every dollar of the expense incurred in putting down that rebellion. But we forgave them that debt, and today you are being taxed heavily to pay the interest on the debt that they ought to have paid. Such magnanimity as was exhibited by this nation to these rebels has never been witnessed on the earth since God made it, and, in my humble judgment, it will never be witnessed again.

Mistakes we undoubtedly made, errors we committed, but, in my judgment, the greatest mistake we made, and the gravest error we committed, was in not hanging enough of these rebels to make treason forever odious.

Today, in Congress, the men have changed but not the measures. Twenty years ago they said: "Do this, or fail to do that, and we will shoot your government to death." If I am to die, I would rather be shot to death with musketry than starved to death. These rebels (for they are just as rebellious now as they were twenty years ago; there is not a particle of difference—I know them better than any other living mortal man; I have summered and wintered with them)—these rebels today have thirty-six members on the floor of the House of Representatives. Without one single constituent, and in violation of law, those thirty-six members represent 4,000,000 people, lately slaves,

who are as absolutely disfranchised as if they lived in another sphere, through shotguns, and whips, and tissue-ballots. For the law [the Fourteenth Amendment] expressly says that wherever a race or class is disfranchised, they shall not be represented upon the floor of the House. And these thirty-six members thus elected constitute three times the whole of their majority upon the floor.*

This is not only a violation of the law, but it is an outrage upon all the loyal men of the United States. It ought not to be. It must not be. And it shall not be. Twelve members of the Senate—more than their whole majority—occupy their seats upon the floor by fraud and violence; and I am saying no more to you than I said to those rebel generals. With majorities thus obtained by fraud and violence in both Houses, they dared to dictate terms to the loyal men of these United States. . . .

What they want is not free elections, but free fraud at elections. They have got a Solid South by fraud and violence. Give them permission to perpetrate the same fraud and violence in New York City and Cincinnati, and New York and Ohio, with the Solid South, will give them the Presidency, and that once obtained by fraud and violence, they would hold it for a generation. Today 8,000,000 of people in the Southern states control the legislation of the country through caucus dictation, as they controlled their slaves when slavery existed.

[Chandler was partially correct. The Democratic party that finally won the White House under Cleveland, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt was basically the solid South plus the Democratic machines of the large northeastern and middle western cities.]

C. The Beginnings of Civil Service Reform

1. Morton Praises the Spoils System (1871)

Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's able war governor, had labored so zealously against hostile Copperhead Democrats that his exertions were blamed for the paralytic stroke that crippled him in 1865. As a devoted Republican, he could see little good in the Democrats, and consequently favored appointing fellow partisans to office. His speech in the United States Senate in 1871 against the proposed civil service reform is a classic argument for the spoils system. How does he defend it?

The Senator [Trumbull of Illinois] says that he is in favor of organizing the civil service so that officers shall be appointed without regard to politics. . . . Now, sir, to have appointments made without regard to politics will suit our Democratic friends remarkably well while they are not in power, but it would not suit them one moment after they came into power. . . .

The Senator from Illinois praises the civil service system of Great Britain. A system that might be appropriate to Great Britain would not be appropriate here; our institutions are different. In England the tenure of office in the civil service is for life.

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*The House numbered 149 Democrats and 130 Republicans; the Senate, 42 Democrats and 33 Republicans.

[1] *Congressional Globe,* 41st Cong., 3d sess. (January 12, 1871), part I, pp. 458, 460–461.

Can a Man Be a Nurse?
U. S. Grant holds the baby as he finds neither party wanting it.
(Harper's Weekly, *1875*)

They hold their offices during good behavior; that is to say, during life. Can we adopt the life tenure here?

Why, sir, ten thousand men in this city [Washington] holding office for life would form a privileged class that would revolutionize the very foundation principle of this government. We have but one life tenure under our Constitution, and if we had it to make over again we would not have that. I refer to the Supreme Court of the United States. . . . If a man has an office for life, it takes a very serious cause to get him out. An ordinary delinquency, an ordinary neglect or abuse or failure, is never sufficient to oust a man who holds an office for life.

No, sir, we cannot afford to adopt the English system under any circumstances; it is anti-republican; it is contrary to the fundamental principles of this government; and yet the Senator held up to us the beauties of the English system!

Sir, what is the fact there? Are the English clerks better qualified than those in our departments are? From the evidence I have, they are not. But they have one quality that our clerks have not got: that is, they have "the insolence of office" that results from a life tenure. I could refer to the facts on this point. You have all read *Little Dorrit,* by Charles Dickens, where he described the Circumlocution Office and the Somerset House. . . .

I am not arguing against competitive examinations. I am in favor of them; but they are not infallible by any means. Men may pass an examination, and a first-rate examination, and yet be utterly unqualified for the position. How does it happen so often that the young men who graduate at law schools and carry off the first prizes fail in the practice of the law? So in regard to medicine. And how often does it happen that those who take the honors of the class at West Point do not succeed upon the field of battle or in the Army? You can adopt no system that will guard against exceptional cases. . . .

But the Senator says that officers ought to be appointed without regard to politics. Whenever you can carry on this government without regard to politics, that doctrine will do. But this is a government of the people and a government of public opinion, in which the mass of the people take a deep interest, as they do not in England and in countries on the continent of Europe. Just so long as the character of this government continues as it is, appointments will continue to be made with reference to politics; and no system can be devised that will prevent it. I do not care how many competitive examinations you institute, or whether you make the tenure for life or a tenure for ten years, you cannot change that thing unless you change the character of the government.

But what propriety is there in it? A man high in office, who has climbed up the political ladder, may then turn around and slap the faces of his friends who helped him up, if they should want appointments, and call that virtue! Would it make it a virtue? . . .

I have been in the Senate now nearly four years, and, so far as I know, there have been but three clerks appointed upon my recommendation. . . . As far as I am personally concerned, I would be glad to be relieved of all this labor. But what right have I to be relieved? My friends have the same right to call upon me that I have had in times past to call upon them, and, if they are respectable, and capable, and honest, why should I refuse to give them that legitimate aid which may be within my power? Why, sir, men act upon this principle in all conditions of life, whether in regard to politics or in regard to business; and you cannot change it by any enactment which you can make.

2. Harper's Weekly *Hails a New Era (1883)*

The Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act finally passed Congress in 1883. Most of the opposition came from spoils-hungry Democrats, who now resented the deathbed repentance of the Republicans. The new law forbade obligatory political contributions from officeholders, and authorized competitive examinations to ascertain fitness. But the act was initially applied to only about 10,000 officials in the "classified service," out of some 130,000 federal employees. The passage of the measure was unwittingly assisted by Congressman J. A. Hubbell, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, who had given ammunition to the reformers by brazenly demanding contributions from federal officers as office insurance. Harper's Weekly, *whose editor (George W. Curtis) was a leading civil service reformer, here comments on the passage of the bill by the Senate, before its approval by the House. Why was the measure enacted at this particular time?*

The passage of the Pendleton bill by the Senate is an important event in our political history. It is the first practical legislative step toward the correction of abuses of administration involving dangerous consequences which are plainly perceived and universally acknowledged. It is a measure which, should it become law, will overthrow the aristocracy of patronage and spoils, and open the public service to all the people.

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[2] *Harper's Weekly 27,* no. 3 (January 6, 1883).

It will not, indeed, purify politics at a blow. There will still be corruption and demagogism, and no good citizen can put off his armor of diligent watchfulness and effort. But it is not an argument against sanitary regulations that they do not abolish disease, nor against penal laws that crime still continues. It is no reason for refusing to try to improve a situation that still further improvement may be possible.

The passage of this bill by the Senate is a prompt response to a public demand unmistakably expressed at the autumn election, and it is a significant sign of the immediate influence of sound public opinion upon legislation. . . .

The awakening of public sentiment which has produced this great result is largely due to two very different events—the murder of Garfield and the assessments of Hubbell. Last spring Mr. Hubbell issued his circulars as a matter of course. The storm that followed showed how truly the public mind attributed the murder of Garfield to the spoils system. The result was impressive. Before the year ended, the action of Hubbell had been condemned by the Supreme Court, and the Senate of the United States had unanimously made it a penal offense.

The history of the year upon this subject exhorts every friend of wise progress to trust the people, and never to despair.

3. Schurz Applauds Partial Gains (1893)

The liberal German-American reformer and orator Carl Schurz (see earlier, p. 28) was regarded by spoilsmen as a foreign busybody trying to "Prussianize" the civil service. Here he speaks eloquently in New York City as president of the Civil-Service Reform League. Ten years after the much-heralded birth of the Pendleton Act, he finds much to deplore and something to praise. Does he feel that the gains outweigh the drawbacks?

The Fourth of March last [1893] a new administration went into power. Untold thousands of men poured into the national capital clamoring for office; not for offices that were vacant, but to be vacated in order to make room for the clamorers. No matter whether he was ever so good a public servant, the man who was in was to be kicked out, to let him in who was out, no matter whether he would be not half so good a public servant.

The office-hunting throng swept into the White House and into the departments like a cloud of locusts. . . . The Cabinet ministers, all new men in their places, who felt the urgent need of studying somewhat their departmental duties, were hunted down so that they had hardly time to eat and to sleep, much less to study. When their cry for pity availed nothing, they at last barricaded their doors with strict regulations. They went into hiding in order to save some hours for the business of the government.

The Post Office Department was not only overrun by the crowd, but snowed under with written applications and recommendations for office, which in huge heaps covered the floors of the rooms, and the whole force of the department had to work after business hours merely to open and assort them. Senators and members of the

[3]National Civil-Service Reform League, *Proceedings* (New York: National Civil Service Reform League, 1893), pp. 7–8, 10, 11–12, 16–17.

House of Representatives ran wildly about like whipped errand boys to press the claims of greedy constituents or mercenary henchmen. . . .

But there is one part of the public service which now remains untouched by the tumultuous debauch of the spoils carnival. It is like a quiet, peaceable island, with a civilized, industrious population, surrounded by the howling sea. The President and the chiefs of the government departments contemplate this part of the service with calmness and contentment, for it gives them no trouble while the turmoil of the office hunt rages all around it. The good citizen, anxious for the honor of his country, beholds it with relief and satisfaction, for here he finds nothing to be ashamed of, and much that is worthy of this free and great nation. This is the "classified service," covered by the Civil Service Law, the creation of Civil Service Reform. On the portals the words are written: "Nobody enters here who has not proved his fitness for the duties to be performed." The office-hunting mob reads this and recoils. The public servant within it calmly walks the paths of his duty, undisturbed by the thought of the greedy cormorant hungering for his place. He depends upon his merit for his security and advancement, and this consciousness inspires his work. This is the application of common sense and common honesty to the public service. It is Civil Service Reform. . . .

At the close of President Arthur's administration in 1885 the number of places classified—that is, covered by the Civil Service Law—was about 15,500. At the close of President Cleveland's administration in 1889, it was about 27,300. At the close of President Harrison's administration in 1893 it was about 43,400, to which should be added several thousand laboring men in the navy yards placed under similar rules by the voluntary and most laudable act of Secretary Tracy.

As the whole number of places under the national government amounts to about 180,000, we may say that more than one-fourth of the service of the national government has ceased to be treated as mere spoils of party warfare. In one-fourth the party boss has lost his power. One-fourth is secure from the quadrennial loot. In one-fourth influence and favoritism go for nothing. One-fourth has been rescued from barbarism. One-fourth is worthy of a civilized country. So much, Civil Service Reform has accomplished in the time of three presidential terms.

But great and encouraging as its progress has been, Civil Service Reform, having conquered only one-fourth of the service, has done only one-fourth of its work. . . . Civil Service Reform has undertaken to open the offices to all according to their ability to serve the people.

The spoils system asks the candidate for office: "Does your member of Congress recommend you, or does the party boss in your state or your county ask for your appointment? Or are you backed by a man who gives much money to our campaign fund? What men of influence have you behind you? If you have none, you can have no place." Civil Service Reform asks the candidate: "Are you a man of good character, and what can you show to prove it? What do you know? What can you do? What qualifications have you for serving the people? Have you more than other candidates for the place?"

On the one side, under the spoils system, the aristocracy of influence—and a very vulgar aristocracy it is—robbing the man who has only merit, unbacked by power, of his rightful chance. On the other hand, Civil Service Reform, inviting all freely to compete, and then giving the best chance to the best man, be that man ever so lowly, and be his competitor ever so great-a favorite of wealth and power. On that side the aristocracy of "pull"; on this the democracy of merit. . . .

The spoils politician is fond of objecting that civil service examinations do not always point out the fittest man for the place. Perhaps not always. The best marksman does not hit the bull's-eye every time; but he misses it rarely. The civil service examinations may have a small record of failures. But what the system, fairly conducted, *always* does is to snatch public office from the undemocratic control of influence and favoritism. And there is the point which stings the spoils politician.

D. The Blaine-Cleveland Mudslingers

1. The Moralists Condemn Cleveland (1884)

The Republicans nominated for the presidency in 1884 their premier personality and orator, James G. Blaine of Maine. In so doing they brushed aside suspicions that he had prostituted the speakership of the House for private gain. Republican reformers, sneeringly dubbed "Mugwumps," turned their backs on the nominee. The Democrats gleefully nominated their reformist New York governor, bachelor Grover Cleveland. The crusade of the Clevelandites against immorality in public life faltered badly when Republican scandal-seekers revealed that Cleveland had fathered an illegitimate son eight years earlier in Buffalo. The accused candidate, courageously confessing his guilt, responded, "Tell the truth." The burning issue then became one of alleged public immorality versus private immorality. A leading Republican religious journal, The Independent, *righteously turned its back on both candidates, especially Cleveland. What force is there in the argument that weakness of character in private life indicates weakness in public life, and that the Democrats, in their own interests and in the interests of the high office, should have replaced Cleveland as soon as the scandal broke?*

Some of Mr. Cleveland's supporters try to comfort themselves with the idea that the offense charged against him, being a delinquency in his private life, has nothing to do with the question of his fitness or unfitness for the Presidency. Though his morals in this respect may be bad, he may, nevertheless, be trusted with the duties of the office. . . .

The plain truth is that licentiousness is one of the very worst of vices, that a man's real character is the one shown by his private life, and that this is the character which he will carry with him into his public life, if elected thereto. The connection between the two lives is direct and intimate; and, hence, no one who is bad in his private character is fit to be trusted with public duties.

No decent man surely would think of voting for a horse-thief; and, for an equally good reason, no one should vote for the lecherous corrupter of womanhood. Both are essentially rotten at the seat of moral life. It is bad enough to have them in private life, and will be much worse to have them in public life, especially when the latter would carry with it the virtual acceptance and indorsement of a gross immorality. A nation that, with its eyes open, will select a libertine for its chief magistrate must be in the worst stage of moral decay.

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[1] *The Independent 36,* no. 16 (October 30, 1884).

It is, however, urged by some of the Cleveland supporters, who find it difficult to adopt this new philosophy, that he has sincerely repented of what the law of God makes a grievous sin, and the law of man in some states makes a crime.

The first answer is that there is no evidence before the public to show the fact of such repentance, and that, in the absence of such evidence, the presumption is exactly the reverse. It will be time enough to reason from Mr. Cleveland's assumed repentance when the fact itself is established.

A second answer is that, if we admit the repentance alleged, this would not cancel the wrong to such an extent as to render him a fit candidate for President. We take it that repentant debauchees, though they may be forgiven by both God and man, are not, any more than repentant thieves and robbers, to be deemed morally eligible to the supreme magistracy of this great nation. Their past record is a fatal objection to them. The people can and should do better with the office than to burlesque it with such a palpable incongruity. The interests of sound morality sternly demand that this office should not be associated with an admitted bastardy on the part of its incumbent.

It was, hence, the duty of the Democratic Party, the moment the uncleanness in Mr. Cleveland's private character was made known, to withdraw him from the field, and put a decent, pure, and competent candidate in his place. The continuance of his candidacy with this knowledge is a disgrace to the party; and his election would be a burning disgrace to the whole country. The example of his success would be a moral calamity. His defeat is an imperative duty.

2. The Mugwumps Condone Cleveland (1884)

Blaine, in sharp contrast to bachelor Cleveland, appears to have been a model husband and father. A Democratic orator, noting that the allegedly dishonest Blaine was a splendid family man and that the once-immoral Cleveland was a spotless public servant, proposed that "we should elect Cleveland to the public office which he is so admirably qualified to fill and remand Mr. Blaine to the private life which he is so eminently fitted to adorn." Harper's Weekly, *a leading Mugwump journal, here puts the best face it can on the dilemma. Evaluate its most convincing argument in support of Cleveland. Would a throwaway vote for a third-party candidate have been the proper course?*

Undoubtedly every good citizen would prefer a choice between two candidates absolutely irreproachable in every respect, and there are many honest persons who will prefer not to vote for a candidate of whom any kind of irregularity at any time can be justly alleged. Such voters, however, if they cannot support Mr. Cleveland, who said at once, "Tell the truth," can still less support Mr. Blaine, who said, "Let my private [financial] affairs alone," and tried in vain to deceive the country.*

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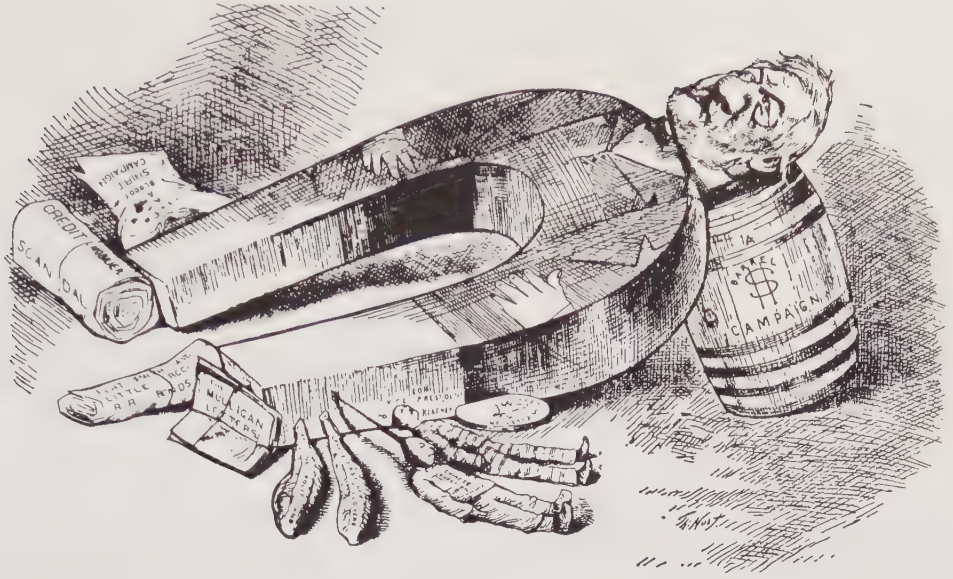
[2] *Harper's Weekly 28,* no. 528 (August 16, 1884).

*Blaine had acquired wealth out of all proportion to his known salaries, and had resisted all attempts "to expose his private business." A decision that he had rendered as Speaker of the House in 1869 had saved a grant of land for the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. He subsequently sought and secured a financial favor from the company. The accusation was that he had made his ruling *after* entering into the secret deal. Proof of his guilt or innocence presumably lay in a packet of letters (the "Mulligan letters") that he had written, but that he refused to make public in their entirety.



The "Magnetic" Blaine: or, a Very Heavy "Load"-Stone (Magnet) for the Republican Party to Carry

Blaine's personal magnetism, which was famous, here attracts to himself assorted scandals of the Grant era, including his own involvement in the railroad bonds and the Mulligan letters. (Harper's Weekly, *1880)*

In the actual situation the practical alternative seems to us to lie between a candidate whose offense is wholly in the past, and was of a kind which does not necessarily disqualify him for the highest public trusts, and a candidate who deliberately prostituted public office to private gain. No such man . . . has even been nominated or elected to a great office in this country. But Franklin and Hamilton and Jefferson and Webster and Clay, and other eminent men still nearer our own time, were held by their fellow citizens to be worthy of the highest public responsibilities, although it was known that their private lives had not been always without stain. It was not that the people were indifferent to morality, but that they wisely discriminated between conduct which justly and necessarily unfits a man for public trusts, and that which experience and the general consciousness prove to be compatible with the utmost personal honesty and official fidelity.

The allegation that Mr. Cleveland is at this time a libertine and a drunkard is unquestionably, upon any kind of evidence known to us, false. His official career has been open to the eyes of all men, and if during the time that he has faithfully executed great public trusts his private life has disgraced his public office, the fact is wholly unknown to us, and certainly no evidence of it has been submitted to the public.

No honest man will mistake us as defending moral irregularities of any kind, nor, on the other hand, will he doubt our hearty contempt of those who affect horror at private immorality in order to divert public attention from official corruption. . . . The supporters of Mr. Blaine have chosen by his nomination to raise the question of official integrity as an indispensable qualification for the chief office in the govenment. Such an issue cannot be evaded, and it is the paramount issue of this election. But if

those who are utterly unable to impeach Mr. Cleveland's official integrity, or to establish that of Mr. Blaine, should invite a contest of the comparative decency of their past and private lives, the contest must be declined for the honor of the American name. A controversy for the Presidency which should turn upon such a discussion would be the most disgusting and degrading in our history.

[The hope expressed by this journal proved futile. Panicky Democrats, with no encouragement from Cleveland, discovered a disconcerting date on the headstone over the grave of the firstborn Blaine child. It indicated that the baby had arrived within three months of the marriage. Blaine hastened to explain this irregularity by pointing to two wedding ceremonies several months apart. He also brought a libel suit against an Indiana newspaper, but subsequently dropped it. Someone—presumably a Republican—thoughtfully and surreptitiously destroyed the evidence by chiseling away the offensive date.]

E. Cleveland Takes Command

1. Cleveland Pleads for Tariff Reduction (1885)

The financial embarrassments of Cleveland's first administration, oddly enough, stemmed from too much money in the Treasury. The great bulk of federal revenue then came from tariff duties, which the consumer repaid as a hidden tax in the increased price of the import. The only feasible way to reduce the unnecessarily large inflow to the Treasury was to reduce the tariff, and such a reduction was bound to arouse the high-protectionists, mostly Republicans but some Democrats as well. Cleveland, never one to shrink from disagreeable duty, courageously recommended such a remedy in his first annual message to Congress. Is he really hostile to protection? Why does he single out a certain class of items for reduction?

The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the government justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our government is but the means established by the will of a free people, by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection. And it is never better administered, and its true spirit is never better observed, than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the government, and indirectly paid by the people, from customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

Justice and fairness dictate that, in any modification of our present laws relating to

[1]J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), vol. 8, p. 341.

revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed.

We should also deal with the subject in such manner as to protect the interests of American labor, which is the capital of our workingmen. Its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy.

Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. The amount of such reduction having been determined, the inquiry follows: Where can it best be remitted and what articles can best be released from duty in the interest of our citizens?

I think the reductions should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessaries of life. We thus directly lessen the cost of living in every family of the land, and release to the people in evey humble home a larger measure of the rewards of frugal industry.

2. Philadelphians Criticize Cleveland (1887)

To Cleveland's repeated pleas for tariff reduction, the protectionists, both Republicans and Democrats, turned a deaf ear. The president finally decided to arouse the country by taking the unprecedented step of devoting his entire annual message to one subject—the tariff and its implications. Old-line Democratic politicians, fearful that such boat-rocking tactics would lose the next presidential election, vainly urged him to reconsider. But, as one of his critics remarked, he would rather be wrong than President. In his sensational tariff message of 1887, he declared that the surplus confronted the nation with a "condition" and "not a theory." He called for a "slight reduction" of the tariff and branded as "irrelevant" and "mischievous" Republican charges of "free trade." In what particular is the following reaction of the Philadelphia Press *(Republican) most unfair?*

A thousand thanks to President Cleveland for the bold, manly, and unequivocal avowal of his extreme free-trade purposes! And a thousand rebukes and defeats for the false, dangerous, and destructive policy which he thus frankly and unreservedly proclaims!

The message deserves all the glory of courage, all the praise of high public issue, all the condemnation of utter, ruinous heresy.

It is a surprise in its method and a still greater surprise in its matter. It comes like the sudden, echoing boom of a great gun signaling a crucial fight on unexpected ground. In its immediate flash of light and in its broad bearings it looms up as one of the most momentous political events since the war.

It plants the President and his party squarely on free trade; it clarifies the next presidential battle as by a lightning stroke; it makes free trade *vs.* protection the overshadowing issue; it dwarfs and dismisses all other questions; it clears away all cowardly evasions and juggling subterfuges; it ends all pitiful personal bespattering; and it summons the American people to decide the supreme question whether the

[2] Quoted in *Public Opinion 4,* no. 193 (December 10, 1887).

grand protective system which has built up our splendid industries shall be overthrown or not!

For the distinct and emphatic manner in which the President has faced and forced this paramount issue he deserves all credit; for the wrongs, the perils, and the inevitable disasters of his policy he must be crushed unless the people would have their own vital interests crushed.

3. The New York Times *Acclaims Courage (1887)*

The New York Times, *an independent newspaper with Democratic leanings, regarded Cleveland's tariff message as statesmanlike but politically unwise. Explain why, in the light of this editorial.*

Mr. Cleveland has done an act of statesmanship in the best sense. Recognizing a great duty, he has performed it with courage, with firmness, and at the right time. And he has performed it so that every honest man must see that it is an honest act—disinterested, faithful to the requirements of conscience, without hope or purpose of personal or party advantage except such as comes from the public recognition of public service.

Judged by an ordinary standard of political expediency the President's act is inexpedient. He has forced upon his party an issue as to which the party is divided, and so divided that unless the minority yield, it can defeat the will of the majority. He has done this on the eve of a national context in which a considerable number of men of influence in the party have been urging him to avoid this issue, and threatening him and the party with disaster if he did not avoid it.

On the other hand, there is nothing in this issue, thus presented, by which Mr. Cleveland could hope to draw from the Republican Party any votes to compensate those he is in danger of losing, and which he has been warned over and again by leaders of his own party that he would lose.

Nor this alone, for if the protectionist faction in the Democratic Party carry out their own desires, or do what they have continually declared that they would do, Mr. Cleveland has done the one thing by which he could imperil the prospect of his own renomination. From the point of view of the politician, he has shown a courage that is temerity in the pursuit of an end of no value to himself.

[The Cleveland–Harrison presidential canvass of 1888 hinged on the tariff, not the private morals of the candidates, and the Republican Harrison won. The tariff message of 1887 is commonly blamed for the Democratic defeat. But Cleveland actually polled in excess of 100,000 more popular votes than his opponent, and he showed increased strength in states like New Jersey and Rhode Island, where manufacturing was strong. Other factors were no doubt important in tipping the scales, notably the blundering interference of the British minister in Washington, Sackville-West, who declared in effect that a vote for Cleveland was a vote for England.]

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[3] *The New York Times,* December 7, 1887.

Thought Provokers

1. How might one explain the fact that Grant was a success as a general but an embarassment as a president?
2. Could a better case be made for the spoils system in 1883 than now? What can be said for and against partisanship in public life? What major changes did civil service reform effect?
3. What might have been the consequences for whites and blacks in the South if the election of 1876 had gone to Tilden?
4. Many Republicans who supported the Civil Service Reform Act were accused of hypocrisy. Explain. Is it desirable to have public officials, including Supreme Court justices, hold office for life?
5. With reference to the tariff-surplus problem, what did Cleveland mean when he said that "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation"? In what ways might the "surplus" have been legitimately spent?

27

Industry Comes of Age, 1865–1900

That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all.

Motto of The Knights of Labor

Prologue: A few of the railroad companies after 1865 had more employees than a number of the state governments—and more power to inflict harm. When cutthroat competition failed to eliminate abuses, Congress finally passed the precedent-shattering Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. But this pioneer measure fell far short of providing adequate safeguards. Competing industries had meanwhile been merging as monopolistic trusts, notably Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. Congress belatedly tried to restrain these monsters with the rather toothless Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. The emerging "Titans of Industry"—notably Andrew Carnegie—also developed an articulate social and economic philosophy to justify the new social order they were helping to create. The new industrial regime transformed the lives of working Americans, and stimulated the trade-union movement. The Knights of Labor, who in the 1870s and 1880s made the most successful attempt until then to organize the nation's army of toilers, amassed considerable numerical strength. But they overreached themselves in the 1880s, and the wage-conscious American Federation of Labor, with its component skilled unions, forged to the front.

A. The Problem of the Railroads

1. A Defense of Long-Haul Rates (1885)

A serious grievance against the "railroad rascals" was discrimination. Their rates would often be lower where a line had competition, and higher elsewhere. Charges were sometimes heavier for a short haul than for a long haul over the same track. At one time the freight rate on cotton goods shipped from Boston to Denver was $1.79 a hundredweight; if the shipment went fourteen hundred miles further, to San Francisco, the total charge was only $1.50. Is the following justification of this practice by a southern railroad manager (H. S. Haines) convincing? Why did certain farmers favor this type of discrimination?

[1] Report of the Senate Select Committee on Interstate Commerce, 49th Cong., 1st sess., *Senate Reports,* no. 46, vol. 2, part 1, Appendix, pp. 130–131.

If it costs $600,000 per annum to keep up a [rail]road, then the money must come out of the freight and passengers that are obliged to pass over it. Whether the amount of business be small or large, the money to keep up the road must be forthcoming, or it will go to decay.

If 100,000 bales of cotton were the only freight that passed over a road which carried no passengers, that cotton would have to pay a freight of $6 per bale if it cost $600,000 per annum to maintain the road, and no legislation could make it otherwise. But if the quantity of cotton to be transported could be increased to 200,000 bales, then the cost of transportation could be fixed at $3 per bale, to the great joy and relief of the shippers of the first 100,000 bales; and yet the $600,000 required to operate the road would be forthcoming.

Now, suppose that the community which raised this second 100,000 bales had a water route to market and said to the railroad company, "It only costs a dollar per bale to ship our cotton by water, but we prefer to ship it by rail at the same price." Who would be benefited if the company took the cotton at a dollar per bale? Who but the local shippers themselves, for without this addition to the business of the road they would have to pay $600,000 per year, or $6 per bale, to keep up the road, while with the $100,000 obtained from the other 100,000 bales of competitive or through cotton they would have to pay but $500,000 or $5 per bale on their own cotton. Should they turn around upon the managers of the railroad and say that it was unjust to the local shippers to charge only a dollar per bale on the through cotton?

No, it is not only just, but to the benefit of the local shippers, that the railroad which they are obliged to use should get all the business it can from those who are not obliged to use it, and at any rate the latter choose to pay, provided—and it is a very important provision—that such competitive business adds something to the net revenue of the road; or, in other words, if it be carried at anything above the actual cost of transportation.

2. President Dillon Supports Stock Watering (1891)

Critics of the railroads especially condemned "stock watering"—the practice of issuing stocks and bonds grossly in excess of the value of the property. The more the stock was watered, the higher the freight and passenger rates would have to be to ensure a normal return on the investment. Sidney Dillon, a later president of the Union Pacific Railroad, stoutly defended stock watering. Beginning his career at the age of seven as a water boy—appropriately enough—on a New York railway, he ultimately amassed a fortune by building railroads, including the Union Pacific. Present at the "wedding of the rails" in Utah in 1869, he retained one of the final silver spikes until his death. Here he attacks regulatory legislation in an article for a popular magazine. What is his social philosophy? Why does he place his faith in competition and the courts?

Statutory enactments interfere with the business of the railway, even to the minutest details, and always to its detriment. This sort of legislation proceeds on the theory that the railroad is a public enemy; that it has its origin in the selfish desire of a

[2] Sidney Dillon, "The West and the Railroads," *North American Review 152* (April 1891): 445–448, passim.

company of men to make money out of the public; that it will destroy the public unless it is kept within bounds; and that it is impossible to enact too many laws tending to restrain the monster. The advocates of these statutes may not state their theory in these exact words. But these words certainly embody their theory, if they have any theory at all beyond such prejudices as are born of the marriage between ignorance and demagogism.

Many of the grievances that are urged against railways are too puerile to be seriously noticed, but the reader will pardon a few words as to "overcapitalization." . . .

Now, it is impossible to estimate in advance the productive power of this useful and untiring servant. Sometimes a railway is capitalized too largely, and then it pays smaller dividends; sometimes not largely enough, and then the dividends are much in excess of the usual interest of money. In the former case stockholders are willing to reduce the face of their shares, or wait until increase of population increases revenue; in the latter they accept an enlarged issue. But, as a matter of reason and principle, the question of capitalization concerns the stockholders, and the stockholders only. A citizen, simply as a citizen, commits an impertinence when he questions the right of any corporation to capitalize its properties at any sum whatever. . . .

Then as to prices, these will always be taken care of by the great law of competition, which obtains wherever any human service is to be performed for a pecuniary consideration. That any railway, anywhere in a republic, should be a monopoly is not a supposable case. If between two points, A and B, a railway is constructed, and its charges for fares and freight are burdensome to the public and unduly profitable to itself, it will not be a long time before another railway will be laid between these points, and then competition may be safely trusted to reduce prices. We may state it as an axiom that no common carrier can ever maintain burdensome and oppressive rates of service permanently or for a long period. . . .

Given a company of men pursuing a lawful and useful occupation,—why interfere with them? Why empower a body of other men, fortuitously assembled, not possessing superior knowledge, and accessible often to unworthy influences, to dictate to these citizens how they shall manage their private affairs? Wherever such management conflicts with public policy or private rights, there are district attorneys and competent lawyers and upright courts to take care that the commonwealth or the citizen shall receive no detriment. . . .

3. General Weaver Deplores Stock Watering (1892)

General James B. Weaver, a walrus-mustached veteran of the Civil War, had early experienced extortion when he had to borrow $100 at 33⅓ percent interest to finish law school. Fiery orator and relentless foe of the railroads and other "predatory" corporations, he won the presidential nomination of the People's Party (Populists) in 1892. (See p. 115.) His book A Call to Action, *published during the campaign, condemned stock waterers. To what extent does the following excerpt from it cast doubts on the testimony of President Dillon, whose article, presented in the previous selection, he sharply attacks? What is Weaver's view of the citizens' "impertinence"?*

[3]J. B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (Des Moines: Iowa Printing Company, 1892), pp. 412–413.

In their delirium of greed the managers of our transportation systems disregard both private right and the public welfare. Today they will combine and bankrupt their weak rivals, and by the expenditure of a trifling sum possess themselves of properties which cost the outlay of millions. Tomorrow they will capitalize their booty for five times the cost, issue their bonds, and proceed to levy tariffs upon the people to pay dividends upon the fraud.

Take for example the Kansas Midland. It cost $10,200 per mile. It is capitalized at $53,024 per mile. How are the plain plodding people to defend themselves against such flagrant injustice?

Mr. Sidney Dillon, president of the Union Pacific, . . . is many times a millionaire, and the road over which he presides was built wholly by public funds and by appropriations of the public domain. The road never cost Mr. Dillon nor his associates a single penny. It is now capitalized at $106,000 per mile! This company owes the government $50,000,000 with accruing interest which is destined to accumulate for many years. The public lien exceeds the entire cost of the road, and yet this government, which Mr. Dillon defies, meekly holds a second mortgage to secure its claim. . . .

It is pretty clear that it would not be safe for the public to take the advice of either Mr. Dillon or Mr. Gould [a railroad promoter] as to the best method of dealing with the transportation problem.

[Responding to a mounting public outcry, in 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act—the first regulatory legislation of its kind in U.S. history. Among various reforms, it forbade unreasonable or unjust rates, discriminatory rates or practices, the payment of rebates, the pooling of profits among competing lines, and a higher charge for a short haul than for a long haul. In practice, however, the law proved to be riddled with loopholes, and subsequent legislation was required to provide adequate safeguards.]

B. The Trusts and Monopoly

1. Rockefeller Justifies Rebates (1909)

John D. Rockefeller, who amassed a fortune of nearly a billion dollars, lived to give away more than half of his "oil-gotten gains" in philanthropy. A prominent lay Baptist, he early donated one-tenth of his income to charities and, in 1859, helped a Cincinnati black man to buy his slave wife. As a founding father of the mighty Standard Oil Company, he here puts the best possible face on railroad rebates, which were finally banned by the Interstate Commerce Act. He tactfully neglects to add that at one time his company also extorted secret payments ("drawbacks") from the railways on shipments by his competitors. What were the advantages to the railroads of the rebate system? To what extent did they, rather than Standard Oil, profit from these under-the-counter deals?

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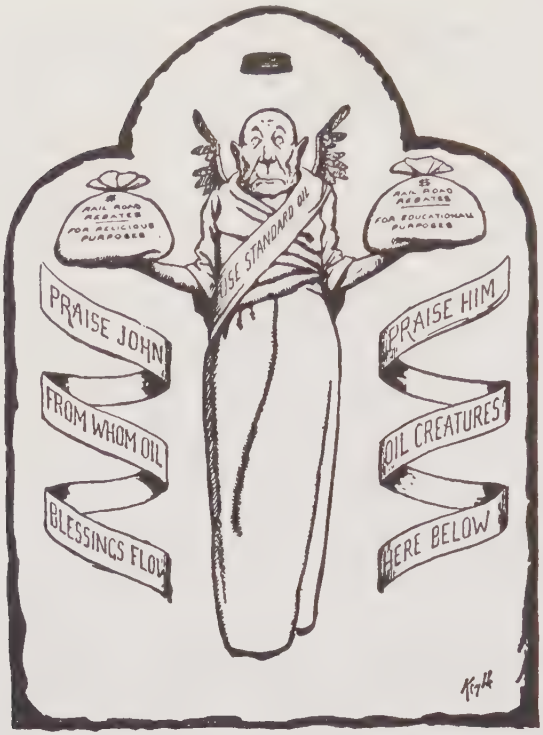
[1]J. D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (1909), pp. 107–109, 111–112. Copyright 1909, Doubleday & Company, Inc.; copyright renewed 1936, John D. Rockefeller. By permission of the Executors of the Estate of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.



The Sanctification of Rockefeller
A muckracking satire on Rockefeller's donating part of his rebate-swollen oil fortune for religious and educational purposes. (Collier's, 1905)

Of all the subjects that seem to have attracted the attention of the public to the affairs of the Standard Oil Company, the matter of rebates from railroads has perhaps been uppermost. The Standard Oil Company of Ohio, of which I was president, did receive rebates from the railroads prior to 1880, but received no advantages for which it did not give full compensation.

The reason for rebates was that such was the railroads' method of business. A public rate was made and collected by the railroad companies, but, so far as my knowledge extends, was seldom retained in full; a portion of it was repaid to the shippers as a rebate.

By this method the real rate of freight which any shipper paid was not known by his competitors nor by other railroad companies, the amount being a matter of bargain with the carrying company. Each shipper made the best bargain that he could, but whether he was doing better than his competitor was only a matter of conjecture. Much depended upon whether the shipper had the advantage of competition of carriers.

The Standard Oil Company of Ohio, being situated at Cleveland, had the advantage of different carrying lines, as well as of water transportation in the summer. Taking advantage of those facilities, it made the best bargains possible for its freights. Other companies sought to do the same.

The Standard gave advantages to the railroads for the purpose of reducing the cost of transportation of freight. It offered freights in large quantity, carloads and trainloads. It furnished loading facilities and discharging facilities at great cost. It

provided regular traffic, so that a railroad could conduct its transportation to the best advantage and use its equipment to the full extent of its hauling capacity without waiting for the refiner's convenience. It exempted railroads from liability for fire and carried its own insurance. It provided at its own expense terminal facilities which permitted economies in handling. For these services it obtained contracts for special allowances on freights. But notwithstanding these special allowances, this traffic from the Standard Oil Company was far more profitable to the railroad companies than the smaller and irregular traffic, which might have paid a higher rate.

To understand the situation which affected the giving and taking of rebates, it must be remembered that the railroads were all eager to enlarge their freight traffic. They were competing with the facilities and rates offered by the boats on lake and canal and by the pipe lines. All these means of transporting oil cut into the business of the railroads, and they were desperately anxious to successfully meet this competition. . . .

The profits of the Standard Oil Company did not come from advantages given by railroads. The railroads, rather, were the ones who profited by the traffic of the Standard Oil Company, and whatever advantage it received in its constant efforts to reduce rates of rates of freight was only one of the many elements of lessening cost to the consumer which enabled us to increase our volume of business the world over because we could reduce the selling price.

How general was the complicated bargaining for rates can hardly be imagined; everyone got the best rate that he could. After the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act, it was learned that many small companies which shipped limited quantities had received lower rates than we had been able to secure, notwithstanding the fact that we had made large investments to provide for terminal facilities, regular shipments, and other economies.

I well remember a bright man from Boston who had much to say about rebates and drawbacks. He was an old and experienced merchant, and looked after his affairs with a cautious and watchful eye. He feared that some of his competitors were doing better than he in bargaining for rates, and he delivered himself of this conviction:

"I am opposed on principle to the whole system of rebates and drawbacks—unless I am in it."

2. An Oil Man Goes Bankrupt (1899)

Rockefeller's great passion was not so much a love of power or money as a dislike of waste and inefficiency. Having begun as a $3.50-a-week employee, he ultimately moved into the chaotically competitive oil business with a vision that enabled him to see far ahead, and then "around the corner." Overlooking no detail, he insisted that every drop of solder used on his oil cans be counted. By acquiring or controlling warehouses, pipelines, tankers, railroads, oil fields, and refineries, he helped forge the United States' first great trust in 1882. He produced a superior product at a lowered price but, in line with existing ethics, resorted to such "refined robbery" as ruthless price cutting, dictation to dealers, deception, espionage, and rebates. George Rice, one

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[2] *Report of the U.S. Industrial Commission,* vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 687, 704.

of his ill-starred competitors, here complains to the U.S. Industrial Commission. What are his principal grievances?

I am a citizen of the United States, born in the state of Vermont. Producer of petroleum for more than thirty years, and a refiner of same for twenty years. But my refinery has been shut down during the past three years, owing to the powerful and all-prevailing machinations of the Standard Oil Trust, in criminal collusion and conspiracy with the railroads to destroy my business of twenty years of patient industry, toil, and money in building up, wholly by and through unlawful freight discriminations.

I have been driven from pillar to post, from one railway line to another, for twenty years, in the absolutely vain endeavor to get equal and just freight rates with the Standard Oil Trust, so as to be able to run my refinery at anything approaching a profit, but which I have been utterly unable to do. I have had to consequently shut down, with my business absolutely ruined and my refinery idle.

This has been a very sad, bitter, and ruinous experience for me to endure, but I have endeavored to the best of my circumstances and ability to combat it the utmost I could for many a long waiting year, expecting relief through the honest and proper execution of our laws, which have [has] as yet, however, never come. But I am still living in hopes, though I may die in despair. . . .

Outside of rebates or freight discriminations, I had no show with the Standard Oil Trust, because of their unlawfully acquired monopoly, by which they could temporarily cut only my customers' prices, and below cost, leaving the balance of the town, nine-tenths, uncut. This they can easily do without any appreciable harm to their general trade, and thus effectually wipe out all competition, as fully set forth. Standard Oil prices generally were so high that I could sell my goods 2 to 3 cents a gallon below their prices and make a nice profit, but these savage attacks and [price] cuts upon my customers' goods . . . plainly showed . . . their power for evil, and the uselessness to contend against such odds. . . .

3. Weaver Attacks the Trusts (1892)

Rockefeller's Standard Oil of Ohio was not authorized to operate outside the state, so in 1882 the Standard Oil Trust, the first of its kind, was born. "A corporation of corporations," it secretly merged forty-one different concerns. In 1892 the courts held this trust to be illegally in restraint of trade, but Rockefeller and his associates were able to achieve their semimonopolistic ends by less formal agreements. General Weaver, the fiery Populist candidate for president in 1892 (see later, p. 115), here assails the trusts, whose unwritten motto was said to be "Let us prey." Note his enumeration of the evils of the trusts. What does he make of the monopolists' claim that the elimination of wasteful competition is advantageous to the consumer?

The trust is organized commerce with the Golden Rule excluded and the trustees exempted from the restraints of conscience.

They argue that competition means war and is therefore destructive. The trust is

[3]J. B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (Des Moines: Iowa Printing Company, 1892), pp. 392–393.

eminently docile and hence seeks to destroy competition in order that we may have peace. But the peace which they give us is like that which exists after the leopard has devoured the kid. This professed desire for peace is a false pretense. They dread the war of competition because the people share in the spoils. When rid of that, they always turn their guns upon the masses and depredate without limit or mercy.

The main weapons of the trust are threats, intimidation, bribery, fraud, wreck, and pillage. Take one well-authenticated instance in the history of the Oat Meal Trust as an example. In 1887 this trust decided that part of their mills should stand idle. They were accordingly closed. This resulted in the discharge of a large number of laborers who had to suffer in consequence. The mills which were continued in operation would produce seven million barrels of meal during the year. Shortly after shutting down, the trust advanced the price of meal one dollar per barrel, and the public was forced to stand the assessment. The mills were more profitable when idle than when in operation.

The Sugar Trust has it within its power to levy a tribute of $30,000,000 upon the people of the United States by simply advancing the price of sugar one cent per pound for one year. If popular tumult breaks out and legislation in restraint of these depredations is threatened, they can advance prices, extort campaign expenses and corruption funds from the people, and force the disgruntled multitude to furnish the sinews of war for their own destruction. They not only have the power to do these things, but it is their known mode of warfare, and they actually practice it from year to year.

The most distressing feature of this war of the trusts is the fact that they control the articles which the plain people consume in their daily life. It cuts off their accumulations and deprives them of the staff upon which they fain would lean in their old age.

C. The New Philosophy of Materialism

1. Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth (1889)

Andrew Carnegie, the ambitious little Scottish steel magnate, spent the first part of his life in the United States making a half-billion or so dollars, and the rest of it giving his fortune away. Not a gambler or speculator at heart, he gambled everything on the future prosperity of the United States. His social conscience led him to preach "the gospel of wealth," notably in the following magazine article. Why does he believe that the millionaire is a trustee for the poor, and that direct charity is an evil?

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: first, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial

[1] Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review 148* (June 1889): 661–664.

The Macmillion
The Scotsman Carnegie in 1901 provided £2,000,000 for establishing free education at four Scottish universities, each of which is represented by an upturned hat.
(Punch *[London], 1901)*

results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves. . . .

Those who would administer wisely must, indeed, be wise, for one of the serious obstacles to the improvement of our race is indiscriminate charity. It were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy. Of every thousand dollars spent in so-called charity today, it is probable that $950 is unwisely spent; so spent, indeed, as to produce the very evils which it proposes to mitigate or cure.

A well-known writer of philosophic books admitted the other day that he had given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend. He knew nothing of the habits of this beggar; knew not the use that would be made of this money, although he had every reason to suspect that it would be spent improperly. This man professed to be a disciple of Herbert Spencer; yet the quarter-dollar given that night will probably work more injury than all the money which its thoughtless donor will ever be able to give in true charity will do good. He only gratified his own feelings, saved himself from annoyance—and this was

probably one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life, for in all respects he is most worthy.

In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change. Everyone has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook.

But the amount which can be wisely given by the individual for individuals is necessarily limited by his lack of knowledge of the circumstances connected with each. He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in almsgiving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.

The rich man is thus almost restricted to following the examples of Peter Cooper, Enoch Pratt of Baltimore, Mr. Pratt of Brooklyn, Senator Stanford,* and others, who know that the best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise—parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind; works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste; and public institutions of various kinds, which will improve the general condition of the people;—in this manner returning their surplus wealth to the mass of their fellows in the forms best calculated to do them lasting good. . . .

The man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth, which was his to administer during life, will pass away "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," no matter to what uses he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning Wealth, obedience to which is destined some day to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor, and to bring "Peace on earth, among men good will."

2. The Nation *Challenges Carnegie (1901)*

Carnegie avoided the "disgrace" of dying rich. He gave away $350 million of the fortune he had accumulated. Some $60 million went to public municipal libraries, many named after himself. Finley Peter Dunne ("Mr. Dooley") poked fun at this immodest arrangement, especially the feature that required the community to provide the site, the books, the upkeep: "Ivry time he [Carnegie] dhrops a dollar, it makes a noise like a waither [waiter] fallin' downstairs with a tray iv dishes." The New York Nation *reviewed rather critically Carnegie's essay on the gospel of wealth when it was*

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*Cooper founded an institute in New York City for educating the working classes; Enoch Pratt established a free library in Baltimore; Charles Pratt created an institute in Brooklyn for training skilled workers; and Leland Stanford endowed Stanford University.

[2] *The Nation* (New York) *62* (January 17, 1901): 55.

published in book form. Does Carnegie or The Nation *have the better of the argument as to the baleful effects of inherited riches? How have these issues changed since Carnegie's day?*

Mr. Carnegie's philosophy is perfectly simple, and it is stated clearly and forcibly. He holds, first, that the present competitive system, which necessarily creates millionaires, or allows men to get rich, is essential to progress, and should not be altered. Secondly, rich men should not leave their fortunes to their children, because their children will be demoralized by having money to spend which they have not earned. Thirdly, rich men should not indulge in luxury. Fourthly, they should dispose of their fortunes while living, or the government should confiscate them at their death. Fifthly, the only practical way of disposing of them is to found libraries and other public institutions, requiring the public to contribute to their support.

Evidently, this system assumes that millionaires are sinners above other men. The number of persons who have wealth sufficient to maintain their children in idleness is very large, and such persons are able to indulge in many luxuries. We cannot concede that the children of millionaires will go straight to perdition if they inherit their parents' wealth, while those who get but a hundred thousand shall be immune. Everyone familiar with the life of the common people knows that an inheritance of a very few thousand dollars may demoralize a young man, and this principle has been illustrated on a prodigious scale in our pension largesses.

On the other hand, virtue among the children of millionaires is not quite so rare as Mr. Carnegie intimates. Instances are known where inherited wealth has been wisely administered by men of respectable and even irreproachable habits. Mr. Carnegie's dictum, "I would as soon leave to my son a curse as the almighty dollar," is too sweeping. Millions of people who are not millionaires desire to give their children the advantages of wealth, and this desire is one of the greatest incentives to accumulation. Provided they educate their children wisely, it is impossible to maintain that the gift of these advantages is necessarily injurious.

On this point Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Gladstone [a British statesman] had some debate; the latter contending that "the hereditary transmission of wealth and position, in conjunction with the calls of occupation and of responsibility, is a good and not an evil thing." Of course, this is nothing but the old conflict between the ideals of democracy and aristocracy, and we need not restate it. . . .

Probably we shall see the experiment of confiscating large fortunes at the death of their owners tried on an increasing scale, together with progressive taxes on incomes.

3. Conwell Deifies the Dollar (c. 1900)

The Reverend Russell H. Conwell was a remarkable Baptist preacher of Philadelphia who founded Temple University and had a large hand in establishing three hospitals. He delivered his famous lecture, Acres of Diamonds, *more than six thousand times. The proceeds went toward the education of some ten thousand young men. His basic theme was that in seeking riches people were apt to overlook the opportunities (the "acres of diamonds") in their own backyards. Critics charged that*

[3] R. H. Conwell, *Acres of Diamonds* (1901), pp. 145–147, 151. Reprinted from *Modern Eloquence.*

Conwell was merely throwing the cloak of religion about the materialistic ideals of his time, especially since he combined philanthropy with dollar-chasing. In the following excerpt from his famous lecture, what is his attitude toward the poor? How might one reconcile this brand of Christianity with the teachings of Christ, who said to the young man, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor . . ." (Matthew 19:21)?

You have no right to be poor. It is your duty to be rich.

Oh, I know well that there are some things higher, sublimer than money! Ah, yes, there are some things sweeter, holier than gold! Yet I also know that there is not one of those things but is greatly enhanced by the use of money.

"Oh," you will say, "Mr. Conwell, can you, as a Christian teacher, tell the young people to spend their lives making money?"

Yes, I do. Three times I say, I do, I do, I do. You ought to make money. Money is power. Think how much good you could do if you had money now. Money is power, and it ought to be in the hands of good men. It would be in the hands of good men if we comply with the Scripture teachings, where God promises prosperity to the righteous man. That means more than being goody-good—it means the all-round righteous man. You should be a righteous man. If you were, you would be rich.

I need to guard myself right here. Because one of my theological students came to me once to labor with me, for heresy, inasmuch as I had said that money was power.

He said: "Mr. Conwell, I feel it my duty to tell you that the Scriptures say that money 'is the root of all evil.' ". . .

So he read: "The *love* of money is the root of all evil." Indeed it is. The *love* of money is the root of all evil. The love of money, rather than the love of the good it secures, is a dangerous evil in the community. The desire to get hold of money, and to hold on to it, "hugging the dollar until the eagle squeals," is the root of all evil. But it is a grand ambition for men to have the desire to gain money, that they may use it for the benefit of their fellow men.

Young man! you may never have the opportunity to charge at the head of your nation's troops on some Santiago's heights. Young woman! you may never be called on to go out in the seas like Grace Darling to save suffering humanity. But every one of you can earn money honestly, and with that money you can fight the battles of peace; and the victories of peace are always grander than those of war. I say then to you that you ought to be rich. . . .

No man has a right to go into business and not make money. It is a crime to go into business and lose money, because it is a curse to the rest of the community. No man has a moral right to transact business unless he makes something out of it. He has also no right to transact business unless the man he deals with has an opportunity also to make something. Unless he lives and lets live, he is not an honest man in business. There are no exceptions to this great rule. . . .

It is cruel to slander the rich because they have been successful. It is a shame to "look down" upon the rich the way we do. They are not scoundrels because they have gotten money. They have blessed the world. They have gone into great enterprises that have enriched the nation and the nation has enriched them. It is all wrong for us to accuse a rich man of dishonesty simply because he secured money. Go through this city and your very best people are among your richest people. Owners of property are always the best citizens. It is all wrong to say they are not good.

D. The Rise of the New South

1. Grady Issues a Challenge (1889)

The industrialized South—the new South—was slow to rise from the ashes of civil conflict. A kind of inferiority complex settled over the area. Henry W. Grady, eloquent editor of the Atlanta Constitution, *did more than anyone else to break the spell. With Irish wit he preached the need for diversified crops, a readjustment of the freed slaves, the encouragement of manufacturing, and the development of local resources. In demand as a speaker, he broadcast his message widely and with demonstrable effect. The South of the 1880s was experiencing a marvelous economic boom, and new industries were spreading like its own honeysuckle. The following is a selection from a speech in Boston in which Grady contrasted the broken-down South of Reconstruction days with the new industrialized South. What major lesson must this passage have impressed upon his northern listeners?*

I attended a funeral once in Pickens county in my state [Georgia]. A funeral is not usually a cheerful object to me unless I could select the subject. I think I could, perhaps, without going a hundred miles from here, find the material for one or two cheerful funerals. Still, this funeral was peculiarly sad. It was a poor "one-gallus" fellow, whose breeches struck him under the armpits and hit him at the other end about the knee—he didn't believe in décolleté clothes.

They buried him in the midst of a marble quarry—they cut through solid marble to make his grave—and yet a little tombstone they put above him was from Vermont. They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within the touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburgh. They buried him by the side of the best sheep-grazing country on earth, and yet the wool in the coffin bands and the coffin bands themselves were brought from the North. The South didn't furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground.

There they put him away and the clods rattled down on his coffin, and they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and for which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones.

Now we have improved on that. We have got the biggest marble-cutting establishment on earth within a hundred yards of that grave. We have got a half-dozen woolen mills right around it, and iron mines, and iron furnaces, and iron factories. We are coming to meet you. We are going to take a noble revenge, as my friend Mr. Carnegie said last night, by invading every inch of your territory with iron, as you invaded ours [in the Civil War] twenty-nine years ago.

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[1]Joel C. Harris, *Life of Henry W. Grady* (New York: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1890), pp. 204–205. Shortly after delivering this speech, Grady contracted pneumonia and died.

2. A Yankee Visits the New South (1887)

New England–born Charles Dudley Warner—lecturer, newspaper editor, essayist, and novelist—shone as one of the literary lights of the post–Civil War years. World traveler and humorist, he collaborated with his friend and neighbor Mark Twain in writing a satirical novel that gave a name to an era, The Gilded Age *(1873). He revisited the South, after a two-year absence, on an extensive six-week tour. The result was the charming magazine article from which the following section is excerpted. What is most remarkable about the industrial flowering of the South, and who or what was primarily responsible for it?*

When we come to the New Industrial South, the change is marvelous. . . . Instead of a South devoted to agriculture and politics, we find a South wide awake to business, excited and even astonished at the development of its own immense resources in metals, marbles, coal, timber, fertilizers, eagerly laying lines of communication, rapidly opening mines, building furnaces, foundries, and all sorts of shops for utilizing the native riches.

It is like the discovery of a new world. When the Northerner finds great foundries in Virginia using only (with slight exceptions) the products of Virginia iron and coal mines; when he finds Alabama and Tennessee making iron so good and so cheap that it finds ready market in Pennsylvania, and foundries multiplying near the great furnaces for supplying Northern markets; when he finds cotton mills running to full capacity on grades of cheap cottons universally in demand throughout the South and Southwest; when he finds small industries, such as paper box factories and wooden bucket and tub factories, sending all they can make into the North and widely over the West; when he sees the loads of most beautiful marbles shipped North; when he learns that some of the largest and most important engines and mill machinery were made in Southern shops; when he finds in Richmond a "pole locomotive," made to run on logs laid end to end, and drag out from Michigan forests and Southern swamps lumber hitherto inaccessible; when he sees worn-out highlands in Georgia and Carolina bear more cotton than ever before by help of a fertilizer the base of which is the cotton seed itself (worth more as a fertilizer than it was before the oil was extracted from it); when he sees a multitude of small shops giving employment to men, women, and children who never had any work of that sort to do before; and when he sees Roanoke iron cast in Richmond into car irons, and returned to a car factory in Roanoke which last year sold three hundred cars to the New York and New England Railroad—he begins to open his eyes.

The South is manufacturing a great variety of things needed in the house, on the farm, and in the shops, for home consumption, and already sends to the North and West several manufactured products. With iron, coal, timber contiguous and easily obtained, the amount sent out is certain to increase as the labor becomes more skillful. The most striking industrial development today is in iron, coal, lumber, and marbles; the more encouraging for the self-sustaining life of the Southern people is the multiplication of small industries in nearly every city I visited.

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[2]C. D. Warner, "The South Revisited," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine 74* (March 1887): 638–639.

When I have been asked what impressed me most in this hasty tour, I have always said that the most notable thing was that everybody was at work. In many cities this was literally true: every man, woman, and child was actively employed, and in most there were fewer idlers than in many Northern towns. There are, of course, slow places, antiquated methods, easygoing ways, a-hundred-years-behind-the-time makeshifts, but the spirit in all the centers, and leavening the whole country, is work. Perhaps the greatest revolution of all in Southern sentiment is in regard to the dignity of labor. Labor is honorable, made so by the example of the best in the land. There are, no doubt, fossils or Bourbons, sitting in the midst of the ruins of their estates, martyrs to an ancient pride; but usually the leaders in business and enterprise bear names well known in politics and society. The nonsense that it is beneath the dignity of any man or woman to work for a living is pretty much eliminated from the Southern mind. It still remains true that the purely American type is prevalent in the South, but in all the cities the business signboards show that the enterprising Hebrew is increasingly prominent as merchant and trader, and he is becoming a plantation owner as well.

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the public mind that the South, to use a comprehensible phrase, "has joined the procession." Its mind is turned to the development of its resources, to business, to enterprise, to education, to economic problems; it is marching with the North in the same purpose of wealth by industry. It is true that the railways, mines, and furnaces could not have been without enormous investments of Northern capital, but I was continually surprised to find so many and important local industries the result solely of home capital, made and saved since the war.

E. Labor in Industrial America

1. In Praise of Mechanization (1897)

As capitalists competed for markets and profits, they pushed their workers ever harder. Factory laborers came to dread the "speedup"—the order to produce more goods in less time. The already screeching din of the shop floor then whined to an even higher pitch, as machines were made to run faster—and more dangerously. Some observers claimed that the peculiarly profit-hungry and competitive U.S. business environment rendered the conditions of labor in the United States particularly intolerable. Yet new workers by the millions fled the farms of both America and Europe to seek work tending the rattling industrial machines. In the following comments by a French economist who visited the United States near the end of the nineteenth century, how does he appraise the overall impact of mechanization? Is he convincing? What differences does he see between work conditions in Europe and those in the United States? What does he identify as the principal complaints of U.S. workers? Does he consider them justified?

[1] E. Levasseur, "The Concentration of Industry, and Machinery in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 9,* no. 2 (March 1897): 12–14, 18–19, 21–24.

"The pay here is good, but the labor is hard," said an Alsatian blacksmith employed in a large factory. I could verify nearly everywhere the truth of this remark, for I have seen such activity both in the small industry, where the tailors in the sweating-shops in New York worked with feverish rapidity, and in the great industry, where the butchers of the Armour packing house prepared 5800 hogs a day, where the cotton weavers tended as many as eight looms, or where the rolling-mill in Chicago turned out 1000 tons of rails in a day. Everywhere the machine goes very rapidly, and it commands; the workman has to follow. . . .

In the Senate inquiry of 1883, upon education and labor, a weaver of Fall River, who had been a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and who was then secretary of the Weavers' Union, said that he had worked seventeen years in England, and that conditions were much better than in America. The manufacturers there were not so desirous as they are here of working their men like horses or slaves; they do not work with the extraordinary rapidity which is customary at Fall River. In England, one man manages a pair of looms with two assistants; one between the looms and the other behind. In America, the manufacturer, with one or two exceptions, will not hear of that, and whatever the number of spindles they do not wish that a man shall have more than one assistant. The spindle is turned more rapidly; the laborers have more to do and for each loom Fall River produces more. . . .

The manufacturers judge that the movement [to mechanize] has been advantageous to workmen, as sellers of labor, because the level of salaries has been raised, as consumers of products, because they purchase more with the same sum, and as laborers, because their task has become less onerous, the machine doing nearly everything which requires great strength; the workman, instead of bringing his muscles into play, has become an inspector, using his intelligence. He is told that his specialized labor is degrading because monotonous. Is it more monotonous to overlook with the eye for ten hours several automatic looms, and to attach, from time to time, one thread to another with the finger, than to push for fourteen hours against the breast the arm of a hand-loom, pressing at the same time the pedals with the feet?

In proportion as the machines require more room, the ceilings become higher, the workshops larger, the hygienic conditions better. From a sanitary standpoint, there is no comparison between the large factory to-day and the hut of the peasant, or the tenement of the sweating system. The improvement of machinery and the growing power of industrial establishments, have diminished the price of a great number of goods, and this is one of the most laudable forward movements of industry whose object is to satisfy, as well as possible, the needs of man.

The laboring classes do not share this optimism. They reproach the machine with exhausting the physical powers of the laborer; but this can only apply to a very small number of cases, to those where the workman is at the same time the motive power, as in certain sewing-machines. They reproach it with demanding such continued attention that it enervates, and of leaving no respite to the laborer, through the continuity of its movement. This second complaint may be applicable in a much larger number of cases, particularly in the spinning industries and in weaving, where the workman manages more than four looms. They reproach the machine with degrading man by transforming him into a machine, which knows how to make but one movement, and that always the same. They reproach it with diminishing the number of skilled laborers, permitting in many cases the substitution of unskilled workers and

lowering the average level of wages. They reproach it with depriving, momentarily at least, every time that an invention modifies the work of the factory, a certain number of workmen of their means of subsistence, thus rendering the condition of all uncertain. They reproach it, finally, with reducing absolutely and permanently the number of persons employed for wages, and thus being indirectly injurious to all wage-earners who make among themselves a more disastrous competition, the more the opportunities for labor are restricted.

In one of the reports of the census of 1880, Mr. [Carroll D.] Wright examined other accusations which have been brought generally against manufacturing: (1) necessitating the employment of an excessive number of women and children, it tends to destroy the family ties; (2) it is injurious to health; (3) it tends toward intemperance, prodigality, and pauperism; (4) it encourages prostitution and criminality. It was not difficult to prove that these accusations rest upon errors or exaggerations.

To these grievances political economy replies by the general results of statistics, which show that the total number of laborers, far from having diminished, has steadily increased from one census to another in the United States; that, on the other hand, the total wages paid to laborers shows an increase of average wages, that the diminution in the price of goods is advantageous to consumers among whom are to be reckoned the wage-earners. These three facts are indisputable.

However, the American laborer is not reassured by such a reply, because he rarely consumes the goods he manufactures, because the average wages of the country is not necessarily the measure of his wages; because when dismissed in consequence of an improvement of machinery, he runs great risk of finding no employment in the same industry, while in another he finds it generally only after long delays; in the meantime, he has a family to support. Although the American is more mobile than the European, the transition is not easy either for one or the other. And on both sides of the Atlantic, there is individual misery and professional crises which touch painfully, very cruelly sometimes, the laboring classes. That fact is not to be disputed.

The chief of the Labor Bureau of New York has made a suggestive comparison: the United States and Great Britain, he says, are the countries which own and use the most machines. Compare the general condition of laborers in those countries with that of any country whatever in the world, where machines are unknown, except in the most primitive forms. Where is the superiority? It is almost a paradox, and yet it is a truth that machines bring about a much larger employment and improvement, not only because they increase production, but because they multiply the chances of employment, and incidentally the consumption of products. In fact, the census of the United States shows that the proportion of laborers to the total number of inhabitants has increased in the same period that the machine has taken most complete possession of manufactures. From 1860 to 1890, while the population of the United States doubled, the number of persons employed in industry increased nearly threefold (increase of 172 per cent), and at the same time the mechanical power, measured by horse-power, increased fourfold. Inventions have created new industries, such as photography, electricity, telegraphy, electrotyping, railroading, manufacture of bicycles, etc., and have thus given to labor much more employment than they have withdrawn from it.

Thus, even in old industries, transformed by machinery, the progress of consumption has generally maintained a demand for hands.

There is no social evolution which does not produce friction. That which urges industry toward machinery and large factories appears to me to-day irresistible, because it leads to cheapness, which the consumer seeks first of all, and which is one of the objects of economic civilization. It is Utopia to believe that the world could come back by some modification of the social order, or of mechanical motive powers to the system of the little family workshop. Such a workshop is far from being an ideal, as the sweating system proves.

2. A Tailor Testifies (1883)

In 1883 a Senate investigating committee heard the testimony of several workers about the conditions of labor in the United States' burgeoning industries. The witness who gave the following account had been a tailor for some thirty years. What changes in work conditions had he seen in his lifetime? Were they for good or ill? What did they imply for his family life?

Senator Pugh. Please give us any information that you may have as to the relation existing between the employers and the employees in the tailoring business in this city, as to wages, as to treatment of the one by the other class, as to the feeling that exists between the employers and the employed generally, and all that you know in regard to the subject that we are authorized to inquire into?

A. During the time I have been here the tailoring business is altered in three different ways. Before we had sewing machines we worked piecework with our wives, and very often our children. We had no trouble then with our neighbors, nor with the landlord, because it was a very still business, very quiet; but in 1854 or 1855, and later, the sewing machine was invented and introduced, and it stitched very nicely, nicer than the tailor could do; and the bosses said: "We want you to use the sewing machine; you have to buy one." Many of the tailors had a few dollars in the bank, and they took the money and bought machines. Many others had no money, but must help themselves; so they brought their stitching, the coat or vest, to the other tailors who had sewing machines, and paid them a few cents for the stitching. Later, when the money was given out for the work, we found out that we could earn no more than we could without the machine; but the money for the machine was gone now, and we found that the machine was only for the profit of the bosses; that they got their work quicker, and it was done nicer. . . . The machine makes too much noise in the place, and the neighbors want to sleep, and we have to stop sewing earlier; so we have to work faster. We work now in excitement—in a hurry. It is hunting; it is not work at all; it is a hunt.

Q. You turn out two or three times as much work per day now as you did in prior times before the war?

A. Yes, sir; two or three times as much; and we have to do it, because the wages are two-thirds lower than they were five or ten years back. . . .

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[2] U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Report of the Committee of the Senate Upon the Relations between Labor and Capital* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), Vol. 1, pp. 413–421.

Senator Blair. What proportion of them are women and what proportion men, according to your best judgment?

A. I guess there are many more women than men.

Q. The pay of the women is the same as the pay of the men for the same quantity of work, I suppose?

A. Yes; in cases where a manufacturer—that is, a middleman—gets work from the shop and brings it into his store and employs hands to make it, women get paid by the piece also. If the manufacturer gets $.25 for a piece, he pays for the machine work on that piece so many cents to the machine-worker, he pays so many cents to the presser, so many cents to the finisher, and so many to the button-sewer—so much to each one—and what remains is to pay his rent and to pay for the machinery.

Q. What is your knowledge as to the amount that workers of that class are able to save from their wages?

A. I don't know any one that does save except those manufacturers.

Q. As a class, then, the workers save nothing?

A. No.

Q. What sort of house-room do they have? What is the character, in general, of the food and clothing which they are able to purchase with what they can make by their labor?

A. They live in tenement houses four or five stories high, and have two or three rooms.

Q. What is the character of their clothing?

A. They buy the clothing that they make—the cheapest of it.

Q. What about the character of food that they are able to provide for themselves?

A. Food? They have no time to eat dinner. They have a sandwich in the middle of the day, and in the evening when they go away from work it is the same, and they drink lager or anything they can get.

Q. They are kept busy all the time and have but little opportunity for rest?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the state of feeling between the employers and their employees in that business? How do you workingmen feel towards the people who employ you and pay you?

A. Well, I must say the workingmen are discouraged. If I speak with them they go back and don't like to speak much about the business and the pay. They fear that if they say how it is they will get sent out of the shop. They hate the bosses and the foremen more than the bosses, and that feeling is deep.

3. The Life of a Sweatshop Girl (1902)

Sadie Frowne was approximately sixteen years old when she dictated the following account of her life to a reporter from The Independent *magazine in 1902. What are the greatest differences between her life in Poland and her life in the United States? What are the best and worst things about her job in a garment factory? What is her attitude toward her job? toward her labor union?*

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[3] "The Story of a Sweatshop Girl," *The Independent 54,* no. 2808 (September 25, 1902): 2279–2282.

My mother was a tall, handsome, dark complexioned woman with red cheeks, large brown eyes and a great quantity of jet black, wavy hair. She was well educated, being able to talk in Russian, German, Polish and French, and even to read English print, tho[ugh], of course, she did not know what it meant. She kept a little grocer's shop in the little village where we lived at first. That was in Poland, somewhere on the frontier, and mother had charge of a gate between the countries, so that everybody who came through the gate had to show her a pass. She was much looked up to by the people, who used to come and ask her for advice. Her word was like law among them.

She had a wagon in which she used to drive around the country, selling her groceries, and sometimes she worked in the fields with my father.

The grocer's shop was only one story high, and had one window, with very small panes of glass. We had two rooms behind it, and were happy while my father lived, altho[ugh] we had to work very hard. By the time I was six years of age I was able to wash dishes and scrub floors, and by the time I was eight I attended to the shop while my mother was away driving her wagon or working in the fields with my father. She was strong and could work like a man.

When I was a little more than ten years of age my father died. He was a good man and a steady worker, and we never knew what it was to be hungry while he lived. After he died troubles began, for the rent of our shop was about $6 a month and then there were food and clothes to provide. We needed little, it is true, but even soup, black bread and onions we could not always get.

We struggled along till I was nearly thirteen years of age and quite handy at housework and shop keeping, so far as I could learn them there. But we fell behind in the rent and mother kept thinking more and more that we should have to leave Poland and go across the sea to America where we heard it was much easier to make money. Mother wrote to Aunt Fanny, who lived in New York, and told her how hard it was to live in Poland, and Aunt Fanny advised her to come and bring me. I was out at service at this time and mother thought she would leave me—as I had a good place—and come to this country alone, sending for me afterward. But Aunt Fanny would not hear of this. She said we should both come at once, and she went around among our relatives in New York and took up a subscription for our passage.

We came by steerage on a steamship in a very dark place that smelt dreadfully. There were hundreds of other people packed in with us, men, women and children, and almost all of them were sick. It took us twelve days to cross the sea, and we thought we should die, but at last the voyage was over, and we came up and saw the beautiful bay and the big woman with the spikes on her head and the lamp that is lighted at night in her hand . . . [Statue of Liberty].

Aunt Fanny and her husband met us at the gate of this country and were very good to us, and soon I had a place to live out (domestic servant), while my mother got work in a factory making white goods.

I was only a little over thirteen years of age and a greenhorn, so I received $9 a month and board and lodging, which I thought was doing well. Mother, who, as I have said, was very clever, made $9 a week on white goods, which means all sorts of underclothing, and is high class work.

But mother had a very gay disposition. She liked to go around and see everything, and friends took her about New York at night and she caught a bad cold and coughed and coughed. . . . [A]t last she died and I was left alone. I had saved money while out at

service, but mother's sickness and funeral swept it all away and now I had to begin all over again.

Aunt Fanny had always been anxious for me to get an education, as I did not know how to read or write, and she thought that was wrong. Schools are different in Poland from what they are in this country, and I was always too busy to learn to read and write. So when mother died I thought I would try to learn a trade and then I could go to school at night and learn to speak the English language well.

So I went to work in Allen street (Manhattan) in what they call a sweatshop, making skirts by machine. I was new at the work and the foreman scolded me a great deal.

"Now, then," he would say, "this place is not for you to be looking around in. Attend to your work. That is what you have to do."

I did not know at first that you must not look around and talk, and I made many mistakes with the sewing, so that I was often called a "stupid animal." But I made $4 a week by working six days in the week. For there are two Sabbaths here—our own Sabbath, that comes on a Saturday, and the Christian Sabbath that comes on a Sunday. It is against our law to work on our own Sabbath, so we work on their Sabbath.

In Poland I and my father and mother used to go to the synagogue on the Sabbath, but here the women don't go to the synagogue much, tho[ugh] the men do. They are shut up working hard all the week long and when the Sabbath comes they like to sleep long in bed and afterward they must go out where they can breathe the air. The rabbis are strict here, but not so strict as in the old country.

I lived at this time with a girl named Ella, who worked in the same factory and made $5 a week. We had the room all to ourselves, paying $1.50 a week for it, and doing light housekeeping. It was in Allen street, and the window looked out of the back, which was good, because there was an elevated railroad in front, and in summer time a great deal of dust and dirt came in at the front windows. We were on the fourth story and could see all that was going on in the back rooms of the houses behind us, and early in the morning the sun used to come in our window.

We did our cooking on an oil stove, and lived well, as this list of our expenses for one week will show:

Ella and Sadie for Food (One Week).

Tea	$0.06
Cocoa	.10
Bread and rolls	.40
Canned vegetables	.20
Potatoes	.10
Milk	.21
Fruit	.20
Butter	.15
Meat	.60
Fish	.15
Laundry	.25
Total	$2.42
Add rent	1.50
Grand total	$3.92

Of course, we could have lived cheaper, but we are both fond of good things and felt that we could afford them.

We paid 18 cents for a half pound of tea so as to get it good, and it lasted us three weeks, because we had cocoa for breakfast. We paid 5 cents for six rolls and 5 cents a loaf for bread, which was the best quality. Oatmeal cost us 10 cents for three and one-half pounds, and we often had it in the morning, or Indian meal porridge in the place of it, costing about the same. Half a dozen eggs cost about 13 cents on an average, and we could get all the meat we wanted for a good hearty meal for 20 cents—two pounds of chops, or a steak, or a bit of veal, or a neck of lamb—something like that. Fish included butter fish, porgies, codfish and smelts, averaging about 8 cents a pound. . . .

It cost me $2 a week to live, and I had a dollar a week to spend on clothing and pleasure, and saved the other dollar. I went to night school, but it was hard work learning at first as I did not know much English.

Two years ago I came to this place, Brownsville, where so many of my people are, and where I have friends. I got work in a factory making underskirts—all sorts of cheap underskirts, like cotton and calico for the summer and woolen for the winter, but never the silk, satin or velvet underskirts. I earned $4.50 a week and lived on $2 a week, the same as before. . . .

It isn't piecework in our factory, but one is paid by the amount of work done just the same. So it is like piecework. All the hands get different amounts, some as low as $3.50 and some of the men as high as $16 a week. The factory is in the third story of a brick building. It is in a room twenty feet long and fourteen broad. There are fourteen machines in it. I and the daughter of the people with whom I live work two of these machines. The other operators are all men, some young and some old.

At first a few of the young men were rude. When they passed me they would touch my hair and talk about my eyes and my red cheeks, and make jokes. I cried and said that if they did not stop I would leave the place. The boss said that that should not be, that no one must annoy me. Some of the other men stood up for me, too, especially Henry, who said two or three times that he wanted to fight. Now the men all treat me very nicely. It was just that some of them did not know better, not being educated.

Henry is tall and dark, and he has a small mustache. His eyes are brown and large. He is pale and much educated, having been to school. He knows a great many things and has some money saved. I think nearly $400. He is not going to be in a sweatshop all the time, but will soon be in the real estate business, for a lawyer that knows him well has promised to open an office and pay him to manage it.

Henry has seen me home every night for a long time and makes love to me. He wants me to marry him, but I am not seventeen yet, and I think that is too young. He is only nineteen, so we can wait. . . .

I get up at half-past five o'clock every morning and make myself a cup of coffee on the oil stove. I eat a bit of bread and perhaps some fruit and then go to work. Often I get there soon after six o'clock so as to be in good time, tho[ugh] the factory does not open till seven. I have heard that there is a sort of clock that calls you at the very time you want to get up, but I can't believe that because I don't see how the clock would know.

At seven o'clock we all sit down to our machines and the boss brings to each one the pile of work that he or she is to finish during the day, what they call in English their "stint." This pile is put down beside the machine and as soon as a skirt is done it is laid

on the other side of the machine. Sometimes the work is not all finished by six o'clock and then the one who is behind must work overtime. Sometimes one is finished ahead of time and gets away at four or five o'clock, but generally we are not done till six o'clock.

The machines go like mad all day, because the faster you work the more money you get. Sometimes in my haste I get my finger caught and the needle goes right through it. It goes so quick, tho[ugh], that it does not hurt much. I bind the finger up with a piece of cotton and go on working. We all have accidents like that. Where the needle goes through the nail it makes a sore finger, or where it splinters a bone it does much harm. Sometimes a finger has to come off. Generally, tho[ugh], one can be cured by a salve.

All the time we are working the boss walks about examining the finished garments and making us do them over again if they are not just right. So we have to be careful as well as swift. But I am getting so good at the work that within a year I will be making $7 a week, and then I can save at least $3.50 a week. I have over $200 saved now.

The machines are all run by foot power, and at the end of the day one feels so weak that there is a great temptation to lie right down and sleep. But you must go out and get air, and have some pleasure. So instead of lying down I go out, generally with Henry. Sometimes we go to Coney Island, where there are good dancing places, and sometimes we go to Ulmer Park to picnics. I am very fond of dancing, and, in fact, all sorts of pleasure. I go to the theater quite often, and like those plays that make you cry a great deal. "The Two Orphans" is good. Last time I saw it I cried all night because of the hard times that the children had in the play. I am going to see it again when it comes here.

For the last two winters I have been going to night school at Public School 84 on Glenmore avenue. I have learned reading, writing and arithmetic. I can read quite well in English now and I look at the newspapers every day. I read English books, too, sometimes. The last one that I read was "A Mad Marriage," by Charlotte Braeme. She's a grand writer and makes things just like real to you. You feel as if you were the poor girl yourself going to get married to a rich duke.

I am going back to night school again this winter. Plenty of my friends go there. Some of the women in my class are more than forty years of age. Like me, they did not have a chance to learn anything in the old country. It is good to have an education; it makes you feel higher. Ignorant people are all low. People say now that I am clever and fine in conversation.

We have just finished a strike in our business. It spread all over and the United Brotherhood of Garment Workers was in it. That takes in the cloakmakers, coatmakers, and all the others. We struck for shorter hours, and after being out four weeks won the fight. We only have to work nine and a half hours a day and we get the same pay as before. So the union does good after all in spite of what some people say against it—that it just takes our money and does nothing.

I pay 25 cents a month to the union, but I do not begrudge that because it is for our benefit. The next strike is going to be for a raise of wages, which we all ought to have. But tho[ugh] I belong to the Union I am not a Socialist or an Anarchist. I don't know exactly what those things mean. There is a little expense for charity, too. If any worker is injured or sick we all give money to help.

Some of the women blame me very much because I spend so much money on clothes. They say that instead of a dollar a week I ought not to spend more than twenty-five cents a week on clothes, and that I should save the rest. But a girl must have clothes if she is to go into high society at Ulmer Park or Coney Island or the theatre. Those who blame me are the old country people who have old-fashioned notions, but the people who have been here a long time know better. A girl who does not dress well is stuck in a corner, even if she is pretty, and Aunt Fanny says that I do just right to put on plenty of style.

I have many friends and we often have jolly parties. Many of the young men like to talk to me, but I don't go out with any except Henry.

Lately he has been urging me more and more to get married—but I think I'll wait.

4. The Knights of Labor Champion Reform (1887)

The blue-eyed, ruddy-complexioned Terence V. Powderly, a nimble-witted son of Irish immigrants, became a machinist and joined the secret order of the all-embracing Knights of Labor. He ultimately rose to be its influential head as Grand Master Workman, and saw the organization attain a maximum strength of some 700,000 members—skilled and unskilled, white and black. But lawyers, bankers, gamblers, and liquor dealers were barred. The Knights strove primarily for social and economic reform on a broad front, rather than the piecemeal raising of wages that was the chief concern of the skilled-crafts unions. Powderly favored the substitution of arbitration for strikes, the regulation of trusts and monopolies, and the replacement of the wage system with producers' cooperatives. Shot at from the front by conservatives, who accused him of communism, he was sniped at from the rear by some of his own following. In the following selection, Powderly defends the Knights against charges in 1887 that they were "breaking up." What does he identify as the Knights' most important goals? Which of these goals would be approved by the modern-day labor movement? How relevant were they to the real problems of workers in late-nineteenth-century America?

It is true, the Knights are breaking up. We are at last forced to acknowledge the truth so long, so stubbornly, resisted. We are breaking up—breaking up as the plowman breaks up the soil for the sowing of new seed. We are breaking up old traditions. We are breaking up hereditary rights, and planting everywhere the seed of universal rights. We are breaking up the idea that money makes the man and not moral worth. We are breaking up the idea that might makes right. We are breaking up the idea that legislation is alone for the rich. We are breaking up the idea that the Congress of the United States must be run by millionaires for the benefit of millionaires. We are breaking up the idea that a few men may hold millions of acres of untilled land while other men starve for the want of one acre. We are breaking up the practice of putting the labor of criminals [convict labor] into competition with honest, industrious labor and starving it to death. We are breaking up the practice of importing [European] ignorance, bred of monarchies and dynamite, in order to depreciate intelligent, skilled labor at home. We are breaking up the practice of employing little children in

[4] *Journal of United Labor,* July 16, 1887, in *Public Opinion 3* (July 23, 1887): 318.

factories, thus breeding a race of deformed, ignorant, and profligate. We are breaking up the idea that a man who works with his hands has need neither of education nor of civilized refinements. We are breaking up the idea that the accident of sex puts one-half of the human race beyond the pale of constitutional rights. We are breaking up the practice of paying woman one-third the wages paid man simply because she is a woman. We are breaking up the idea that a man may debauch an infant [minor] girl and shield himself from the penalty behind a law he himself has made. We are breaking up ignorance and intemperance, crime and oppression, of whatever character and wherever found.

Yes, the Knights of Labor are breaking up, and they will continue their appointed work of breaking up until universal rights shall prevail; and while they may not bring in the millennium, they will do their part in the evolution of moral forces that are working for the emancipation of the race.

[With Samuel Gompers at the helm, the skilled-crafts American Federation of Labor emerged in 1886. By 1890 it had overshadowed the fast-fading Knights of Labor. Skilled carpenters, striking for their own narrow objectives, could not easily be replaced by strikebreakers; unskilled workers could be. The skilled crafts became weary of sacrificing themselves on the altar of large social objectives. This, in brief, was the epitaph of the Knights of Labor.]

5. Gompers Condemns the Knights (c. 1886)

Samuel Gompers, a stocky Jewish cigarmaker who had been born in a London tenement, emerged as the potent leader of the skilled-crafts American Federation of Labor. Once asked what organized labor wanted, he is said to have replied, "More"—by which he meant more wages, more power, more liberty, more leisure, more benefits. He and his skilled-crafts workers battled the unskilled laborers of the Knights of Labor to defeat revolutionary schemes for remaking U.S. society. What are the principal weaknesses of the Knights of Labor from the skilled-union point of view? Which one is the most serious in the eyes of Gompers?

In 1886 a definite order went out from D.A. [District Assembly No.] 49 [of the Knights of Labor] to make war on the International Cigarmakers' Unions. It was the culmination of years of friction developing over Knights of Labor encroachments on trade union functions.

The two movements were inherently different. Trade unions endeavored to organize for collective responsibility persons with common trade problems. They sought economic betterment in order to place in the hands of wage-earners the means to wider opportunities.

The Knights of Labor was a social or fraternal organization. It was based upon a principle of cooperation, and its purpose was reform. The Knights of Labor prided itself upon being something higher and grander than a trade union or political party.

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[5] From *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography* by Samuel Gompers. Copyright 1925 by E. P. Dutton. Copyright renewal 1953 by Gertrude Gleaves Gompers. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, E. P. Dutton, Inc.

Unfortunately, its purposes were not always exemplified through the declarations and the acts of its members.

The order admitted to membership any person, excluding only lawyers and saloonkeepers. This policy included employers among those eligible. Larger employers gradually withdrew from the order, but the small employers and small businessmen and politicians remained.

The order was a hodgepodge with no basis for solidarity, with the exception of a comparatively few trade assemblies. The aggressive policy inaugurated in 1886 [against the Cigarmakers' Unions] was not due to any change of heart or program, but solely to the great increase in the membership of the Knights of Labor that made it seem safe to put declarations into effect.

When the order began to encroach upon the economic field, trouble was inevitable, for such invasion was equivalent to setting up a dual organization to perform a task for which they were entirely unfitted. It was particularly unfortunate when it endeavored to conduct strikes. The Knights of Labor was a highly centralized organization, and this often placed decision upon essential trade policies in the hands of officers outside the trade concerned. Strikes are essentially an expression of collective purpose of workers who perform related services and who have the spirit of union growing out of joint employment. . . .

Talk of harmony with the Knights of Labor is bosh. They are just as great enemies of trade unions as any employer can be, only more vindictive. I tell you they will give us no quarter, and I would give them their own medicine. It is no use trying to placate them or even to be friendly. They will not cooperate with a mere trades union, as they call our organization. The time will come, however, when the workingmen of the country will see and distinguish between a natural and an artificial organization.

Thought Provokers

1. Which of the so-called railroad abuses of the post–Civil War period are the easiest to justify? the hardest? In view of the fact that railway rates were becoming progressively lower when the Interstate Commerce Act was passed in 1887, why should the public have complained?
2. Comment critically on the advantages and disadvantages of the monopolistic trust from the standpoint of the consumer. Was the attempted distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts a valid one?
3. To what extent was Carnegie selfish in his gospel of wealth? Is it better to have large private benefactions or to have the government tax wealth and engage in benefactions itself? Why is it difficult to give away large sums of money intelligently?
4. Why was the South, which has many natural resources and is being rapidly industrialized today, so slow to be industrialized after the Civil War?
5. What features of working-class life must have been most troubling to laborers in the late nineteenth century? How is industrial labor different today?
6. Is organized labor today tending toward the Gompers or the Powderly approach? Explain. Why does the United States not have a Labor party?

28

America Moves to the City, 1865–1900

Th' worst thing ye can do f'r anny man is to do him good.
F. P. Dunne ("Mr. Dooley"), Paraphrasing Andrew Carnegie, 1906)

Prologue: The robust growth of cities transformed the face of the United States in the decades following the Civil War. The inpouring of the New Immigration from southern and eastern Europe, beginning conspicuously in the 1880s, raised vexing social questions. It aggravated already festering slum conditions, stimulated agitation to halt cheap foreign labor, and revived anti-Catholic outcries. Protestant denominations, already disturbed by the numerical primacy of the Roman Catholic church in the United States, were alarmed by its hundreds of thousands of new communicants. At the same time, Protestantism was profoundly shaken by the impact of Darwinism. One manifestation was a heated debate between the rock-ribbed Fundamentalists and the more adaptable Modernists, who came to see in evolution a more glorious revelation of a wonder-working God. White reformers now largely left the recently freed blacks to their own devices. The temperance crusade intensified, as did the still-frustrated campaign for women's suffrage. Meanwhile, new work patterns in the booming cities provided new opportunities and challenges for women, which in turn sparked fresh debate on women's role, marital relations, and sexual morality.

A. The Lures and Liabilities of City Life

1. Frederick Law Olmsted Applauds the City's Attractions (1871)

In the late nineteenth century rural Americans flocked to the burgeoning cities, where they were joined by multitudes of immigrants from overseas. Some traditionalists decried the alleged evils of city life, but other commentators found in the urban environment a new frontier of excitement and opportunity, especially for women. Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903), one of the United States' greatest landscape architects, recognized the irresistible allure of the big cities and strove to humanize the cityscape with parks and open spaces. His works included New York

[1] Frederick Law Olmsted, "Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns," *Journal of Social Science 3* (1871): 1–3, 5–6.

City's Central Park; the grounds of the national Capitol in Washington, D.C.; the municipal park systems of Boston and Louisville; and the campuses of Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley. In the following passage, what does he identify as the city's principal attractions? What does he find particularly appealing to women?

The last "Overland Monthly" tells us that in California "only an inferior class of people can be induced to live out of towns. There is something in the country which repels men. In the city alone can they nourish the juices of life."

This of newly built and but half-equipped cities, where the people are never quite free from dread of earthquakes, and of a country in which the productions of agriculture and horticulture are more varied, and the rewards of rural enterprise larger, than in any other under civilized government! With a hundred million acres of arable and grazing land, with thousands of outcropping gold veins, with the finest forests in the world, fully half the white people live in towns, a quarter of all in one town, and this quarter pays more than half the taxes of all. "Over the mountains the miners," says Mr. Bowles, "talk of going to San Francisco as to Paradise," and the rural members of the legislature declare that "San Francisco sucks the life out of the country."

At the same time all our great interior towns are reputed to be growing rapidly; their newspapers complain that wheat and gold fall much faster than house-rents, and especially that builders fail to meet the demand for such dwellings as are mostly sought by new-comers, who are mainly men of small means and young families, anxious to make a lodgment in the city on any terms which will give them a chance of earning a right to remain. In Chicago alone, it is said, that there are twenty thousand people seeking employment.

To this I can add, from personal observation, that if we stand, any day before noon, at the railway stations of these cities, we may notice women and girls arriving by the score, who, it will be apparent, have just run in to do a little shopping, intending to return by supper time to farms perhaps a hundred miles away.

It used to be a matter of pride with the better sort of our country people that they could raise on their own land or manufacture within their own households almost everything needed for domestic consumption. But if now you leave the rail, at whatever remote station, the very advertisements on its walls will manifest how greatly this is changed. Push out over the prairie and make your way to the house of any long-settled and prosperous farmer, and the intimacy of his family with the town will constantly appear, in dress, furniture, viands, in all the conversation. If there is a piano, they will be expecting a man from town to tune it. If the baby has outgrown its shoes, the measure is to be sent to town. If a tooth is troublesome, an appointment is to be arranged by telegraph with the dentist. The railway time-table hangs with the almanac. The housewife complains of her servants. There is no difficulty in getting them from the intelligence offices in town, such as they are; but only the poorest, who cannot find employment in the city, will come to the country, and these as soon as they have got a few dollars ahead, are crazy to get back to town. It is much the same with the men, the farmer will add; he has to run up in the morning and get some one to take "Wolf's" place. You will find, too, that one of his sons is in a lawyer's office, another at a commercial college, and his oldest daughter at an "institute," all in town. I know several girls who travel eighty miles a day to attend school in Chicago. . . .

We all recognize that the tastes and dispositions of women are more and more potent in shaping the course of civilized progress, and we may see that women are even more susceptible to this townward drift than men. Oftimes the husband and father gives up his country occupations, taking others less attractive to him in town, out of consideration for his wife and daughters. Not long since I conveyed to a very sensible and provident man what I thought to be an offer of great preferment. I was surprised that he hesitated to accept it, until the question was referred to his wife, a bright, tidy American-born woman, who promptly said: "If I were offered a deed of the best farm that I ever saw, on condition of going back to the country to live, I would not take it. I would rather face starvation in town." She had been brought up and lived the greater part of her life in one of the most convenient and agreeable farming countries in the United States.

Is it astonishing? Compare advantages in respect simply to schools, libraries, music, and the fine arts. People of the greatest wealth can hardly command as much of these in the country as the poorest work-girl is offered here in Boston at the mere cost of a walk for a short distance over a good, firm, clean pathway, lighted at night and made interesting to her by shop fronts and the variety of people passing.

It is true the poorer work-girls make little use of these special advantages, but this simply because they are not yet educated up to them. When, however, they come from the country to town, are they not moving in the way of this education? In all probability, as is indicated by the report (in the "New York Tribune") of a recent skillful examination of the condition and habits of the poor sewing women of that city, a frantic desire to escape from the dull lives which they have seen before them in the country, a craving for recreation, especially for more companionship in yielding to playful girlish impulses, innocent in themselves, drives more young women to the town than anything else. Dr. Holmes may exaggerate the clumsiness and dreariness of New England village social parties; but go further back into the country among the outlying farms, and if you have ever had part in the working up of some of the rare occasions in which what stands for festivity is attempted, you will hardly think that the ardent desire of a young woman to escape to the town is wholly unreasonable.

2. Cleaning Up New York (1897)

The cities grew so fast that municipal governments were hard pressed to provide adequate sanitation facilities and other essential urban services. New York City Commissioner George E. Waring, Jr., here describes the situation in late-nineteenth-century New York before a concerted effort was made to clean up the city. What features of urban life were the worst contributors to unsanitary conditions? Which city-dwellers suffered the most from those conditions?

Before 1895 the streets were almost universally in a filthy state. In wet weather they were covered with slime, and in dry weather the air was filled with dust. Artificial sprinkling in summer converted the dust into mud, and the drying winds changed the mud to powder. Rubbish of all kinds, garbage, and ashes lay neglected in the streets, and in the hot weather the city stank with the emanations of putrefying organic matter.

[2] George E. Waring, Jr., *Street-Cleaning* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1897), pp. 13–21.

It was not always possible to see the pavement, because of the dirt that covered it. One expert, a former contractor of street-cleaning, told me that West Broadway could not be cleaned, because it was so coated with grease from wagon-axles; it was really coated with slimy mud. The sewer inlets were clogged with refuse. Dirty paper was prevalent everywhere, and black rottenness was seen and smelled on every hand.

The practice of standing unharnessed trucks and wagons in the public streets was well-nigh universal in all except the main thoroughfares and the better residence districts. The Board of Health made an enumeration of vehicles so standing on Sunday, counting twenty-five thousand on a portion of one side of the city; they reached the conclusion that there were in all more than sixty thousand. These trucks not only restricted traffic and made complete street-cleaning practically impossible, but they were harbors of vice and crime. Thieves and highwaymen made them their dens, toughs caroused in them, both sexes resorted to them, and they were used for the vilest purposes, until they became, both figuratively and literally, a stench in the nostrils of the people. In the crowded districts they were a veritable nocturnal hell. Against all this the poor people were powerless to get relief. The highest city officials, after feeble attempts at removal, declared that New York was so peculiarly constructed (having no alleys through which the rear of the lots could be reached) that its commerce could not be carried on unless this privilege were given to its truckmen; in short, the removal of the trucks was "an impossibility. . . ."

The condition of the streets, of the force, and of the stock was the fault of no man and of no set of men. It was the fault of the system. The department was throttled by partizan control—so throttled it could neither do good work, command its own respect and that of the public, nor maintain its material in good order. It was run as an adjunct of a political organization. In that capacity it was a marked success. It paid fat tribute; it fed thousands of voters, and it gave power and influence to hundreds of political leaders. It had this appointed function, and it performed it well. . . .

New York is now thoroughly clean in every part, the empty vehicles are gone. . . . "Clean streets" means much more than the casual observer is apt to think. It has justly been said that "cleanliness is catching," and clean streets are leading to clean hallways and staircases and cleaner living-rooms. A recent writer says:

> It is not merely justification of a theory to say that the improvement noticed in the past two and a half years in the streets of New York has led to an improvement in the interior of its tenement-houses. A sense of personal pride has been awakened in the women and children, the results of which have been noticeable to every one engaged in philanthropic work among the tenement dwellers. When, early in the present administration, a woman in the Five Points district was heard to say to another, "Well, I don't care; my street is cleaner than your is, anyhow," it was felt that the battle was won.

Few realize the many minor ways in which the work of the department has benefited the people at large. For example, there is far less injury from dust to clothing, to furniture, and to goods in shops; mud is not tracked from the streets on to the sidewalks, and thence into the houses; boots require far less cleaning; the wearing of overshoes has been largely abandoned; wet feet and bedraggled skirts are mainly things of the past; and children now make free use as a playground of streets which were formerly impossible to them. "Scratches," a skin disease of horses due to mud and slush, used to entail very serious cost on truckmen and liverymen. It is now almost unknown. Horses used to "pick up a nail" with alarming frequency, and this caused

great loss of service, and, like scratches, made the bill of the veterinary surgeon a serious matter. There are practically no hails now to be found in the streets.

The great, the almost inestimable, beneficial effect of the work of the department is shown in the large reduction of the death-rate and in the less keenly realized but still more important reduction in the sick-rate. As compared with the average death-rate of 26.78 of 1882–94, that of 1895 was 23.10, that of 1896 was 21.52, and that of the first half of 1897 was 19.63. If this latter figure is maintained throughout the year, there will have been fifteen thousand fewer deaths than there would have been had the average rate of the thirteen previous years prevailed. The report of the Board of Health for 1896, basing its calculations on diarrheal diseases in July, August, and September, in the filthiest wards, in the most crowded wards, and in the remainder of the city, shows a very marked reduction in all, and the largest reduction in the first two classes.

3. Jacob Riis Goes Slumming (1890)

Police reporter Jacob A. Riis, a Danish-born immigrant who had known rat-infested tenements in Denmark, aimed his talented pen at the scandalous slums of New York. He was shocked by the absence of privacy, sanitation, and playgrounds, and by the presence of dirt, stench, and vermin. One tenement area in New York was known as the "Lung Block" because of the prevalence of tuberculosis. Despite the opposition of heartless landlords, who worked hand-in-glove with corrupt politicians, Riis helped to eliminate some of these foul firetraps, especially the dark "rear tenements." What does he regard as the chief obstacles to good health and good morals in these slums?

Suppose we look into one? No. — Cherry Street. Be a little careful, please! The hall is dark and you might stumble over the children pitching pennies back there. Not that it would hurt them; kicks and cuffs are their daily diet. They have little else.

Here where the hall turns and dives into utter darkness is a step, and another, another. A flight of stairs. You can feel your way, if you cannot see it. Close? Yes! What would you have? All the fresh air that ever enters these stairs comes from the hall-door that is forever slamming, and from the windows of dark bedrooms that in turn receive from the stairs their sole supply of the elements God meant to be free, but man deals out with such niggardly hand.

That was a woman filling her pail by the hydrant you just bumped against. The sinks are in the hallway, that all the tenants may have access—and all to be poisoned alike by their summer stenches.

Hear the pump squeak! It is the lullaby of tenement-house babes. In summer, when a thousand thirsty throats pant for a cooling drink in this block, it is worked in vain. But the saloon, whose open door you passed in the hall, is always there. The smell of it has followed you up.

Here is a door. Listen! That short hacking cough, that tiny, helpless wail—what do they mean? They mean that the soiled bow of white you saw on the door downstairs will have another story to tell—oh! a sadly familiar story—before the day is at an end.

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[3]J. A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), pp. 43–44.

The child is dying with measles. With half a chance it might have lived; but it had none. The dark bedroom killed it.

"It was took all of a suddint," says the mother, smoothing the throbbing little body with trembling hands. There is no unkindness in the rough voice of the man in the jumper, who sits by the window grimly smoking a clay pipe, with the little life ebbing out in his sight, bitter as his words sound: "Hush, Mary! If we cannot keep the baby, need we complain—such as we?"

Such as we! What if the words ring in your ears as we grope our way up the stairs and down from floor to floor, listening to the sounds behind the closed doors—some of quarreling, some of coarse songs, more of profanity. They are true. When the summer heats come with their suffering, they have meaning more terrible than words can tell.

Come over here. Step carefully over this baby—it is a baby, spite of its rags and dirt—under these iron bridges called fire-escapes, but loaded down, despite the incessant watchfulness of the firemen, with broken household goods, with washtubs and barrels, over which no man could climb from a fire.

This gap between dingy brick walls is the yard. That strip of smoke-colored sky up there is the heaven of these people. Do you wonder the name does not attract them to churches?

That baby's parents live in the rear tenement here. She is at least as clean as the steps we are now climbing. There are plenty of houses with half a hundred such in. The tenement is much like the one in front we just left, only fouler, closer, darker—we will not say more cheerless. The word is a mockery. A hundred thousand people lived in rear tenements in New York last year.

B. The New Immigration

1. Mary Antin Praises America (1894)

The bomb-assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 touched off an outburst of anti-Semitism in Russia that resulted in countless riots, burnings, pillagings, rapes, and murders. Tens of thousands of Jewish refugees fled to America then and later. Mary Antin, a thirteen-year-old Polish Jew, joined her father in Boston in 1894. She later distinguished herself as an author and a welfare worker. In her autobiographical account, excerpted herewith, what did these Jewish immigrants find most gratifying in America?

In our flat we did not think of such a thing as storing the coal in the bathtub. There was no bathtub. So in the evening of the first day my father conducted us to the public baths. As we moved along in a little procession, I was delighted with the illumination of the streets. So many lamps, and they burned until morning, my father said, and so people did not need to carry lanterns.

[1] From *The Promised Land* by Mary Antin. Copyright 1912 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

In America, then, everything was free, as we had heard in Russia; the streets were as bright as a synagogue on a holy day. Music was free; we had been serenaded, to our gaping delight, by a brass band of many pieces, soon after our installation on Union Place.

Education was free. That subject my father had written about repeatedly, as comprising his chief hope for us children, the essence of American opportunity, the treasure that no thief could touch, not even misfortune or poverty. It was the one thing that he was able to promise us when he sent for us; surer, safer, than bread or shelter.

On our second day I was thrilled with the realization of what this freedom of education meant. A little girl from across the alley came and offered to conduct us to school. My father was out, but we five between us had a few words of English by this time. We knew the word *school*. We understood. This child, who had never seen us till yesterday, who could not pronounce our names, who was not much better dressed than we, was able to offer us the freedom of the schools of Boston! No application made, no questions asked, no examinations, rulings, exclusions; no machinations, no fees. The doors stood open for every one of us. The smallest child could show us the way.

This incident impressed me more than anything I had heard in advance of the freedom of education in America. It was a concrete proof—almost the thing itself. One had to experience it to understand it.

[Distressingly common was the experience of Anzia Yezierska, whose impoverished family came from Russia to New York City in 1901. Buoyed up by the hope of finding green fields and open places, she found herself in a smelly, crowded slum. God's blue sky was not visible; the landscape was the brick wall of the next building; and there was no place for the pasty-faced children to play. One of her despairing companions said, "In Russia, you could hope to run away from your troubles to America. But from America where can you go?"]

2. The APA Hates Catholics (1893)

The flood of cheap southern European labor in the 1880s, predominantly Roman Catholic, rearoused nativist bigots. The most powerful group, the secretive American Protective Association (APA), claimed a million members by 1896. Among its various activities, it circulated forged documents revealing alleged papal orders to "exterminate" non-Catholics. In Toledo, Ohio, the local branch gathered Winchester rifles for defense. The APA was especially alarmed by the Irish-Catholic political machines, which in cities like New York and Chicago had secured a semimonopoly of public offices, including the fire department and the police department. In the following secret oath of the APA, are the economic or the political prohibitions more damaging?

I do most solemnly promise and swear that I will always, to the utmost of my ability, labor, plead, and wage a continuous warfare against ignorance and fanaticism;

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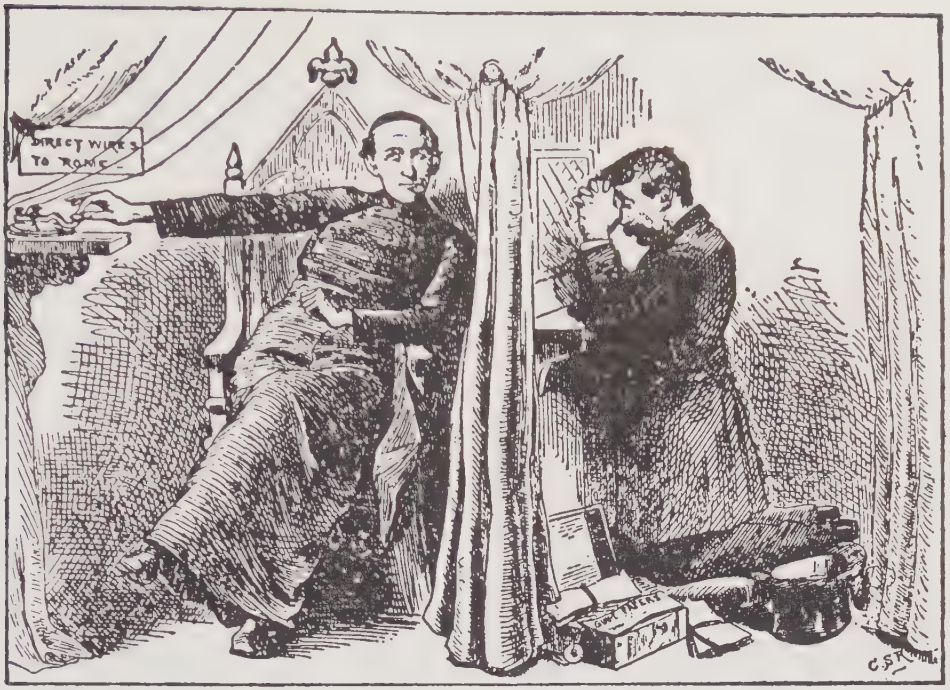
[2]Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from *Documents of American Catholic History,* edited by John Tracy Ellis. © John Tracy Ellis, 1956.



The Unseen Signal of the Jesuits
Anti-Catholic cartoon showing a government official at confession betraying state secrets that are being relayed to Rome by secret wire. (New York Public Library)

that I will use my utmost power to strike the shackles and chains of blind obedience to the Roman Catholic Church from the hampered and bound consciences of a priest-ridden and church-oppressed people; that I will never allow anyone, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, to become a member of this order, I knowing him to be such; that I will use my influence to promote the interest of all Protestants everywhere in the world that I may be; that I will not employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity, if I can procure the services of a Protestant.

I furthermore promise and swear that I will not aid in building or maintaining, by my resources, any Roman Catholic church or institution of their sect or creed whatsoever, but will do all in my power to retard and break down the power of the Pope, in this country or any other; that I will not enter into any controversy with a Roman Catholic upon the subject of this order, nor will I enter into any agreement with a Roman Catholic to strike or create a disturbance whereby the Catholic employees may undermine and substitute their Protestant co-workers; that in all grievances I will seek only Protestants, and counsel with them to the exclusion of all Roman Catholics, and will not make known to them anything of any nature matured at such conferences.

I furthermore promise and swear that I will not countenance the nomination, in any caucus or convention, of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the American people, and that I will not vote for, or counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic, but will vote only for a Protestant, so far as may lie in my power (should there be two Roman Catholics in opposite tickets, I will erase the name on the ticket I

vote); that I will at all times endeavor to place the political positions of this government in the hands of Protestants, to the entire exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church, of the members thereof, and the mandate of the Pope.

To all of which I do most solemnly promise and swear, so help me God. Amen.

3. Lodge Urges a Literacy Test (1896)

The continued influx of hordes of impoverished and illiterate southern Europeans during the depression of the 1890s intensified outcries for their exclusion. Organized labor objected to their low wages; religious bigots, to their Catholicism; city planners, to their slum residence; believers in racial purity, to their "degenerate" stock. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a Massachusetts blue blood and later the arch-foe of Woodrow Wilson, here argues for a bill that would establish a literacy test. Which group was he trying to exclude? Would the best interests of the nation have been served by his proposal?

It is found, in the first place, that the illiteracy test will bear most heavily upon the Italians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, and Asiatics, and very lightly, or not at all, upon English-speaking emigrants or Germans, Scandinavians, and French.

In other words, the races most affected by the illiteracy test are those whose emigation to this country has begun within the last twenty years and swelled rapidly to enormous proportions, races with which the English-speaking people have never hitherto assimilated, and who are most alien to the great body of the people of the United States.

On the other hand, emigrants from the United Kingdom and of those races which are most closely related to the English-speaking people, and who with the English-speaking people themselves founded the American colonies and built up the United States, are affected but little by the proposed test. These races would not be prevented by this law from coming to this country in practically undiminished numbers.

These kindred races also are those who alone go to the Western and Southern states, where immigrants are desired, and take up our unoccupied lands. The races which would suffer most seriously by exclusion under the proposed bill furnish the immigrants who do not go to the West or South, where immigration is needed, but who remain on the Atlantic seaboard, where immigration is not needed and where their presence is most injurious and undesirable.

The statistics prepared by the committee show further that the immigrants excluded by the illiteracy test are those who remain for the most part in congested masses in our great cities. They furnish, as other tables show, a large proportion of the population of the slums. The committee's report proves that illiteracy runs parallel with the slum population, with criminals, paupers, and juvenile delinquents of foreign birth, or parentage, whose percentage is out of all proportion to their share of the total population when compared with the percentage of the same classes among the native-born.

It also appears from investigations which have been made that the immigrants who would be shut out by the illiteracy test are those who bring least money to the country, and come most quickly upon private or public charity for support.

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[3] *Congressional Record,* 54th Cong., 1st sess. (March 16, 1896), p. 2817.

4. Cleveland Vetoes a Literacy Test (1897)

In 1897 Congress finally passed a bill excluding all prospective immigrants who could not read or write twenty-five words of the Constitution of the United States in some language. One of the several goals of the exclusionists was to bar anarchists and other radical labor agitators. Cleveland, ever ruggedly independent, vetoed the bill. What is his most effective argument against it?

It is not claimed, I believe, that the time has come for the further restriction of immigration on the ground that an excess of population overcrowds our land.

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

It is said that too many immigrants settle in our cities, thus dangerously increasing their idle and vicious population. This is certainly a disadvantage. It cannot be shown, however, that it affects all our cities, nor that it is permanent; nor does it appear that this condition, where it exists, demands as its remedy the reversal of our present immigration policy.

The claim is also made that the influx of foreign laborers deprives of the opportunity to work those who are better entitled than they to the privilege of earning their livelihood by daily toil. An unfortunate condition is certainly presented when any who are willing to labor are unemployed, but so far as this condition now exists among our people, it must be conceded to be a result of phenomenal business depression and the stagnation of all enterprises in which labor is a factor. With the advent of settled and wholesome financial and economic governmental policies, and consequent encouragement to the activity of capital, the misfortunes of unemployed labor should, to a great extent at least, be remedied. If it continues, its natural consequences must be to check the further immigration to our cities of foreign laborers and to deplete the ranks of those already there. In the meantime those most willing and best entitled ought to be able to secure the advantages of such work as there is to do. . . .

The best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration is the necessity of protecting our population against degeneration and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder.

I cannot believe that we would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who can read and write in any language twenty-five words of our Constitution. In my opinion, it is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control who can not only read and write, but delight in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult.

Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers. They are, rather, the victims of the educated agitator. The ability to read and write, as required in this bill, in and of itself affords, in my opinion, a misleading test of contented industry and supplies unsatisfactory evidence of desirable citizenship or a proper apprehension of the benefits of our institutions.

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[4]J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), vol. 9 pp. 758–759.

If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly, instead of making illiteracy the pretext for exclusion, to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint cannot be alleged.

[President Taft, following Cleveland's example in 1897, successfully vetoed a literacy test in 1913, as did President Wilson in 1915. Finally, in 1917, such a restriction was passed over Wilson's veto. Wilson had declared that the prohibition was "not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness." In fact, a literacy test denied further opportunity to those who had already been denied opportunity.]

C. The Church on the Defensive

1. The Shock of Darwinism (1896)

The theory of evolution, popularized by Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species *(1859), directly challenged the biblical story of creation. (In 1654 a distinguished English scholar had declared the date of creation to be "the 26th of October, 4004 B.C. at 9 o'clock in the morning.") Orthodox religionists flooded the New York publishers of Darwin's volume with letters demanding its suppression. Andrew D. White, a prominent U.S. educator, scholar, and diplomat, here describes in a famous book some of the reactions in the United States. How might one explain the violence of these comments?*

Darwin's *Origin of Species* had come into the theological world like a plough into an anthill. Everywhere those thus rudely awakened from their old comfort and repose had swarmed forth angry and confused. Reviews, sermons, books light and heavy, came flying at the new thinker from all sides. . . .

Echoes came from America. One review, the organ of the most widespread of American religious sects, declared that Darwin was "attempting to befog and to pettifog the whole question"; another denounced Darwin's views as "infidelity"; another, representing the American branch of the Anglican Church, poured contempt over Darwin as "sophistical and illogical," and then plunged into an exceedingly dangerous line of argument in the following words: "If this hypothesis be true, then is the Bible an unbearable fiction; . . . then have Christians for nearly two thousand years been duped by a monstrous lie. . . . Darwin requires us to disbelieve the authoritative word of the Creator."

A leading journal representing the same church took pains to show the evolution theory to be as contrary to the explicit declarations of the New Testament as to those of the Old, and said: "If we have all, men and monkeys, oysters and eagles, developed from an original germ, then is St. Paul's grand deliverance—'All flesh is not the same flesh; there is one kind of flesh of men, another of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds'—untrue." . . .

But a far more determined opponent was the Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton. His

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[1] A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 70, 71–72, 79–80.

anger toward the evolution doctrine was bitter: he denounced it as thoroughly "atheistic"; he insisted that Christians "have a right to protest against the arraying of probabilities against the clear evidence of the Scriptures"; he even censured so orthodox a writer as the Duke of Argyll, and declared that the Darwinian theory of natural selection is "utterly inconsistent with the Scriptures," and that "an absent God, who does nothing, is to us no God"; that "to ignore the design as manifested in God's creation is to dethrone God"; that "a denial of design in Nature is virtually a denial of God"; and that "no teleologist can be a Darwinian."

Even more uncompromising was another of the leading authorities at the same university—the Rev. Dr. Duffield. He declared war not only against Darwin but even against men like Asa Gray, Le Conte, and others, who attempted to reconcile the new theory with the Bible. He insisted that "evolutionism and the Scriptural account of the origin of men are irreconcilable"—that the Darwinian theory is "in direct conflict with the teaching of the apostle, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.' " He pointed out, in his opposition to Darwin's *Descent of Man* and Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, that in the Bible "the genealogical links which connect the Israelites in Egypt with Adam and Eve and Eden are explicitly given."

These utterances of Prof. Duffield culminated in a declaration which deserves to be cited as showing that a Presbyterian minister can "deal damnation round the land" *ex cathedra* in a fashion quite equal to that of popes and bishops. It is as follows: "If the development theory of the origin of man," wrote Dr. Duffield in the *Princeton Review*, "shall in a little while take its place—as doubtless it will—with other exploded scientific speculations, then they who accept it with its proper logical consequences will in the life to come have their portion with those who in this life 'know not God and obey not the gospel of His Son.' "

2. Beecher Accepts Evolution (1886)

The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, a famed Congregational minister, was the most popular and influential preacher of his day. Like his sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, he crusaded against slavery and, in a mock auction in his Brooklyn church, raised money to redeem a black girl from slavery. Although besmirched by a notorious adultery trail, which ended in a hung jury, he continued to preach religion and discuss public issues with eloquence and boldness. His disbelief in a literal hell, combined with his belief in evolution, generated friction with orthodox members of the clergy and led to his withdrawal from the Association of Congregational Ministers. He customarily preached to twenty-five hundred people; after he died, forty thousand viewed his body. Why does he accept Darwin's views, and why does he believe that evolution will help true religion?

As thus set forth, it may be said that Evolution is accepted as the method of creation by the whole scientific world, and that the period of controversy is passed and closed. A few venerable men yet live with many doubts; but it may be said that 99 percent—as has been declared by an eminent physicist—99 percent of scientific men and working scientists of the world are using this theory without any doubt of its validity. . . .

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[2]H. W. Beecher, *Evolution and Religion* (Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1885), pp. 50–54.

This science of Evolution is taught in all advanced academies, in all colleges and universities, in all medical and surgical schools, and our children are receiving it as they are the elements of astronomy or botany or chemistry. That in another generation Evolution will be regarded as uncontradictable as the Copernican system of astronomy, or the Newtonian doctrine of gravitation, can scarcely be doubted. Each of these passed through the same contradiction by theologians. They were charged by the Church, as is Evolution now, with fostering materialism, infidelity, and atheism.

We know what befell Galileo for telling the truth of God's primitive relevation. We know, or do not know, at least, how Newton stood charged with infidelity and with atheism when he announced the doctrine of gravitation.

Who doubts the heliocentric theory [of Copernicus] today? Who doubts whether it is the sun which is moving round the earth or the earth round the sun? Who doubts that the law of attraction, as developed by Newton, is God's material law universally? The time is coming when the doctrine of Evolution, or the method of God in the creation of the world, will be just as universally accepted as either of these great physical doctrines. The whole Church fought them; yet they stand, conquerors. . . .

Evolution is substantially held by men of profound Christian faith: by the now venerable and universally honored scientific teacher, Professor Dana of Yale College, a devout Christian and communicant of a Congregational Church; by Professor Le Conte of the University of California, an elder in the Presbyterian Church; by President McCosh of Princeton College, a Presbyterian of the Presbyterians, and a Scotch Presbyterian at that; by Professor Asa Gray of Harvard University, a communicant of the Christian Church; by increasing numbers of Christian preachers in America; by Catholics like Mivart, in England. . . .

To the fearful and the timid let me say that while Evolution is certain to oblige theology to reconstruct its system, it will take nothing away from the grounds of true religion. It will strip off Saul's unmanageable armor from David, to give him greater power over the giant. Simple religion is the unfolding of the best nature of man towards God, and man has been hindered and embittered by the outrageous complexity of unbearable systems of theology that have existed. If you can change theology, you will emancipate religion; yet men are continually confounding the two terms, religion and theology. . . .

Evolution, applied to religion, will influence it only as the hidden temples are restored, by removing the sands which have drifted in from the arid deserts of scholastic and medieval theologies. It will change theology, but only to bring out the simple temple of God in clearer and more beautiful lines and proportions. . . .

In every view, then, it is the duty of the friends of simple and unadulterated Christianity to hail the rising light and to uncover every element of religious teaching to its wholesome beams. Old men may be charitably permitted to die in peace, but young men and men in their prime are by God's providence laid under the most solemn obligations to thus discern the signs of the times, and to make themselves acquainted with the knowledge which science is laying before them. And above all, those zealots of the pulpit who make faces at a science which they do not understand, and who reason from prejudice to ignorance; who not only will not lead their people, but hold up to scorn those who strive to take off the burden of ignorance from their shoulders—these men are bound to open their eyes and see God's sun shining in the heavens.

D. The Anti-saloon Crusade

1. Frances Willard Prays in a Saloon (1874)

An independent girl, Frances E. Willard defied her novel-hating father by openly reading Scott's Ivanhoe *on her eighteenth birthday. At first an educator of females, she gained fame as an advocate of temperance and women's suffrage. She was one of the founders of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which grew out of the praying-in-saloons crusade of 1873–1874. Willard stressed not so much the social and economic evils of drinking as the need for protecting the home and the Christian way of life. The saloon, often in league with gambling and prostitution, was riding high from 1870 to 1900. Some towns had one for every two hundred inhabitants; and the swinging doors, the heavy brass rails, and the nude Venus over the huge gilded mirror were all familiar sights. Willard here describes her experiences in Pittsburgh. How effective is this approach, and how would it be received today?*

We paused in front of the saloon that I have mentioned. The ladies ranged themselves along the curbstone, for they had been forbidden in any wise to incommode the passers-by, being dealt with much more strictly than a drunken man or a heap of dry-goods boxes would be.

At a signal from our gray-haired leader, a sweet-voiced woman began to sing, "Jesus the water of life will give," all our voices soon blending in that sweet song. I think it was the most novel spectacle that I recall. There stood women of undoubted religious devotion and the highest character, most of them crowned with the glory of gray hairs. Along the stony pavement of that stoniest of cities rumbled the heavy wagons, many of them carriers of beer; between us and the saloon in front of which we were drawn up in line, passed the motley throng, almost every man lifting his hat and even the little newsboys doing the same. It was American manhood's tribute to Christianity and to womanhood, and it was significant and full of pathos.

The leader had already asked the saloonkeeper if we might enter, and he had declined, else the prayer meeting would have occurred inside his door. A sorrowful old lady, whose only son had gone to ruin through that very death-trap, knelt on the cold, moist pavement and offered a broken-hearted prayer, while all our heads were bowed.

At a signal we moved on and the next saloonkeeper permitted us to enter. I had no more idea of the inward appearance of a saloon than if there had been no such place on earth. I knew nothing of its high, heavily corniced bar, its barrels with the ends all pointed toward the looker-on, each barrel being furnished with a faucet, its shelves glittering with decanters and cut glass, its floors thickly strewn with sawdust, and here and there a round table with chairs—nor of its abundant fumes, sickening to healthful nostrils.

The tall, stately lady who led us placed her Bible on the bar and read a psalm, whether hortatory or imprecatory I do not remember, but the spirit of these crusaders was so gentle, I think it must have been the former.

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[1] Frances E. Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years* (Women's Temperance Publishing Association, 1892), pp. 340–341.

Here They Come
Praying ladies about to descend on a saloon. (Harper's Weekly, 1874)

Then we sang "Rock of Ages" as I thought I had never heard it sung before, with a tender confidence to the height of which one does not rise in the easy-going, regulation prayer meeting, and then one of the older women whispered to me softly that the leader wished to know if I would pray. It was strange, perhaps, but I felt not the least reluctance, and kneeling on that sawdust floor, with a group of earnest hearts around me, and behind them, filling every corner and extending out into the street, a crowd of unwashed, unkempt, hard-looking drinking men, I was conscious that perhaps never in my life, save beside my sister Mary's dying bed, had I prayed as truly as I did then. This was my Crusade baptism. The next day I went on to the West and within a week had been made president of the Chicago W.C.T.U.

2. Gompers Defends the Saloon (c. 1886)

The Knights of Labor, joining the foes of the saloon, refused to admit liquor sellers to their membership. Their leader, Terence V. Powderly, even accused certain employers of encouraging drink so that the employees would become more content with their

[2]From *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography* by Samuel Gompers. Copyright 1925 by E. P. Dutton. Copyright renewal 1953 by Gertrude Gleaves Gompers. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, E. P. Dutton, Inc.

underpaid lot. (This argument assumes that docility is preferable to efficiency.) But Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor had a good word to say for the attractively lighted "poor man's club," even though it drained away the family's grocery money. Did the advantages offset the disadvantages?

The saloon was the only club the workingmen had then. For a few cents we could buy a glass of beer and hours of congenial society. Talk in these meeting places had a peculiar freedom from formality that engendered good-fellowship and exchange of genuine intimacies.

The saloon rendered a variety of industrial services. Frequently, wages were paid there—in checks which the saloonkeeper cashed. Of course, it was embarrassing to accept that service without spending money with him.

All too frequently the saloonkeeper also served as an employment agent. But on the other hand the saloonkeeper was often a friend in time of strikes and the free lunch [salty foods to stimulate thirst] he served was a boon to many a hungry striker.

Nearly every saloon had a room or a hall back of it or over it that could be rented for a nominal sum. Of course, the saloon was counting on increased receipts due to gatherings held in the hall. These rooms were practically the only meeting places available to unions, which were poor and small in numbers.

[The continued callousness of "booze barons" resulted in the launching of the Anti-Saloon League in 1893. It supplemented the efforts of the Prohibition party, organized in 1869, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, organized in 1874. With mounting zeal the reformers harped on the following arguments: (1) Alcohol was a debauching force in U.S. politics. (2) The rapid mechanization of industry required sobriety for safety and efficiency. (3) The liquor sellers were saddling the taxpayers with the occupants of prisons and poorhouses. But prohibition in the localities and the states was slow in coming. By 1905 only four states had entered the "dry" column: Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, and North Dakota. Success was slowest in the large urban areas, where huge colonies of undigested immigrants had brought with them Old World drinking habits.]

E. The Changing Role of Women

1. Victoria Woodhull Advocates Free Love (1871)

Victoria Woodhull, a brilliant, beautiful, and erratic woman, arrived in New York in 1868 with her sister, Tennessee Celeste Claflin. They quickly emerged as outspoken champions of women's suffrage and of a new egalitarian standard of sexual morality. Woodhull gained wide support from leaders of the suffrage movement when she persuaded the House Judiciary Committee in 1871 to hold hearings on a suffrage amendment. But many of her fellow feminists began to wonder about Woodhull's usefulness to their cause when she accused Horace Greeley, who favored women's

[1]Victoria C. Woodhull, *The Scarecrows of Sexual Slavery* (1874), pp. 19–22.

suffrage but opposed "free love," of ruining his wife's health and causing the deaths of five of his seven children. She also denounced Catharine Beecher (see Vol. 1, p. 326) as among those "who now clog the wheels of progress, and stand forth as the enemies of their sex . . . doing their utmost to cement the chains of their degradation, giving to man the same power over them as he possesses over his horses and dogs. . . ." Finally, in 1872, Woodhull accused Henry Ward Beecher, probably the most famous American preacher of his day and another friend of women's suffrage, of carrying on an adulterous relationship—an accusation that resulted in a sensational trial that ended in a "jury disagreement." In the article excerpted here, what are Woodhull's views of marriage? How do they differ from those of Catharine Beecher and other traditional women of the day? What might have been the relationship between these views and Woodhull's advocacy of women's suffrage?

Many are the tales of horror and brutal violence that have been related of negro slavery, where the lash of the driver was depicted until their hearers almost felt its stings in their own flesh, and almost the red streams flowing down their own backs, and these appealed to the souls of men and women until they were ready to do whatever was needed to destroy a monster that could cause such suffering to a single human being. But I am fully convinced that all the suffering of all the negro slaves combined, is as nothing in comparison to that which women, as a whole, suffer. There were several millions of negro slaves. There are twenty millions of women slaves. The negroes were dependent upon their masters for all the comforts of life they enjoyed; but it was to the interest of their masters to give them all of these that health demanded. Women are as much dependent upon men for their sustenance as were the negroes upon their masters, lacking the interest that they had in the negroes as personal property.

It is an unpleasant thing to say that women, in many senses, are as much slaves as were the negroes, but if it be true, ought it not to be said? I say, a thousand times, yes! And when the slavery to which they are subjected is compared to that which the negro endured, the demand for its consideration increases again, still a thousand times more.

Perhaps it may be denied that women are slaves, sexually, sold and delivered to man. But I tell you, as a class, that they are, and the conclusion cannot be escaped. Let me convince all doubters of this. Stand before me, all ye married women, and tell me how many of you would remain mistresses of your husbands' homes if you should refuse to cohabit sexually with them? Answer ye this, and then tell me that ye are free, if ye can! I tell ye that you are the sexual slaves of your husbands, bound by as terrible bonds to serve them sexually as ever a negro was bound to serve his owner, physically; and if you don't quite believe it, go home and endeavor to assert your freedom, and see to what it will lead! You may not be made to feel the inevitable lash that followed rebellion on the part of the negro, but even this is not certain; yet lashes of some sort will surely be dealt. Refuse to yield to the sexual demands of your legal master, and ten to one he will turn you into the street, or in lieu of this, perhaps, give you personal violence, even to compelling you to submit by force. Tell me that wives are not slaves! As well might you have done the same of the negroes, who, as the women do not, did not realize their condition!

I offer it as a well-grounded conclusion that I have come to, after years of inquiry

and observation, that nine of every ten wives, at some time during their marriage, are compelled, according to the injunction of St. Paul, to submit themselves to their husbands, when every sentiment of their souls revolts to the act; and I feel an answering response coming up to me from many sick souls among you, that shrink in horror from the contemplation of the terrible scenes to which they have been compelled.

Remember, I do not say this is universally true; I do not say that all wives, at all times, are thus situated. Neither were all negro slaves at all times subjected to the lash or to other brutal treatment. The large majority of negroes were well treated and comparatively happy; but they were slaves, nevertheless. The cases of extreme cruelty were really rarer than is generally believed, but they were enough to condemn the system and to cause its terrible washing out by the blood of hundreds of thousands of the brightest souls of the country. So, also, are the cases of extreme cruelty on the part of the husbands not exceedingly common, but they are sufficiently so to condemn the whole system, and to demand, if need be, that it, too, be washed out by the blood, if necessary, of millions of human beings.

For my part I would rather be the labor slave of a master, with his whip cracking continually about my ears, my whole life, than the forced sexual slave of any man a single hour; and I know that every woman who has freedom born in her soul will shout in deepest and earnest response to this—Amen! I know what it is to be both these. I have traveled the city pavements of New York in mid-winter, seeking employment, with nothing on my feet except an old pair of india-rubber shoes, and a common calico dress only to cover my body, while the man who called me wife and who made me his sexual slave, spent his money upon other women. I am not speaking whereof I know not. My case may be thought an extreme one, but I know of thousands even worse. Then tell me I shall not have the right to denounce this damned system! Tell me I shall be sent to Sing Sing if I dare expose these things! Open your Sing Sings a thousand times, but none of their terrors shall stop a single word. I will tell the world, so long as I have a tongue and the strength to move it, of all the infernal misery hidden behind this horrible thing called marriage, though the Young Men's Christian Association sentence me to prison a year for every word. I have seen horrors beside which stone walls and iron bars are heaven, and I will not hold my peace so long as a system, that can produce such damnation and by which, as its author, heaven is blasphemed, exists.

Would to Heaven I could thunder these facts forth until women should be moved by a comprehension of the low degradation to which they have fallen, to open rebellion; until they should rise *en masse* and declare themselves free, resisting all sexual subjection, and utterly refusing to yield their bodies up to man, until they shall grant them perfect freedom. It was not the slaves themselves who obained their own freedom. It was their noble white brothers of the North, who, seeing their condition, and realizing that though they were black, still that they were brothers, sacrificed themselves for the time to emancipate them. So it will not be the most suffering slaves of this horrible slavery who will accomplish its abolition; but it must be those who know and appreciate the terrible condition, who must, for the time, sacrifice ourselves, that their sisters may come to themselves and to own themselves.

Go preach this doctrine, then, ye who have the strength and the moral courage: No more sexual intercourse for men who do not fully consent that all women shall be

free, and who do not besides this, also join the standard of the rebellion. It matters not if you be wife or not, raise your voice for your suffering sex, let the consequences to yourself be what they may. They say I have come to break up the family; I say amen to that with all my heart. I hope I may break up every family in the world that exists by virtue of sexual slavery, and I feel that the smiles of angels, the smiles of those who have gone on before, who suffered here what I have suffered and what thousands are suffering, will give me strength to brave all opposition, and to stand even upon the scaffold, if need be, that my sisters all over the world may be emancipated, may rise from slavery to the full dignity of womanhood.

2. *The Life of a Working Girl (1905)*

Dorothy Richardson, a fairly well educated, obviously middle-class young woman, was compelled by necessity to seek employment in a New York sweatshop around the turn of the century. She recorded her experiences in a remarkable book, The Long Day, *excerpted here. What is her attitude toward the immigrant working-class girls who became her companions and work-mates? Why did these young women work? How were their working conditions different from those of today? Elsewhere in her book, Richardson quoted one of her fellow workers who spoke of "long ago, when they used to treat the girls so bad. Things is ever so much better now." How might the conditions here described have been worse in an earlier day?*

Bessie met Eunice and me at the lower right-hand corner of Broadway and Grand Street, and together we applied for work at the R——— Underwear Company, which had advertised that morning for twenty operators.

"Ever run a power Singer?" queried the foreman.

"No, but we can learn. We're all quick," answered Bessie, who had volunteered to act as spokesman.

"Yes, I guess you can learn all right, but you won't make very much at first. All come together? . . . So! Well, then, I guess you'll want to work in the same room," and with that he ushered us into a very inferno of sound, a great, yawning chaos of terrific noise. The girls, who sat in long rows up and down the length of the great room, did not raise their eyes to the newcomers, as is the rule in less strenuous workrooms. Every pair of eyes seemed to be held in fascination upon the flying and endless strip of white that raced through a pair of hands to feed itself into the insatiable maw of the electric sewing-machine. Every face, tense and stony, bespoke a superb effort to concentrate mind and body, and soul itself, literally upon the point of a needle. Every form was crouched in the effort to guide the seam through the presser-foot. And piled between the opposing phalanxes of set faces were billows upon billows of foamy white muslin and lace—the finished garments wrought by the so-many dozen per hour, for the so-many cents per day,—and wrought, too, in this terrific, nerve-racking noise.

The foreman led us into the middle of the room, which was lighted by gas-jets that hung directly over the girls' heads, although the ends of the shop had bright sunshine

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[2]From Dorothy Richardson, *The Long Day: The Story of the New York Working Girl as Told by Herself* (Century Company, 1905), as it appears in William L. O'Neill, *Women at Work* (Quadrangle, 1972), pp. 203–214.

from the windows. He seemed a good-natured, respectable sort of man, of about forty, and was a Jew. Bessie and me he placed at machines side by side, and Eunice a little farther down the line. Then my first lesson began. He showed me how to thread bobbin and needle, how to operate ruffler and tucker, and also how to turn off and on the electric current which operated the machinery. My first attempt to do the latter was productive of a shock to the nerves that could not have been greater if, instead of pressing the harmless little lever under the machine with my knee, I had accidently exploded a bomb. The foreman laughed good-naturedly at my fright.

"You'll get used to it by and by," he shouted above the noise; "but like as not for a while you won't sleep very good nights—kind of nervous; but you'll get over that in a week or so," and he ducked his head under the machine to adjust the belt. . . .

I leaned over the machine and practised at running a straight seam. Ah, the skill of these women and girls, and of the strange creature opposite, who can make a living at this torturing labor! How very different, how infinitely harder it is, as compared with running an ordinary sewing-machine. The goods that my nervous fingers tried to guide ran every wrong way. I had no control whatever over the fearful velocity with which the needle danced along the seam. In utter discouragement, I stopped trying for a moment, and watched the girl at my right. She was a swarthy, thick-lipped Jewess, of the type most common in such places, but I looked at her with awe and admiration. In Rachel Goldberg's case the making of muslin, lace-trimmed corset-covers was an art rather than a craft. She was a remarkable operator even among scores of experts at the R———. Under her stubby, ill-kept hands ruffles and tucks and insertion bands and lace frills were wrought with a beauty and softness of finish, and a speed and precision of workmanship, that made her the wonder and envy of the shop. . . .

Result of my first hour's work: I had spoiled a dozen garments. Try as I would, I invariably lost all control of my materials, and the needle plunged right and left—everywhere, in fact, except along the straight and narrow way laid out for it. . . .

As I spoiled each garment I thrust it into the bottom of a green pasteboard box under the table, which held my allotment of work, and from the top of the box grabbed up a fresh piece. I glanced over my shoulder and saw that Bessie was doing the same thing, although what we were going to do with them, or how account for such wholesale devastation of goods, we were too perturbed to consider. At last, however, after repeated trials, and by guiding the seam with laborious care, I succeeded in completing one garment without disaster; and I had just started another, when—crash!—flying shuttles and spinning bobbins and swirling wheels came to a standstill. My sewing-machine was silent, as were all the others in the great workroom. Something had happened to the dynamo.

There was a howl of disappointment. . . .

Rachel Goldberg had finished four dozen of extrafine garments, which meant seventy-five cents, and it was not yet eleven o'clock. She would make at least one dollar and sixty cents before the day was over, provided we did not have any serious breakdowns. She watched the clock impatiently,—every minute she was idle meant a certain fraction of a penny lost,—and crouched sullenly over her machine for the signal. . . .

In half an hour we had resumed work, and at half-past twelve we stopped for another half-hour and ate luncheon—Bessie, Eunice, and I in a corner by ourselves.

We held a conference, and compared notes of the morning's progress, which had

been even more discouraging to poor Eunice than to us; for to her it had brought the added misfortune of a row of stitches in her right forefinger. We counted up our profits for the morning, and the aggregate earnings of the three of us did not amount to ten cents. Of course we would learn to do better, but it would take a long, long time, Bessie was firmly convinced, before we could even make enough to buy our lunches. It was decided that one of us should resign the job that night, and the other two keep at it until the delegate found something better for us all and had tested the new job to her satisfaction. Bessie was of course appointed, and the next morning Eunice and I went alone, with plausible excuses for the absent Bessie, for we had a certain delicacy about telling the real facts to so kind a foreman as "Abe."

The second day we had no better luck, and the pain between the shoulderblades was unceasing. All night long I had tossed on my narrow cot, with aching back and nerves wrought up to such a tension that the moment I began to doze off I was wakened by a spasmodic jerk of the right arm as it reached forward to grasp a visionary strip of lace. That evening, as we filed out at six o'clock, Bessie was waiting for us, her gentle face full of radiance and good news. Even the miserable Eunice was affected by her hopefulness.

"Oh, girls, I've got something that's really good—three dollars a week while you're learning, and an awful nice shop; and just think, girls!—the hours—I never had anything like it before, and I've knocked around at eighteen different jobs—half-past eight to five, and—" she paused for breath to announce the glorious fact—"Girls, just think of it!—*Saturday afternoons off,* all the year round."

3. An Italian Immigrant Woman Faces Life Alone in the Big City (c. 1896)

Rose Cavalleri came from her native Lombardy, in Italy, to Chicago in 1884. Although she never knew her exact birth date, she was probably about eighteen years old when she arrived in the United States. In later years she recounted her life story to Marie Hall Ets, who was a social worker at the Chicago Commons, a settlement house founded in 1894 by Dr. Graham Taylor, an associate of the pioneering urban reformer Jane Addams. What might have been Rosa Cavalleri's response to Victoria Woodhull's call for free love? What were the most important concerns in Cavalleri's life? Who helped her? What evidence does this account provide of the existence of an immigrant "community"? What was the role of the municipal government in Rosa Cavalleri's life?

The year my Leo was born I was home alone and struggled along with my children. My husband went away because he was sick—he went by a doctor in St. Louis to get cured. The doctor said he must stay away from his home one year and gave him a job to do all the janitor work around his house for five dollars a month and his board. So me, I used to go all around to find the clothes to wash and the scrubbing. The city hall was helping me again in that time—they gave me a little coal and sometimes the basket of food. Bob, the sign painter downstairs, he helped me the

[3]Marie Hall Ets, *Rosa: The Life of an Italian Immigrant* (1970), pp. 228–231. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. Copyright © 1970 by the University of Minnesota. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

most. He was such a good young man. He used to bring a big chunk of coal and chop it up right in my kitchen and fix the stove.

I was to the end of my nine months, but the baby never came. So I went by one woman, Mis' Thomas, and I got part of the clothes washed. Then I said, "Oh Mis' Thomas, I've got to go. I've got the terrible pains!"

She said, "You can go when you finish. You've got to finish first."

"No, I go. Otherwise I'll have to stay in your bed." When I said that she got scared I would have the baby there, so she let me go.

I went by the midwife, Mis' Marino, and told her to come; then I went home. When I saw it was my time, I told Domenico something and sent him with all the children to the wife of Tomaso. I told those people before, when they see the children come they must keep them all night—it's my time. It was really, really my time, and I had such a scare that I would be alone a second time. So when I heard a lady come in the building—she lived downstairs—I called to her. She said, "I have no time." And she didn't come up.

I was on my bed all alone by myself and then I prayed Sant' Antoni with all my heart. I don't know why I prayed Sant' Antoni—the Madonna put it in my mind. And then, just when the baby was born, I saw Sant' Antoni right there! He appeared in the room by me! I don't think it was really Sant' Antoni there, but in my imagination I saw him—all light like the sun. I saw Sant' Antoni there by my bed, and right then the door opened and the midwife came in to take care of the baby! It was February seventh and six below zero. There I had him born all alone, but Mis' Marino came when I prayed Sant' Antoni. She washed the baby and put him by me, but then she ran away. She didn't light the fire or nothing.

Oh, that night it was *so* cold! And me in my little wooden house in the alley with the walls all frosting—thick white frosting. I was crying and praying, "How am I going to live?" I said. "Oh, Sant' Antoni, I'll never live till tomorrow morning! I'll never live till the morning!"

And just as I prayed my door opened and a lady came in. She had a black shawl twice around her neck and head and that shawl came down to her nose. All I could see was half the nose and the mouth. She came in and lighted both the stoves. Then she came and looked at me, but I couldn't see her face. I said, "God bless you!"

She just nodded her head up and down and all the time said not one word, only "Sh, sh."

The she went down in the basement herself, nobody telling her nothing, and she got the coal and fixed the fire. Pretty soon she found that little package of camomile tea I had there on the dresser and she made a little tea with the hot water. And that woman stayed by me almost till daylight. But all the time she put her finger to her mouth to tell me to keep still when I tried to thank her. And I never knew where that lady came from! I don't know yet! Maybe she was the spirit of that kind girl, Annina, in Canaletto? I don't know. I really don't know! I was *so* sick and I didn't hear her voice or see her face. All the time she put her finger on her mouth and said, "Sh, sh." And when the daylight came she was gone.

About seven o'clock morning my children came home. And Mis' Marino, that midwife, she came at eight o'clock and said, "It's so cold I thought I'd find you dead!"

Then here came the city hall, or somebody, with a wagon. They wanted to take me and my new baby to the hospital. But how could I leave all my children? I started to

cry—I didn't want to go. And my children cried too—they didn't want me to leave them. So then they didn't make me. They pulled my bed away from the frosting on the wall and put it in the front room by the stove. And my baby, I had him wrapped up in a pad I made from the underskirt like we do in *Italia*. But that baby froze when he was born; he couldn't cry like other babies—he was crying weak, weak.

My Visella was bringing up the wood and the coal and trying to make that room warm. But she was only a little girl, she didn't know, and she filled that stove so full that all the pipes on the ceiling caught fire. I had to jump up from the bed and throw the pails of water so the house wouldn't burn down. Then God sent me help again. He sent that Miss Mildred from the settlement house. She didn't know about me and my Leo born; she was looking for some other lady and she came to my door and saw me. She said, "Oh, I have the wrong place."

"I said, "No, lady, you find the right place."

So she came in and found out all. Then she ran away and brought back all those little things the babies in America have. She felt sorry to see my baby banded up like I had him. She didn't know then, Miss Mildred, that the women in *Italia* always band their babies that way. And she brought me something to eat too—for me and for my children. That night another young lady from the Commons, Miss May, she came and slept in my house to take care of the fire. She was afraid for the children—maybe they would burn themselves and the house. Oh, that Miss Mildred and Miss May, they were angels to come and help me like that! Four nights Miss May stayed there and kept the fire going. They were high-up educated girls—they were used to sleeping in the warm house with the plumbing—and there they came and slept in my wooden house in the alley, and for a toilet they had to go down to that shed under the sidewalk. They were really, really friends! That time I had my Leo nobody knew I was going to have the baby—I looked kind of fat, that's all. These women in the settlement house were so surprised. They said, "Why you didn't tell us before, Mis' Cavalleri, so we can help you?"

You know that Mis' Thomas—I was washing her clothes when the baby started to come—she wanted a boy and she got a baby girl right after my baby was born. When I went there the next week to do the washing I had to carry my baby with me. When she saw him she said, "Well better I have a girl than I have a boy that looks like your baby! He looks for sure like a monkey!"

In the first beginning he did look like a monkey, but in a few weeks he got pretty. He got so pretty all the people from the settlement house came to see him. After two or three months there was no baby in Chicago prettier than that baby.

When the year was over for him, my husband came home from St. Louis. He didn't sent me the money when he was there—just two times the five dollars—so he brought twenty-five dollars when he came back. Oh, he was so happy when he saw that baby with exactly, exactly his face and everything—the same dark gold hair and everything—and so beautiful. But he saw that baby was so thin and pale and couldn't cry like the other babies. "Better I go by a good doctor and see," he said. "I've got twenty-five dollars—I'm going to get a good doctor." So he did.

But the doctor said, "That baby can't live. He was touched in the lungs with the cold. Both lungs got froze when he was born."

And sure enough he was all the time sick and when it was nine months he died. My first Leo and my second Leo I lose them both. Oh, I was brokenhearted to lose such a beautiful baby! . . .

4. Jane Addams Demands the Vote for Women (1910)

Jane Addams (1860–1935) was a multitalented reformer who battled for women's rights, urban reform, and international peace (she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931). In 1889 she helped to found Chicago's Hull House, one of the earliest settlement houses that worked to improve living conditions in the slums. A keen observer of the conditions that shaped people's lives in the new environment of the cities, she soon found in the movement toward urbanization a powerful set of arguments on behalf of granting the vote to women. In the following selection, what points are most effective in her demand for the suffrage? Does she view the suffrage as an extension of women's traditional role, or as a means for transforming that role?

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement-house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials and [unless] the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective. . . .

. . . [There] are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women. . . . The first of these . . . is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good schools; (b) that they may be kept free from vicious

[4]Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote," *Ladies' Home Journal* 27 (January 1910): 21–22.

influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natural that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers to influence largely actual school curriculi. If they had been kindergartens, domestic science courses and school playgrounds would be far more numerous than they are. More than once woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's. Perhaps, too, only women realize the influence which the school might exert upon the home if a proper adaptation to actual needs were considered. An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. . . .

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the overrestrained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. It is obvious that a little study of the needs of children, a sympathetic understanding of the conditions under which they go astray, might save hundreds of them. Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court movement a dozen years ago. . . .

. . . (c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four years old go to the kindergarten, the woman has been left in a household of constantly-narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory. Ever since steam power has been applied to the process of weaving and spinning woman's traditional work has been carried on largely outside of the home. The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed, by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there, although it is doubtful, in spite of the large number of factory girls, whether women now are doing as large a portion of the world's work as they used to do. Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions.

If woman's sense of obligation had enlarged as the industrial conditions changed she might naturally and almost imperceptibly have inaugurated the movements for

social amelioration in the line of factory legislation and shop sanitation. That she has not done so is doubtless due to the fact that her conscience is slow to recognize any obligation outside of her own family circle, and because she was so absorbed in her own household that she failed to see what the conditions outside actually were. It would be interesting to know how far the consciousness that she had no vote and could not change matters operated in this direction. After all, we see only those things to which our attention has been drawn, we feel responsibility for those things which are brought to us as matters of responsibility. If conscientious women were convinced that it was a civic duty to be informed in regard to these grave industrial affairs, and then to express the conclusions which they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot-box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old traditions. . . .

In a complex community like the modern city all points of view need to be represented; the resultants of diverse experiences need to be pooled if the community would make for sane and balanced progress. If it would meet fairly each problem as it arises, whether it be connected with a freight tunnel having to do largely with business men, or with the increasing death rate among children under five years of age, a problem in which women are vitally concerned, or with the question of more adequate street-car transfers, in which both men and women might be said to be equally interested, it must not ignore the judgments of its entire adult population.

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. After all, woman's traditional function has been to make her dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally coöperating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

Thought Provokers

1. What was most novel about city life? How are cities different today?
2. If the New Immigrants were disillusioned by America, why didn't more of them return to the Old Country? Why did they congregate in slums?

3. Was a literacy test fairer than restricting immigrants by quota? Why was the immigrant less welcome in the 1890s than in the 1790s?
4. It has been said that Darwin jolted orthodox Christianity more severely than Copernicus did three hundred years earlier with his discoveries regarding the solar system. Explain. Why was it so difficult to reconcile evolution with a literal reading of the Bible?
5. Critics have charged that one reason that the saloon prospered was that the churches and the community failed to provide wholesome alternatives. Discuss.
6. What was new about the "new woman" at the end of the nineteenth century? Why did women in growing numbers work for wages? Did female workers deserve special protection? How did the movement to the city help the campaign for women's suffrage?

29

The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution, 1865–1890

Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice upon our part. . . .

President Hayes, 1877

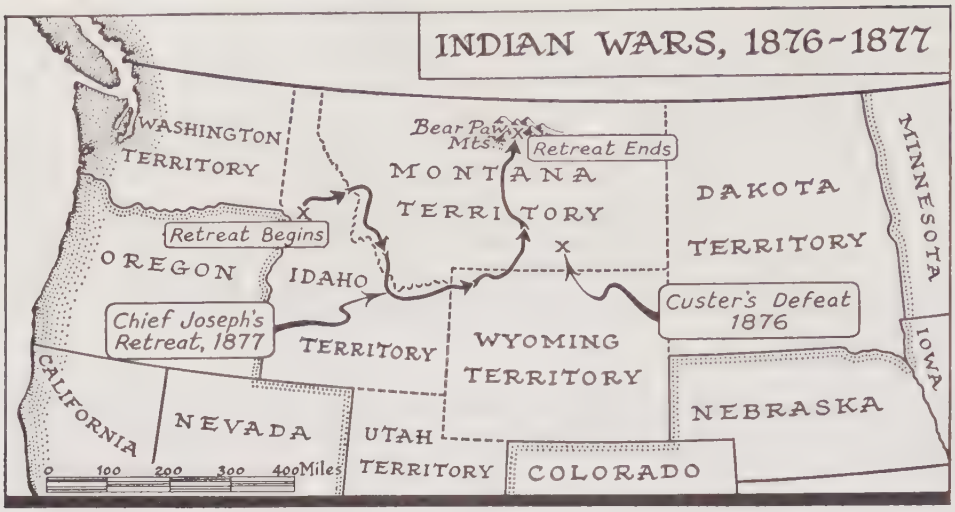
Prologue: The fence-erecting white men inevitably clashed with the wide-roaming Indians of the plains. As land greed undermined ethical standards, many settlers acted as though the Indians had no more rights than the buffalo, which were also ruthlessly slaughtered. The seemingly endless frontier wars ended finally when the Native Americans, cooped up in human zoos called reservations, were forced to adopt in part the economic life of their conquerors. The honest farmer and the fraudulent speculator were now free to open the Far West under the Homestead Act of 1862—the United States' first big giveaway program. Much of the settlement occurred in areas with only scanty rainfall; and when crops failed, or when overproduction came, the farmer was trapped. Agitation for relief vented itself most spectacularly in 1892, when the Populist party waged a colorful campaign for the presidency under General James B. Weaver. Although he carried six western states, he ran well behind the second-place Republicans as the Democrats again swept Grover Cleveland to victory.

A. The Plight of the Indian

1. Custer's Last Stand (1876)

As the white men closed in, the western Indians were forced to make numerous treaties with Washington that confined them to reservations and guaranteed needed supplies. But rascally government contractors cheated them with moldy flour, rotten beef, and moth-eaten blankets. In 1875 the discovery of gold on the Sioux reservation in the Dakotas brought stampeding thousands of miners, who brutally ignored treaty guarantees. The Indians took to the warpath, and the dashing General George Custer with only 264 men rashly attacked a hostile force that turned out to number several

[1] *Harper's Weekly 20* (August 5, 1876): 630–631.



thousand braves. Custer and his entire command were wiped out near the Little Big Horn River (Montana), in what the white men call a "massacre" and the Indians a "battle." What does this account in the reformist Harper's Weekly *see as the principal mistake in dealing with the Indians? Who was basically responsible for the situation that had developed?*

The fate of the brave and gallant Custer had deeply touched the public heart, which sees only a fearless soldier leading a charge against an ambushed [lurking] foe, and falling at the head of his men and in the thick of the fray. A monument is proposed, and subscriptions have been made. But a truer monument, more enduring than brass or marble, would be an Indian policy intelligent, moral, and efficient. Custer would not have fallen in vain if such a policy should be the result of his death.

It is a permanent accusation of our humanity and ability that over the Canadian line the relations between Indians and whites are so tranquil, while upon our side they are summed up in perpetual treachery, waste, and war. When he was a young lieutenant on the frontier, General Grant saw this, and watching attentively, he came to the conclusion that the reason of the difference was that the English respected the rights of the Indians and kept faith with them, while we make solemn treaties with them as if they were civilized and powerful nations, and then practically regard them as vermin to be exterminated.

The folly of making treaties with the Indian tribes may be as great as treating with a herd of buffaloes. But the infamy of violating treaties when we have made them is undeniable, and we are guilty both of the folly and the infamy.

We make treaties—that is, we pledge our faith—and then leave swindlers and knaves of all kinds to execute them. We maintain and breed pauper colonies. The savages, who know us, and who will neither be pauperized nor trust our word, we pursue, and slay if we can, at an incredible expense. The flower of our young officers

is lost in inglorious forays, and one of the intelligent students of the whole subject rises in Congress and says, "The fact is that these Indians, with whom we have made a solemn treaty that their territory should not be invaded, and that they should receive supplies upon their reservations, have seen from one thousand to fifteen hundred [gold] miners during the present season entering and occupying their territory, while the Indians, owing to the failure of this and the last Congress to make adequate appropriations for their subsistence, instead of being fattened, as the gentleman says, by the support of this government, have simply been starved." . . .

It is plain that so long as we undertake to support the Indians as paupers, and then fail to supply the food; to respect their rights to reservations, and then permit the reservations to be overrun; to give them the best weapons and ammunition, and then furnish the pretense of their using them against us; to treat with them as men, and then hunt them like skunks—so long we shall have the most costly and bloody Indian wars, and the most tragical ambuscades, slaughters, and assassinations.

The Indian is undoubtedly a savage, and a savage greatly spoiled by the kind of contact with civilization which he gets at the West. There is no romance, there is generally no interest whatever, in him or his fate. But there should be some interest in our own good faith and humanity, in the lives of our soldiers and frontier settlers, and in the taxation to support our Indian policy. All this should certainly be enough to arouse a public demand for a thorough consideration of the subject, and the adoption of a system which should neither be puerile nor disgraceful, and which would tend to spare us the constant repetition of such sorrowful events as the slaughter of Custer and his brave men.

2. Chief Joseph's Lament (1879)

Chief Joseph, a noble-featured and humane Nez Percé (Pierced Nose) Indian, refused to be removed from his ancestral lands in Oregon and penned up on a reservation in Idaho. After an amazing strategic retreat of about a thousand miles, he was finally captured in 1877 near the Canadian border. The miserable remnants of his band were deported to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), where many died of malaria and other afflictions. Chief Joseph appealed personally to the president, and subsequently the Nez Percés were returned to the Pacific Northwest. In the following narrative, what formula does he offer for ending white–Indian wars?

At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter with me. I am glad I came. I have shaken hands with a good many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I cannot understand how the government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it. . . .

I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not

[2] *North American Review 128* (April 1879): 431–432.

pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle.

Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your war chief, General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves.

I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misinterpretations have been made; too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men and the Indians.

If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian, he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same laws. Give them all an even chance to live and grow.

All men are made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect all rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper.

I have asked some of the Great White Chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They cannot tell me.

I only ask of the government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I cannot go to my own home, let me have a home in a country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley [western Montana]. There my people would be healthy; where they are now, they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington. When I think of our condition, my heart is heavy. I see men of my own race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

I know that my race must change. We cannot hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If an Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If a white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man—free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself—and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we shall have no more wars. We shall all be alike—brothers of one father and mother, with one sky above us and one country around us and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

3. Roosevelt Downgrades the Indians (1885)

Sickly and bespectacled young Theodore Roosevelt, the future president, invested more than $50,000 of his patrimony in ranch lands in Dakota Territory. He lost most of his investment but gained robust health and valuable experience. Wasting little sympathy on the Indians, he felt that the government had "erred quite as often on the side of too much leniency as on the side of too much severity." The following account, based in part on firsthand observations, appears in one of his earliest books. What light do his observations cast on the allegation that whites robbed the Indians of their lands? What is his proposed solution to the problem?

There are now no Indians left in my immediate neighborhood, though a small party of harmless Grosventres occasionally passes through. Yet it is but six years since the Sioux surprised and killed five men in a log station just south of me, where the Fort Keogh trail crosses the river; and, two years ago, when I went down on the prairies toward the Black Hills, there was still danger from Indians. That summer the buffalo hunters had killed a couple of Crows, and while we were on the prairie a long-range skirmish occurred near us between some Cheyennes and a number of cowboys. In fact, we ourselves were one day scared by what we thought to be a party of Sioux; but on riding toward them they proved to be half-breed Crees, who were more afraid of us than we were of them.

During the past century a good deal of sentimental nonsense has been talked about our taking the Indians' land. Now, I do not mean to say for a moment that gross wrong has not been done the Indians, both by government and individuals, again and again. The government makes promises impossible to perform, and then fails to do even what it might toward their fulfilment; and where brutal and reckless frontiersmen are brought into contact with a set of treacherous, revengeful, and fiendishly cruel savages a long series of outrages by both sides is sure to follow.

But as regards taking the land, at least from the Western Indians, the simple truth is that the latter never had any real ownership in it at all. Where the game was plenty, there they hunted; they followed it when it moved away to new hunting-grounds, unless they were prevented by stronger rivals; and to most of the land on which we found them they had no stronger claim than that of having a few years previously butchered the original occupants.

When my cattle came to the Little Missouri the region was only inhabited by a score or so of white hunters; their title to it was quite as good as that of most Indian tribes to the lands they claim; yet nobody dreamed of saying that these hunters owned the country. Each could eventually have kept his own claim of 160 acres, and no more.

The Indians should be treated in just the same way that we treat the white settlers. Give each his little claim; if, as would generally happen, he declined this, why then let him share the fate of the thousands of white hunters and trappers who have lived on the game that the settlement of the country has exterminated, and let him, like these whites, who will not work, perish from the face of the earth which he cumbers.

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[3]Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885), pp. 17–19. In the Dawes Act of 1887, Congress made provision for granting the Indians individual allotments, as Roosevelt here suggests.

The doctrine seems merciless, and so it is; but it is just and rational for all that. It does not do to be merciful to a few, at the cost of justice to the many. The cattlemen at least keep herds and build houses on the land; yet I would not for a moment debar settlers from the right of entry to the cattle country, though their coming in means in the end the destruction of us and our industry.

B. The Crusade for Free Homesteads

1. "Vote Yourself a Farm" (1846)

Free homesteads from the public domain found a powerful champion in George H. Evans, an immigrant from England who became a pioneer editor of U.S. labor journals. A confirmed atheist, he was preoccupied with "natural rights" to the soil. He hoped particularly to increase the wages of eastern laborers by luring surplus workers onto free lands in the West. On what grounds does he base the following appeal?

Are you an American citizen? Then you are a joint-owner of the public lands. Why not take enough of your property to provide yourself a home? Why not vote yourself a farm?

Remember Poor Richard's saying: "Now I have a sheep and a cow, every one bids me 'good morrow.'" If a man have a house and a home of his own, though it be a thousand miles off, he is well received in other people's houses; while the homeless wretch is turned away. The bare right to a farm, though you should never go near it, would save you from many an insult. Therefore, Vote yourself a farm.

Are you a party follower? Then you have long enough employed your vote to benefit scheming office-seekers; use it for once to benefit yourself—Vote yourself a farm.

Are you tired of slavery—of drudging for others—of poverty and its attendant miseries? Then, Vote yourself a farm.

Are you endowed with reason? Then you must know that your right to life hereby includes the right to a place to live in—the right to a home. Assert this right, so long denied mankind by feudal robbers and their attorneys. Vote yourself a farm.

Are you a believer in the Scriptures? Then assert that the land is the Lord's, because He made it. Resist then the blasphemers who exact money for His work, even as you would resist them should they claim to be worshiped for His holiness. Emancipate the poor from the necessity of encouraging such blasphemy—Vote the freedom of the public lands.

Are you a man? Then assert the sacred rights of man—especially your right to stand upon God's earth, and to till it for your own profit. Vote yourself a farm.

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[1]J. R. Commons et al., eds., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* vol. 7 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1910), pp. 305–307. "Vote Yourself a Farm" was a Republican slogan in the Lincoln campaign of 1860.

Would you free your country, and the sons of toil everywhere, from the heartless, irresponsible mastery of the aristocracy of avarice? Would you disarm this aristocracy of its chief weapon, the fearful power of banishment from God's earth? . . . Therefore forget not to Vote yourself a farm.

2. A Texan Scorns Futile Charity (1852)

Agitation for free land continued to mount, and a homestead bill was introduced in Congress designed to donate 160 acres of land to every landless head of a family needing it. Easterners objected that this was a giveaway scheme to benefit a few new western states at the expense of the old states. It would drain off factory workers and hence push up wages and jeopardize prosperity. Critics further argued that the public domain, which was then being sold to replenish the Treasury, was the property of all the taxpayers and should not be given away to a favored few. Representative Howard of Texas aired additional objections in Congress. What light do his remarks cast on the safety-valve theory—that is, that impoverished eastern families could reduce economic distress and relieve class conflict by moving west and taking up cheap land?

But, sir, I deny the constitutional power of Congress to grant away the public property in donations to the poor. This government is not a national almshouse. We have no right to collect money by taxation and then divide the proceeds among the people generally, or those who are destitute of land, food, or raiment. . . .

There is no sound distinction between giving money by direct appropriations from the Treasury, and land, in the purchase of which [e.g., the Louisiana Purchase] that money has been invested. It is no more the property of the nation in one case than in the other, nor less an appropriation. What right have we to tax the property and industry of all classes of society to purchase homesteads, and enrich those who may not be the possessors of the soil? . . .

It is a great mistake to suppose that you will materially better the condition of the man in the old states, or the Atlantic cities, by giving him 160 acres of land in the Far West. The difficulty with him is not that of procuring the land, but to emigrate himself and family to the country where it is, and to obtain the means of cultivating it. Without this the grant is useless to the poor man.

The gift, to make it efficient, should be followed up by a further donation to enable the beneficiary to stock and cultivate it. It would be a far greater boon to all our citizens, of native and foreign origin, to furnish them, for a few dollars, a rapid means of reaching the land states in the West; and this, in my opinion, may be accomplished by exercising the legitimate powers of the government, and without drawing upon the Treasury, or diminishing the value of the public domain as a source of revenue.

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[2] *Congressional Globe,* 32d Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, pp. 583–584. The safety-valve theory, popularly attributed to the historian Frederick J. Turner, antedated him by many years. As early as 1843 a British journal referred to "the safety-valve of western emigration" in America (*Quarterly Review, 71:* 522). Only a few eastern mechanics moved to the West, but many incoming immigrants were attracted there who otherwise would have further congested the seaboard cities.

3. Buchanan Kills a Homestead Bill (1860)

Free-soilers continued to argue that settlers not only had a "natural right" to western land but that they should receive it as recompense for their own expense and sweat in taming the wilderness. In the 1850s homestead bills thrice passed the House, where the North was dominant, but all met defeat in the Senate, where the South was entrenched. Senator Wade of Ohio cried inelegantly in 1859 that it was "a question of land to the landless," whereas the Southern-sponsored bill to buy Cuba was "a question of niggers to the niggerless." Finally, in 1860, a compromise measure staggered through both houses of Congress. It granted 160 acres of land to bona fide settlers who would pay the nominal sum of 25 cents an acre at the end of five years. President Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian under Southern influence, vetoed the measure. Comment critically on his views regarding unfairness to nonfarmers and to the older states. Was he correct in arguing that such a law would undermine the nation's moral fiber?

4. This bill will prove unequal and unjust in its operation, because from its nature it is confined to one class of our people. It is a boon exclusively conferred upon the cultivators of the soil. Whilst it is cheerfully admitted that these are the most numerous and useful class of our fellow citizens, and eminently deserve all the advantages which our laws have already extended to them, yet there should be no new legislation which would operate to the injury or embarrassment of the large body of respectable artisans and laborers. The mechanic who emigrates to the West and pursues his calling must labor long before he can purchase a quarter section of land, whilst the tiller of the soil obtains a farm at once by the bounty of the government. The numerous body of mechanics in our large cities cannot, even by emigrating to the West, take advantage of the provisions of this bill without entering upon a new occupation for which their habits of life have rendered them unfit.

5. This bill is unjust to the old states of the Union in many respects; and amongst these states, so far as the public lands are concerned, we may enumerate every state east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Wisconsin and a portion of Minnesota.

It is a common belief within their limits that the older states of the confederacy [Union] do not derive their proportionate benefit from the public lands. This is not just opinion. It is doubtful whether they could be rendered more beneficial to these states under any other system than that which at present exists. Their proceeds go into the common Treasury to accomplish the objects of the government, and in this manner all of the states are benefited in just proportion. But to give this common inheritance away would deprive the old states of their just proportion of this revenue without holding out any, the least, corresponding advantage. Whilst it is our common glory that the new states have become so prosperous and populous, there is no good reason why the old states should offer premiums to their own citizens to emigrate from them to the West. That land of promise presents in itself sufficient allurements to our young and enterprising citizens without any adventitious aid.

The offer of free farms would probably have a powerful effect in encouraging emigration, especially from states like Illinois, Tennessee, and Kentucky, to the west of

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[3]J. D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), vol. 5, pp. 611–614, passim.

the Mississippi, and could not fail to reduce the price of property within their limits. An individual in states thus situated would not pay its fair value for land when, by crossing the Mississippi, he could go upon the public lands and obtain a farm almost without money and without price.

6. This bill will open one vast field for speculation. . . . Large numbers of actual settlers will be carried out by capitalists upon agreements to give them half of the land for the improvement of the other half. This cannot be avoided. Secret agreements of this kind will be numerous.* In the entry of graduated lands the experience of the Land Office justifies this objection. . . .

10. The honest poor man, by frugality and industry, can in any part of our country acquire a competence for himself and his family, and in doing this he feels that he eats the bread of independence. He desires no charity, either from the government or from his neighbors. This bill, which proposes to give him land at an almost nominal price out of the property of the government, will go far to demoralize the people and repress this noble spirit of independence. It may introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries.

C. The Homestead Hoax

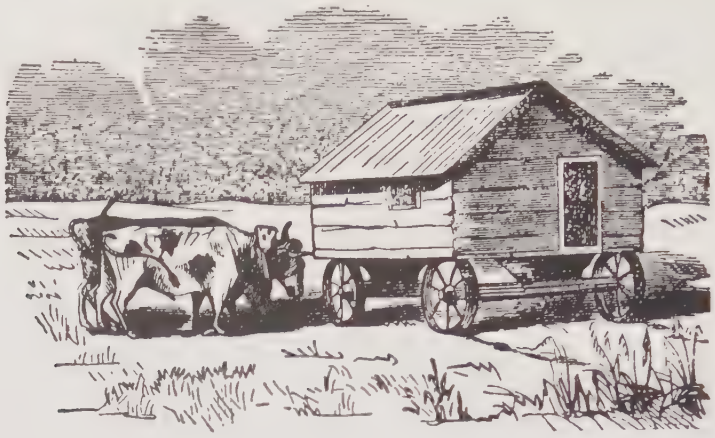
1. Preemption Grafters (1858)

The Homestead Act at last passed in 1862, after Southern obstructionists had left Congress—and the Union. Actual settlers might obtain 160 acres of land free, if they lived on it for five years, cultivated it, and paid a fee of $10. They could also continue to preempt 160 acres by paying $1.25 an acre and by swearing that the land was for their exclusive use and cultivation. After the required five years settlers would have to prove "by two credible witnesses" that they had lived on and cultivated the grant, and they would have to swear that they had not alienated it to others by secret sale or other collusion. This open invitation to fraud led to grave abuses of the type that A. D. Richardson had discovered in Kansas in 1858. Why was so much perjury tolerated on the frontier among presumably law-respecting people?

During this fall many residents were pre-empting their claims. The law contemplates a homestead of 160 acres at a nominal price for each actual settler and no one else; but land is plenty and everybody pre-empts. A young merchant, lawyer, or speculator rides into the interior, to the unoccupied public lands, pays some settler five dollars to show him the vacant claims, and selects one upon which he places four little poles around a hollow square upon the ground, as children commence a cob house. Then he files a notice in the land office that he has laid the foundation of a house upon this claim and begun a settlement for actual residence. He does not see

*Buchanan was right. Under the Homestead Act as finally passed, about ten acres were secured by speculators for every acre secured by a bona fide settler.

[1]A. D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford: Hartford Publishing Company, 1866), pp. 137–38, 140–41.



A Bona Fide Residence
A removable house for fraudulent purposes. (Illustration in A. B. Richardson's Beyond the Mississippi, *1866.)*

the land again until ready to "prove up," which he may do after thirty days. Then he revisits his claim, possibly erects a house of rough slabs, costing from ten to twenty dollars, eats one meal, and sleeps for a single night under its roof. More frequently, however, his improvements consist solely of a foundation of four logs. . . .

In three cases out of four, after "proving up," the pre-emptor never visits his land again unless for the purpose of selling it. Says the Spanish proverb, "Oaths are words, and words are wind." Thus this unequivocal perjury is regarded upon the frontier. The general feeling is that it wrongs no one, and that the settlers have a right to the land.

Hundreds of men whose families are still in the East find witnesses to testify that their wives and children are residing upon the land. I have known men to pre-empt who had never been within twenty miles of their claims, facile witnesses swearing with the utmost indifference that they were residing upon them.

The pre-emptors must state under oath that they have made no agreement, direct or indirect, for selling any part of the land. But in numberless instances these statements are falsehoods, connived at by the officers.

In most land offices a man cannot pre-empt unless he has a house at least twelve feet square. I have known a witness to swear that the house in question was twelve by fourteen when actually the only building upon the claim was one whittled out with a penknife, twelve inches by fourteen.

Some officers require that the house must have a glass window. While traveling in the interior I stopped at a little slab cabin where I noticed a window sash without lights hanging upon a nail. As I had seen similar frames in other cabins, I asked the owner what it was for.

"To pre-empt with," was the reply.

"How?"

"Why, don't you understand? To enable my witness to swear that there is a window in my house!"

Sometimes the same cabin is moved from claim to claim until half a dozen different persons have pre-empted with it. In Nebraska a little frame house . . . was built for this purpose on wheels and drawn by oxen. It enabled the pre-emptor to

swear that he had a bona fide residence upon his claim. It was let at five dollars a day, and scores of claims were proved up and pre-empted with it. The discovery of any such malpractice and perjury would invalidate the title. But I never knew of an instance where the pre-emptor was deprived of his land after once receiving his title.

No woman can pre-empt unless she is a widow or the "head of a family." But sometimes an ambitious maiden who wishes to secure 160 acres of land borrows a child, signs papers of adoption, swears that she is the head of a family, and pre-empts her claim, then annuls the papers and returns her temporary offspring to its parents with an appropriate gift.

2. Going Broke in Kansas (1895)

The Homestead Act proved to be a bitter trap for thousands of honest settlers who pushed west to their "ultimate destitution." A farm of 160 acres could support a family in well-watered Illinois, but often not in the semiarid West. A common saying on the frontier was that homesteading was a gamble: the government was "betting you 160 acres of land that you can't live on it five years." William Allen White, then twenty-seven years old and just entering upon a distinguished journalistic career in Kansas, here described a tragic scene. In light of his observations, how "free" were the 160 acres?

There came through Emporia yesterday two old-fashioned "mover wagons," headed east. The stock in the caravan would invoice four horses, very poor and very tired; one mule, more disheartened than the horses; and one sad-eyed dog, that had probably been compelled to rustle his own precarious living for many a long and weary day.

A few farm implements of the simpler sort were in the wagon, but nothing that had wheels was moving except the two wagons. All the rest of the impedimenta had been left upon the battlefield, and these poor stragglers, defeated but not conquered, were fleeing to another field, to try the fight again.

These movers were from western Kansas—from Gray County, a county which holds a charter from the state to officiate as the very worst, most desolate, God-forsaken, man-deserted spot on the sad old earth. They had come from that wilderness only after a ten years' hard, vicious fight, a fight which had left its scars on their faces, and beat their bodies, had taken the elasticity from their steps, and left them crippled to enter the battle anew.

For ten years they had been fighting the elements. They had seen it stop raining for months at a time. They had heard the fury of the winter wind as it came whining across the short burned grass, and their children huddling in the corner. They have strained their eyes watching through the long summer days for the rain that never came. They have seen that big cloud roll up from the southwest about one o'clock in the afternoon, hover over the land, and stumble away with a few thumps of thunder as the sun went down. They have tossed through hot nights wild with worry, and have arisen only to find their worst nightmares grazing in reality on the brown stubble in front of their sun-warped doors.

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[2] Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette,* June 15, 1895.

They had such high hopes when they went out there; they are so desolate now—no, not now, for now they are in the land of corn and honey. They have come out of the wilderness, back to the land of promise. They are now in God's own country down on the Neosho, with their wife's folks, and the taste of apple butter and good cornbread and fresh meat and pie—pie-plant pie like mother used to make—gladdened their shrunken palates last night. And real cream, curdling on their coffee saucers last night for supper, was a sight so rich and strange that it lingered in their dreams, wherein they walked beside the still water, and lay down in green pastures.

3. Wheat Bowls Become Dust Bowls (1883)

The topsoil of the semiarid great plains, especially beyond the hundredth meridian, was held down by tough prairie grass. Gradually much of this protective covering was eroded by overgrazing cattle and by the plains settlers' plows. In periods of drought, dust storms blew up with increasing intensity. They culminated in the 1930s in the great dust bowl tragedy, which ruined vast areas in a half-dozen or so states. A western journalist here reconstructs the details of a scene that has long been legendary in the West.

One day in the spring of 1883 as a Scandinavian farmer, John Christiansen, plowed his fields in Montana's neighbor state of North Dakota, he looked up to find that he was being watched . . . by an old and solemn Sioux Indian.

Silently the old Indian watched as the dark soil curled up and the prairie grass was turned under. Christiansen stopped, leaned against the plow handle, pushed his black Stetson back on his head, rolled a cigarette. He watched amusedly as the old Indian knelt, thrust his fingers into the plow furrow, measured its depth, fingered the sod and the buried grass.

Then the old Indian straightened up, looked at the farmer.

"Wrong side up," he said, and went away.

For a number of years that was regarded as a very amusing story indeed, betraying the ignorance of the poor Indian. Now there's a marker on Highway No. 10 in North Dakota on the spot where the words were spoken—a little reminder to the white man that his red brother was not so dumb.

D. The Farmers' Protest Movement

1. An Iowan Assesses Discontent (1893)

Farm distress increased during the 1890s, to a large extent in the South but more spectacularly on the western plains. The four "d's"—drought, debt, deflation, and depression—played their dismal role, but the basic trouble was overproduction of

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[3]J. K. Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome* (1943), p. 14. By permission of the Yale University Press.

[1]F. B. Tracy, "Why the Farmers Revolted," *The Forum, 16* (October 1893): 242–243.

grain. Farmers simply could not control prices that were determined by the world supply, and they vented their spleen on scapegoats nearer at hand, notably the railroads. Freight rates had fallen substantially since the Civil War, but no rates seemed fair to farmers whose grain prices were so low that they could not make a profit. And inequities persisted, despite the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. A prominent Iowa journalist here analyzes some of the grievances that caused these hardy children of the soil to beat their Farmers' Alliances into a political ploughshare. In the following essay, what are the farmers' most pressing complaints?

Nothing has done more to injure the [Western] region than these freight rates. The railroads have retarded its growth as much as they first hastened it. The rates are often four times as large as Eastern rates. . . . The extortionate character of the freight rates has been recognized by all parties, and all have pledged themselves to lower them, but no state west of the Missouri has been able to do so.

In the early days, people were so anxious to secure railways that they would grant any sort of concession which the companies asked. There were counties in Iowa and other Western states struggling under heavy loads of bond-taxes, levied twenty-five years ago, to aid railways of which not one foot has been built. Perhaps a little grading would be done, and then the project would be abandoned, the bonds transferred, and the county called upon by the "innocent purchaser" to pay the debt incurred by blind credulity. I have known men to sacrifice fortunes, brains, and lives in fighting vainly this iniquitous bond-swindle.

Railways have often acquired mines and other properties by placing such high freight rates upon their products that the owner was compelled to sell at the railroad company's own terms. These freight rates have been especially burdensome to the farmers, who are far from their selling and buying markets, thus robbing them in both directions.

Another fact which has incited the farmer against corporations is the bold and unblushing participation of the railways in politics. At every political convention their emissaries are present with blandishments and passes and other practical arguments to secure the nomination of their friends. The sessions of these legislatures are disgusting scenes of bribery and debauchery. There is not an attorney of prominence in Western towns who does not carry a pass or has not had the opportunity to do so. The passes, of course, compass the end sought. By these means, the railroads have secured an iron grip upon legislatures and officers, while no redress has been given to the farmer.

The land question, also, is a source of righteous complaint. Much of the land of the West, instead of being held for actual settlers, has been bought up by speculators and Eastern syndicates in large tracts. They have done nothing to improve the land and have simply waited for the inevitable settler who bought cheaply a small "patch" and proceeded to cultivate it. When he had prospered so that he needed more land, he found that his own labor had increased tremendously the value of the adjacent land. . . .

Closely connected with the land abuse are the money grievances. As his pecuniary condition grew more serious, the farmer could not make payments on his land. Or he found that, with the ruling prices, he could not sell his produce at a profit. In either case he needed money, to make the payment or maintain himself until prices should rise. When he went to the moneylenders, these men, often dishonest usurers,

told him that money was very scarce, that the rate of interest was rapidly rising, etc., so that in the end the farmer paid as much interest a month as the moneylender was paying a year for the same money. In this transaction, the farmer obtained his first glimpse of the idea of "the contraction of the currency at the hands of Eastern money sharks."

Disaster always follows the exaction of such exorbitant rates of interest, and want or eviction quickly came. Consequently, when demagogues went among the farmers to utter their calamitous cries, the scales seemed to drop from the farmer's eyes, and he saw gold bugs, Shylocks, conspiracies, and criminal legislation *ad infinitum*. Like a lightning flash, the idea of political action ran through the Alliances. A few farmers' victories in county campaigns the previous year became a promise of broader conquest, and with one bound the Farmers' Alliance went into politics all over the West.

2. Mrs. Lease Raises More Hell (c. 1890)

As the plains seethed with protest, the Populist party emerged from the Farmers' Alliance. Kansas spawned the most picturesque and vocal group of orators. A flaming speaker in great demand was the Irish-born Mrs. Mary E. Lease, a tall, magnetic lawyer known as "Patrick Henry in petticoats." Noting that corn was so cheap that it was being burned as fuel, she demanded the raising of less corn and "more hell." Noting also the disparity between the wealthy families and the people allegedly living out of garbage cans, she insisted on drastic measures. In the following selection, which are substantial grievances and which are demagogic outpourings? Which of her complaints seem to be the most serious?

This is a nation of inconsistencies. The Puritans fleeing from oppression became oppressors. We fought England for our liberty and put chains on four million of blacks. We wiped out slavery and by our tariff laws and national banks began a system of white wage slavery worse than the first.

Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street.

The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master. The West and South are bound and prostrate before the manufacturing East.

Money rules, and our Vice-President is a London banker. Our laws are the output of a system which clothes rascals in robes and honesty in rags.

The parties lie to us and the political speakers mislead us. We were told two years ago to go to work and raise a big crop, that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted; the rains fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop that they told us to; and what came of it? Eight-cent corn, ten-cent oats, two-cent beef, and no price at all for butter and eggs—that's what came of it.

Then the politicians said we suffered from overproduction. Overproduction, when 10,000 little children, so statistics tell us, starve to death every year in the United

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[2]Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," in W. E. Connelley, ed., *History of Kansas, State and People,* vol. 2 (1928), p. 1167. By permission of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

States, and over 10,000 shopgirls in New York are forced to sell their virtue for the bread their niggardly wages deny them.

Tariff is not the paramount question. The main question is the money question. . . . Kansas suffers from two great robbers, the Santa Fe Railroad and the loan companies. The common people are robbed to enrich their masters. . . .

We want money, land, and transportation. We want the abolition of the national banks, and we want the power to make loans direct from the government. We want the accursed foreclosure system wiped out. Land equal to a tract thirty miles wide and ninety miles long has been foreclosed and bought in by loan companies of Kansas in a year.

We will stand by our homes and stay by our fireside by force if necessary, and we will not pay our debts to the loan-shark companies until the government pays its debts to us. The people are at bay; let the bloodhounds of money who have dogged us thus far beware.

3. Godkin Sneers at the Populists (1892)

The embittered farmers and laborites, organized into the People's (Populist) party, met in a frenzied convention in Omaha, Nebraska, in July 1892. They nominated General James B. Weaver for president and adopted a scorching platform. In addition to other grievances, they pilloried corruption among politicians and judges, the subsidized and "muzzled" press, the impoverishment of labor, the shooting of strikers, and the hypocrisy of the two major parties. More specifically, the platform demanded distribution of monopolized land to actual settlers; government ownership of the telegraphs, telephones, and railroads ("The railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads"); reduction of bloated fortunes by a graduated income tax; and inflation of the currency by issuing more paper money and coining all silver produced. Editor Godkin of the New York Nation *viewed many of these schemes with the intolerant eye of a smug easterner. How does his basic philosophy regarding the government square with that in vogue today?*

The People's Party convention, which has just completed its sessions at Omaha, was the most largely attended and most thoroughly representative national gathering which any third party has ever got together. All sections of the country sent delegates, and the delegates were full of enthusiasm.

The dominant tone of the assembly was discontent with existing conditions. A large part of this discontent was the vague dissatisfaction which is always felt by the incompetent and lazy and "shiftless" when they contemplate those who have got on better in the world. But there was also manifested that spirit of doubt as to the tendencies of our social development of late years which is shared by many thoughtful and philosophic observers, and which causes such observers to question whether something should not be done to check these tendencies.

Practically the platform declares that everybody could be made happy if the government would print a vast quantity of paper currency, allow free coinage and foist light-weight silver dollars upon the country, establish an immense loaning agency, and

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[3] *The Nation* (New York) 55, no. 1 (July 7, 1892).

take control of the railroads. In other words, the fundamental theory of the party is that the federal government is an institution of such omniscience and omnipotence, such a repository of wealth and wisdom, that it can be trusted with limitless power. In short, the theory holds that a paternal government can make all its children "healthy, wealthy, and wise."

General Weaver is the proper candidate for President of such a party. He is a demagogue who came to the surface in the Greenback period, and was nominated for President by that element in 1880. He is the sort of man who is always ready to take up with any new organization which can give him either office or prominence, and no platform could be consructed so ridiculous that he would not gladly stand upon it.

[In the presidential election of 1892 General Weaver suffered the fate of all third-party candidates in U.S. history—overwhelming defeat at the hands of the old-line parties.]

Thought Provokers

1. It has been said that there was no Indian problem, but a white problem; no black problem, but a white problem. Comment critically. Why did Canada have less trouble with the Indians than the United States did?
2. Did the American settlers have a "natural right" to the free lands? Was selling the public land to replenish the Treasury sound in principle?
3. Would you agree that the Homestead Act was class legislation? How can you account for the wholesale fraud in connection with the western lands? Why was the Homestead Act so long delayed? Did the East and the South both have legitimate objections to it?
4. Farmers, to be successful, had to be good businesspeople, and many failed because they were not. It was charged that they illogically put the blame for their failures on other factors. Comment. Other critics accused them of not doing well because they had fallen into habits of indolence. Would greater energy and larger harvests have cured the basic ills?

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The Revolt of the Debtor, 1889–1900

Bryan . . . has every crank, fool, and putative criminal in the country behind him, and a large proportion of the ignorant and honest class.

Theodore Roosevelt, 1896

Prologue: The Big Business Republicans, capitalizing on President Harrison's victory over Cleveland in 1888, passed the highly protective McKinley Tariff in 1890. It wiped out the troublesome surplus by putting sugar on the free list. It also supplemented Harrison's lavish pension program, which further depleted dwindling Treasury reserves. Reacting unfavorably to these extravagant Republican policies, the voters reinstated Cleveland in 1893. The panic that burst that year led to violent labor disturbances, notably the Pullman strike centering in Chicago. Cleveland incurred much abuse by sending federal troops there to restore order, and by making a secret bond deal with Wall Street to stem the alarming leakage of gold from the Treasury. To his unconcealed annoyance, all attempts at genuine tariff reform were frustrated by entrenched lobbyists in 1894. As the depression deepened, the underprivileged clutched desperately at the cure-all of free silver. It became the overshadowing issue in the class-struggle presidential campaign of 1896, in which the Republican McKinley emerged victorious over the Democratic (and allegedly demagogic) Bryan.

A. The Tariff Issue

1. McKinley Pleads for Protection (1890)

The amiable Republican Congressman McKinley, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, sponsored the tariff bill that bears his name. It carried protection to a new extreme. It not only protected "infant" industries but, in the case of tinplate, it extended protection to an industry yet unborn. The free list was delusively large, for it contained such inconsequential items as arsenic, stuffed birds, bladders, fossils, broken glass, salted guts, orchids, turtles, and manufactured teeth. As a sop to the farmer, new duties—largely unneeded—were levied on agricultural products. It has been said that for McKinley the tariff was a religious rather than an economic issue. Comment in the light of this excerpt from his speech in the House. What is the fallacy in his argument in behalf of a tariff for U.S. grain producers?

[1] *Congressional Record,* 51st Cong., 1st sess. (May 7, 1890), pp. 4249, 4255.

It has been asserted in the views of the [Democratic] minority that the duty put upon wheat and other agricultural products would be of no value to the agriculturists of the United States. The committee, believing differently, have advanced the duty upon these products.

As we are the greatest wheat-producing country of the world, it is habitually asserted and believed by many that this product is safe from foreign competition. We do not appreciate that while the United States last year raised 490,000,000 bushels of wheat, France raised 316,000,000 bushels, Italy raised 103,000,000 bushels, Russia 189,000,000 bushels, and India 243,000,000 bushels. . . . Our sharpest competition [in the world market] comes from Russia and India . . . and if we will only reflect on the difference between the cost of labor in producing wheat in the United States and in competing countries, we will readily perceive how near we are, if we have not quite reached, the danger line so far even as our own markets are concerned. . . .

It is also to be noted, Mr. Chairman, that having increased the duties on wools we have also increased the duties on the product—the manufacturers of wool—to compensate for the increased duty on the raw product. . . .

If our trade and commerce are increasing and profitable within our own borders, what advantage can come from passing it by, confessedly the best market, that we may reach the poorest by distant seas? In the foreign market the profit is divided between our own citizen and the foreigner, while with the trade and commerce among ourselves the profit is kept in our own family and increases our national wealth and promotes the welfare of the individual citizen. Yet in spite of all the croaking about foreign trade, our exports were never so great as they are today. We send abroad what is not consumed at home, and we could do no more under any system. . . .

Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours, and for the present and the future, the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design, and will work out our destiny better than any other.

With me this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it, and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity. Out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for many aspirations, with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety, and purity, and permanency of our political system depend.

2. Mills Challenges McKinley (1890)

Colonel Roger Q. Mills of Texas, twice severely wounded during his service in the Confederate army, had recently been chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. A lawyer, a Democrat, and long an earnest advocate of a lowered tariff, he here contradicts the Republican McKinley in the simple yet eloquent style for which he was famous. What are his arguments against higher duties on agricultural products? How convincingly does he meet McKinley's allegation that a higher duty was needed to protect U.S. grain?

The [Republican members of the] committee are greatly alarmed about our wheat-growers. That great industry is imperiled by "a most damaging competition". . . . They have increased the duty on wheat and that great product is safe.

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 51st Cong., 1st sess. (May 7, 1890), pp. 4260–4261.

How many bushels of wheat are imported into this country? We exported last year 90,000,000 bushels in wheat and flour . . . and last year . . . imported the inconsiderable amount of 1,946 bushels of wheat. And that duty has been put on to protect America's farmers against the damaging foreign competition from India and Russia.

What did that 1,946 bushels of wheat cost? Our wheat was at an average price of 89 cents per bushel, and the average price of the 1,946 bushels which we imported was $2.05. . . . What do you suppose that wheat was imported for? Do not all speak at once, please.

It was seed wheat, imported by the wheat-grower of the West to improve his seed. Does not every man know that? And you have made it cost him that much more to improve his agricultural product so that he can raise a better character of wheat and better compete in the markets of the world, where he has to meet all comers in free competition. . . .

We exported 69,000,000 bushels of corn last year and we imported into this country 2,388 bushels, an amount, we are told, that imperils the market of those who raise 2,000,000,000 bushels. . . .

How much rye did we import last year? Sixteen bushels! It could all have been raised on a turnip patch. . . .

The Germans, French, English, Spaniards, Austrians, and others with whom we are trading are dissatisfied with our disciminations against their products, and they have been taking steps to retaliate upon us. They have increased the duty on wheat in Germany two or three times since 1880. . . .

Why have we not the prices of 1881? Because we have cut off importation from our European customers, and they have cut off importation from us. Our surplus is increasing with our population, and we have no markets to consume it. What ought we to do?

We should reduce the duties on imports, put all raw materials on the free list, increase our importation four or five hundred millions more if we could, and thus increase our exports to that extent. That would raise the prices of agricultural products and the aggregate value of our annual crops $1,500,000,000 or $2,000,000,000 per year. That would distribute a large amount of wealth that would be expended in the employment of labor, and thus unbounded prosperity would be brought to the whole country.

Instead of this the committee have prepared a bill increasing taxes, raising duties, restricting importations, shutting in our farm products, and decreasing prices. They are going in the opposite direction and struggling to intensify the distress of the country.

3. The Sugar Trust Lobby (1894)

The high-duty McKinley Tariff of 1890 boomeranged against the Republicans, and the Democrat Grover Cleveland returned triumphantly to the White House in 1893. An attempt to put sugar on the free list provoked powerful opposition from the lobby of the so-called sugar trust, and the "sugar senators" succeeded in forcing a protective duty into the new Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill of August 1894. Ugly charges that the giant American Sugar Refining Company was exerting improper influence to

[3] *Senate Reports,* 53d Cong., 2d sess., vol. 10 (June 13, 1894), pp. 656–657.

The Sow That Breeds the Litter
In Populist eyes the Wall Street Money Trust bred and fattened the other trusts, while the little pig representing the people lay dead. (W. H. Harvey, Coin's Financial School Up to Date, *1895)*

secure tariff changes led to a grilling, by a Senate committee, of its president, the multimillionaire Henry O. Havemeyer. What is surprising about his revelations?

Senator Allen. I do understand you, however, to say and repeat that in states where you have a financial interest, at least where the sugar refining company has an interest as refiners, you do contribute to either the Democratic or Republican Party as one or the other may be in the ascendancy in that state?

Mr. Havemeyer. We do for local and state purposes, but not national.

Senator Allen. You never contribute to the campaign fund of a party in the minority?

Mr. Havemeyer. We may; I will not say we do not.

Senator Allen. Your policy, however, is to stand in with the ruling power?

Mr. Havemeyer. Not to "stand in" but to contribute to the campaign expenses of that party, for the reason that, they being in power and control, it could give us the protection we should have.

Senator Allen. And by that means you placate—

Mr. Havemeyer. Oh, no; there is no placation or obligation at all; nothing more than we consider the proper thing to do; everybody does it.

Senator Allen. Does any other corporation in these same states do the same thing, that you know?

Mr. Havemeyer. I understand every individual, corporation, and firm in existence does it in their respective states.

Senator Allen. So the American Sugar Refining Company's politics, so far as its contributions to the campaign fund are concerned, is controlled by the political complexion of the state in which it happens to have a particular refinery?

Mr. Havemeyer. The American Sugar Refining Company has no politics of any kind.

Senator Allen. Only the politics of business?

Mr. Havemeyer. Only the politics of business.

Senator Lindsay. You say the company is separate and distinct from the officers and stockholders; each man has his own politics?

Mr. Havemeyer. We have nothing to do with politics in any shape or manner. Our business is the refining of sugar at a slight profit that is consistent with a reasonable return on the industry.

[The scandalous pressures of the various lobbies ("the third house of Congress") became so notorious that President Cleveland refused to sign the new Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill. Additional scandals were aired in response to rumors that certain U.S. senators had speculated in sugar stocks while the duty on sugar was under consideration. After an investigation, Senators McPherson of New Jersey and Quay of Pennsylvania admitted the charge. Senator Quay, a powerful and unsavory political boss, declared defiantly: "I do not feel that there is anything in my connection with the Senate to interfere with my buying or selling the stock when I please; and I propose to do so." Contrast this with present-day conflict-of-interest practices.]

B. The Pullman Strike

1. A Populist Condemns Pullman (1894)

George M. Pullman, who invented the popular upper-and-lower-berth Pullman Palace Car, made a fortune in manufacturing and controlling his brainchild. A generous philanthropist with his millions, he built for his employees the model town of Pullman (now in Chicago). But when the depression came and the company slashed wages about 25 percent, the workers struck. They were joined by Eugene V. Debs's powerful American Railway Union. According to Debs, the management had said, "There is nothing to arbitrate." Senator Peffer, a Populist from Kansas who combed his long whiskers with his fingers while delivering even longer speeches, here presents his views. What are the two main grievances of the Pullman workers? How legitimate are they?

Without going into all the details, I will state by way of preface that the Pullman Company established what most people in this world believed to be an ideal community, in which all the citizens should have equal rights, in which none should have special privileges. The object was to build a community where the best modern scientific principles of hygiene, drainage, sewerage, grading, lighting, watering, and every other convenience should abound.

But while the company was doing that, while the world was looking on applauding, the company, like every other corporation of which I have ever known anything, held all of the power, all of the reins within its own grasp. That is to say, while there was sewerage, while there was light, while there was water, while there were parks, and all those desirable things, at the end of every month or of every week, as the case might be, when pay day came around, the charges that were set up against the

[1] *Congressional Record,* 53d Cong., 2d sess. (July 10, 1894), p. 7231.

residents of the town of Pullman for their lots and for their conveniences were deducted from their pay (just as the clothing of a soldier or extra rations or a lost gun were deducted from his pay) and the balance found to be due was paid to these people. Among these charges were rents and stated dues for the purchase of property.

After a while hard times began to pinch the company as it did everybody else, and it began to reduce the pay of the men. The men submitted patiently. Another reduction came and the men again submitted, only asking, however, that their rent charges should be reduced, that their taxes should be reduced, to correspond to the amount of reduction in their wages.

Then it was found that these poor people were absolutely defenseless, absolutely powerless in the hands of a corporation that had no soul. They asked to have a reduction of their rent charges and of other charges; they asked for a little time to turn around.

All these things were denied them. Finally, the Pullman citizens came to the conclusion that they might as well starve in defense of their rights as to starve while the proprietors of the town, the organizers and controllers of the corporation, were feasting on the fat things that these men had made for them. Now the trouble is on hand, and the leader of this great corporation [George M. Pullman] is off at the seashore, or on a lake, or on an island, or somewhere, refusing to entertain even a newspaper man, except to say, "I have nothing to say; the company at Chicago will look after the company's interest there"—heartless, soulless, conscienceless, Mr. President, this tyrant of tyrants.

2. Pullman Defends His Company (1894)

The bloody disorders attending the Pullman strike led to an investigation by the U.S. Strike Commission. George M. Pullman took the stand and testified that his company had undertaken to manufacture cars at a loss so as to keep his men employed. But he conceded that it was better to operate at a slight loss than to incur the larger losses resulting from idle factories. He also testified that the salaries of management (including his own) had not been cut; that the Pullman Company still had about $25 million in undivided profits; and that the dividends paid to stockholders had ranged from 12 percent to the current 8 percent. U.S. Commissioner Worthington extracted the following information from Pullman. How sound is Pullman's position on arbitration? How does his general business philosophy square with that prevalent in the United States today?

Commissioner Worthington. Now, let me ask you right there, Mr. Pullman, what do you see that is objectionable, in a business point of view, under the existing state of affairs, . . . in submitting to disinterested persons the question as to whether under all the circumstances wages might not be increased somewhat of your employees?

Mr. Pullman. I think I have made that as plain in this [written] statement as I can make it if I should repeat it a thousand times.

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[2] *Senate Executive Documents,* 53d Cong., 3d sess., vol. 2, no. 7, pp. 555–556.

Commissioner Worthington. Is that the only reason you can give?

Mr. Pullman. What do you mean by that, "The only reason"?

Commissioner Worthington. The reason you give here (in the statement), "It must be clear to every businessman and to every thinking workman that no prudent employer could submit to arbitration the question whether he should commit such a piece of business folly." Is that the only answer to it?

Mr. Pullman. Well, now, I have a little memorandum here which is practically the same thing on the question of arbitration. Of course there are matters which are proper subjects of arbitration—matters of opinion.

Commissioner Worthington. What are those matters that are proper subjects for arbitration?

Mr. Pullman. A matter of opinion would be a proper subject of arbitration, as, for instance, a question of title, or a disagreement on a matter of opinion. . . . But as to whether a fact that I know to be true is true or not, I could not agree to submit to arbitration. Take the case in hand: the question as to whether the shops at Pullman shall be continuously operated at a loss or not is one which it was impossible for the company, as a matter of principle, to submit to the opinion of any third party; and as to whether they were running at a loss on contract work in general, as explained to the committee of the men in my interview with them—that was a simple fact that I knew to be true, and which could not be made otherwise by the opinion of any third party.

Commissioner Worthington. You use the expression, "Impossible to be submitted." Why is it impossible?

Mr. Pullman. Because it would violate a principle.

Commissioner Worthington. What principle?

Mr. Pullman. The principle that a man should have the right to manage his own property.

Commissioner Worthington. The decision of arbitrators would not be compulsory, would it?

Mr. Pullman. I still think, having managed the property of the Pullman Company for twenty-seven years, that I am perhaps as well calculated to manage it for the interests of its stockholders and for the interests of the public—for the general interest—as some man who is not interested, who comes in to arbitrate certain points.

3. Starvation at Pullman (1894)

The Pullman strike was finally broken by federal bayonets, and the company allegedly imported more docile workers to replace those who had struck. A group signing themselves "The Starving Citizens of Pullman" appealed to Governor Altgeld of Illinois for relief. After examining conditions personally, the governor wrote the following letter to George M. Pullman. Does the evidence here given support the charge of discrimination?

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[3]John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (1899), pp. 422–423 (August 21, 1894).

Sir: I examined the conditions at Pullman yesterday, visited even the kitchens and bedrooms of many of the people. Two representatives of your company were with me and we found the distress as great as it was represented. The men are hungry and the women and children are actually suffering. They have been living on charity for a number of months and it is exhausted. Men who had worked for your company for more than ten years had to apply to the relief society in two weeks after the work stopped.

I learn from your manager that last spring there were 3,260 people on the payroll; yesterday there were 2,220 at work, but over 600 of these are new men, so that only about 1,600 of the old employees have been taken back, thus leaving over 1,600 of the old employees who have not been taken back. A few hundred have left, the remainder have nearly all applied for work, but were told that they were not needed. These are utterly destitute. The relief committee on last Saturday gave out two pounds of oatmeal and two pounds of cornmeal to each family. But even the relief committee has exhausted its resources.

Something must be done and at once. The case differs from instances of destitution found elsewhere, for generally there is somebody in the neighborhood able to give relief; this is not the case at Pullman. Even those who have gone to work are so exhausted that they cannot help their neighbors if they would. I repeat now that it seems to me your company cannot afford to have me appeal to the charity and humanity of the state to save the lives of your old employees. Four-fifths of those people are women and children. No matter what caused this distress, it must be met.

[Mr. Pullman turned a deaf ear to appeals for relief, and humane citizens were forced to help the destitute. "Mr. Dooley" (F. P. Dunne) referred to the time "whin God quarried his heart. . . ." Reconcile Pullman's attitude in this instance with his large private philanthropies, including a bequest of $1.2 million for a free manual training school in Pullman.]

C. The Free-Silver Mirage

1. Coin's Financial School (1894)

By the 1880s and 1890s indebted Americans, especially farmers, were caught in a deflationary pinch. A cry arose for inflating the currency by abandoning the single gold standard and restoring the bimetallic gold-silver standard, dropped by Congress in 1873 ("the Crime of '73"). The silverites specifically demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, despite Britain's adherence to the gold standard. William Hope Harvey, a frustrated silver-mine operator from Colorado, came to Chicago and in 1894 published his best-selling tract Coin's Financial School. *His fictional account tells how Coin, the boy*

[1]W. H. Harvey, *Coin's Financial School* (New York: American News Company 1894), pp. 130–33, passim.

wizard of Chicago, conducted a six-day financial school attended by many leading figures, whom he converted to the gospel of free silver. The 174-page booklet, cleverly but deceptively illustrated, sold upwards of a million copies and was a major propaganda weapon in the free-silver crusade. Why was Harvey bitter against England? Why did the proposed international agreement on bimetallism have little prospect of realization?

His [Coin's] appearance upon the platform was the signal for an ovation. He had grown immensely popular in those last five days.

He laid his silk hat on the table, and at once stepped to the middle of the platform. He raised his eyes to the audience, slowly turned his head to the right and left, and looked into the sea of faces that confronted him.

"In the midst of plenty, we are in want," he began. "Helpless children and the best womanhood and manhood of America appeal to us for release from a bondage that is destructive of life and liberty. All the nations of the Western Hemisphere turn to their great sister republic for assistance in the emancipation of the people of at least one-half the world.

"The Orient, with its teeming millions of people, and France, the cradle of science and liberty in Europe, look to the United States to lead in the struggle to roll back the accumulated disasters of the last twenty-one years [since "the Crime of '73"]. What shall our answer be? [Applause.]

"If it is claimed we must adopt for our money the metal England selects [gold], and can have no independent choice in the matter, let us make the test and find out if it is true. It is not American to give up without trying. If it is true, let us attach England to the United States and blot her name out from among the nations of the earth. [Applause.]

"A war with England would be the most popular ever waged on the face of the earth. [Applause]. If it is true that she can dictate the money of the world, and thereby create world-wide misery, it would be the most just war ever waged by man. [Applause.]

"But fortunately this is not necessary. Those who would have you think that we must wait for England, either have not studied this subject, or have the same interest in continuing the present conditions as England. It is a vain hope to expect her voluntarily to consent. England is the creditor nation of the globe, and collects hundreds of millions of dollars in interest annually in gold from the rest of the world. We are paying her two hundred millions yearly in interest. She demands it in gold; the contracts call for it in gold. Do you expect her to voluntarily release any part of it? It has a purchasing power twice what a bimetallic currency would have. She knows it. . . .

"Whenever property interest and humanity have come in conflict, England has ever been the enemy of human liberty. All reforms with those so unfortunate as to be in her power have been won with the sword. She yields only to force. [Applause.]

"The moneylenders in the United States, who own substantially all of our money, have a selfish interest in maintaining the gold standard. They, too, will not yield. They believe that if the gold standard can survive for a few years longer, the people will get used to it—get used to their poverty—and quietly submit.

"To that end they organize international bimetallic committees and say, 'Wait on

England, she will be forced to give us bimetallism.' Vain hope! Deception on this subject has been practiced long enough upon a patient and outraged people."

2. A "Gold Bug" Defends Britain (1895)

"Coin" Harvey's pamphlets inspired both imitations and rebuttals. Among the more prominent critics was a New York international lawyer, Everett P. Wheeler, who, despite an interest in a silver mine, attacked Harvey. He had served as counsel for a company doing business in Central America, where the silver standard had caused his clients inconvenience and loss. How convincing is his argument that the ruin of England would not operate to the benefit of the United States?

Coin [Harvey] resorts to the familiar and well-worn appeal to the prejudice which some people in this country are supposed to feel against England.

The people of that country have the same religion, the same laws, and the same language as ourselves. We did fight in years gone by, but we are now united by the close ties of business and friendship. The English octopus, as Coin calls it, is really a country that is our best customer for wheat, for cotton, for beef, for petroleum, and for Yankee notions.

He says it "feeds on nothing but gold." In fact, however, it feeds on the wheat, the coffee, the sugar of South America, the tea of China; in short, the natural or manufactured products of every part of the world, all of which it pays for. Along its arms, steamers ply, freighted with the merchandise which is the subject of this mutual trade, which benefits both parties. Telegraphic cables thread the bottom of the sea to its head, carrying messages of business and of friendship. American investors draw great sums in royalties from this "octopus". . . .

In short, the whole octopus business, like the other delectable illustrations in Coin's school, is a delusion and a snare. The worst thing that could happen to this country would be the ruin of England. No merchant would look with satisfaction on the ruin of his best customer or want to quarrel with him.

Another favorite argument of the free-silver advocates is that England first adopted the gold standard and has grown rich by it, and that therefore it must be bad for other countries.

Let us note two things in this connection.

1. England first adopted trial by jury, and the writ of *habeas corpus*. She first enforced the principle of freedom that no man should be deprived of life, liberty, or property but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. Shall we discard these sacred muniments of liberty because they are of English origin?

2. If England has prospered under the gold standard, why not the United States? Certainly no country ever became really prosperous by the ruin of its neighbors. In the great commonwealth of nations, the prosperity of one makes trade with all, and helps to enrich all.

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[2] E. P. Wheeler, *Real Bi-Metallism or True Coin versus False Coin* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1895), pp. 69–70, 73.

D. The Free-Silver Convention

1. Tillman Repudiates Cleveland (1896)

Racist demagogue Benjamin R. Tillman (see Vol. I) had recently emerged as the champion of the poor white farmers of South Carolina. Rabidly opposed to President Cleveland's conservative gold policy, he had run successfully for the U.S. Senate in 1894, shouting, "Send me to Washington and I'll stick my pitchfork into his [Cleveland's] old ribs!" He was vehement in denouncing Cleveland's secret bond deal with the Wall Street bankers. Aspiring to the Democratic presidential nomination as a silverite, he ruined his chances at the Chicago convention by the following violent speech attacking the Cleveland administration. During this harangue he paced the platform like a madman. What are his grievances against Cleveland, and which one seems to rankle the deepest?

When this convention disperses, I hope my fellow citizens will have a different opinion of the man with the pitchfork from South Carolina. I am from South Carolina, which was the home of secession. [Great hissing.] Oh, hiss if you like. There are only three things on earth which can hiss—a goose, a serpent, and a man, and the man who hisses the name of South Carolina has no knowledge whatever of its grand history.

But I tell you I do not come from the South Carolina of 1860, which you charge brought about the disruption of the Democratic Party. The war there declared was for the emancipation of the black slaves. I come now from a South Carolina which demands the emancipation of the white slaves. You charge that in 1860 South Carolina brought about the disruption of the Democratic Party. I say to you now that I am willing to see the Democratic Party disrupted again to accomplish the emancipation of the white slaves.

New York for twenty years or more has been the one dominant factor and dictator of the National Democratic Party. While we want to thank New York and Connecticut and New Jersey for the aid extended to us in the past, I want to say to you here that we have at last recognized in the South that we are mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, while the great states I have named have eaten up our substance. My friends say this is not a sectional issue. I say it is. . . .

[Great scenes of disorder then ensued, and quiet was restored with difficulty. Many times the senator was interrupted, but he went on:]

As Grover Cleveland stands for gold monometallism, we have repudiated him. We are diametrically opposed to his policy, and why should we write ourselves down as asses and liars? They ask us to say that he is honest. Well, in reply I say he signed a contract for bonds in secret, with one of his partners as a witness. Nobody disputes his boldness or obstinacy. He had the courage to overthrow the Constitution of the United States when he overrode the rights of the citizens of Illinois [during the Pullman strike] and sent federal troops into this state. You ask us to indorse his fidelity. In reply,

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[1] *Public Opinion 21* (July 16, 1896): 69–70. The speech was delivered on July 9.

I say he has been faithful unto death—the death of the Democratic Party. We have denounced him in South Carolina as a tool of Wall Street, and what was prophecy then is history now. . . .

I tell you that the Democratic Party of the United States will turn out the party in this fall's election if it dares indorse Grover Cleveland here. I tell you you dare not go before this country after indorsing the Cleveland administration. We of the South have burned our bridges behind us so far as the Eastern Democrats are concerned. We have turned our faces to the West and they have responded.

2. Senator Hill Urges Sanity (1896)

The gold-standard Democrats, supporting Cleveland, were clearly outnumbered in the wildly shouting Chicago convention. The ranks of the silverite majority were swelled by Populists and by free-silver delegates who had deserted the gold-standard Republican party. The Chicago "assembly of lunatics"—so called by the Republican New York Tribune*—uproariously endorsed the platform reported by a majority of the resolutions committee. It endorsed the well-known Populist scheme of freely coining, at the ratio of 16 to 1, all silver minded. Dissenting Senator David B. Hill of New York, an adroit machine politician bitten by the presidential bug, here speaks logically but vainly for the gold-standard minority on the resolutions committee. After the convention, he reputedly said, "I am a Democrat still—very still." What is his solution to the problem and why does he propose it?*

I am a Democrat, but I am not a revolutionist. My mission here today is to unite, not to divide—to build up, not to destroy—to plan for victory, not to plot for defeat. The question which this convention is to decide is: What is the best position to take at this time on the financial question? In a word, the question presented is between international bimetallism and local bimetallism. If there are any different points in it, they are not represented either in the majority or in the minority report.

I therefore start out with this proposition, that the Democratic Party stands today in favor of gold and silver as the money of the country; that it stands in favor neither of a silver standard nor of a gold standard, but that we differ as to the means to bring about the result.

Those whom I represent and for whom I speak—the sixteen minority members of the committee—insist that we should not attempt the experiment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver without cooperation of other great nations. It is not a question of patriotism, it is not a question of courage, it is not a question of loyalty, as the majority platform speaks of it. The minority has thought it was simply a question as to whether we were able to enter on this experiment. It is a question of business. It is a question of finance. . . .

I think, Mr. President, that the safest and best course for this convention to have pursued was to take the first step forward in the great cause of monetary reform by declaring in favor of international bimetallism. I know that it is said by enthusiastic friends that America can mark out a course for herself. I know that that idea appeals to the pride of the average American, but I beg to remind you that if that suggestion be

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[2] *Public Opinion 21* (July 16, 1896), p. 70. The speech was delivered on July 9.

carried out to its legitimate conclusion, you might as well do away with our international treaties. . . .

Be not deceived. Do not attempt to drive those Democrats out of the party who have grown gray in its service, in order to make room for a lot of Republicans and Populists who will not vote your ticket at all. My friends, I speak more in sorrow than in anger.

[A resolution backed by Hill and approving the Democratic administration of President Cleveland was voted down by a face-slapping vote of 564 to 357.]

3. Bryan's Cross of Gold (1896)

The dramatic assignment of replying to Senator Hill and closing the debate on the platform fell to William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. Although a well-known ex-congressman and free-silver orator, he was not then regarded as one of the front-runners for the presidential nomination. Tall, lean, smooth-shaven, hawk-nosed, and wide-mouthed, "the Boy Orator of the Platte" hushed the vast assemblage of some fifteen thousand with his masterful presence. The "cross of gold" analogy to the crucifixion of Christ was one he had already used a number of times, but never so effectively. Projecting his organlike voice to the outer reaches of the vast hall, he had the frenzied crowd cheering his every sentence as he neared the end. The climax swept the delegates off their feet and won Byran the presidential nomination the next day. How do you account for the success of his memorable speech? To what different kinds of prejudice does Bryan appeal?

I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities. But this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. . . .

We [silverites] do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! . . .

The gentleman from New York [Senator Hill] . . . says he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does he not tell us what he is going to do if he fails to secure an international agreement? . . . Our opponents have tried for twenty years to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who do not want it at all. . . .

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to

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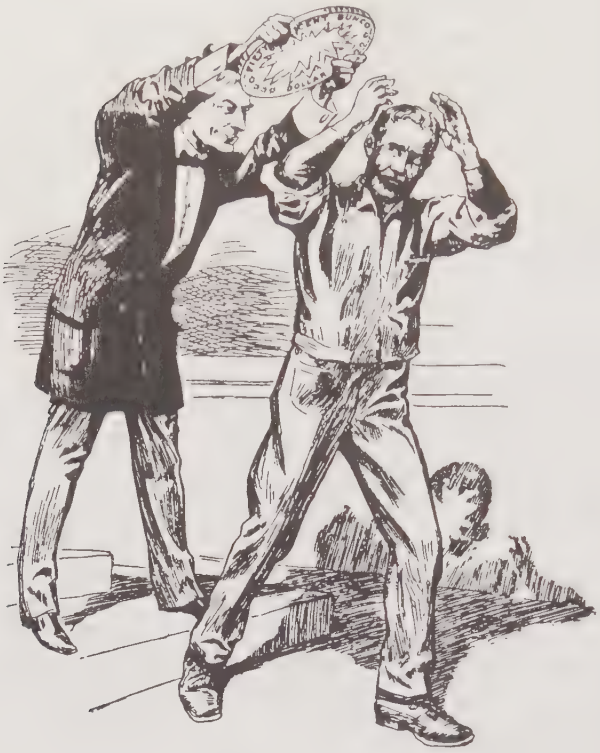
[3]C. M. Depew, ed., *The Library of Oratory,* (New York: The Globe Publishing Company 1902), vol. 14 pp. 415, 418, 420–425, passim.



"You Shall Not Press Down Upon the Brow of Labor This Crown"
A parody of Bryan's famous crown-of-thorns speech, with Bryan pressing down the fifty-cent "bunco dollar." (Harper's Weekly, *1896)*

challenge battle. If they [the Republicans] tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? . . .

Mr. Carlisle* said in 1878 that this was a struggle between "the idle holders of idle capital" and "the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country"; and, my friends, the question we are to decide is: upon which side will the Democratic Party fight—upon the side of "the idle holders of idle capital" or upon the side of "the struggling masses"? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic Party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic Party.

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard.

*John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, formerly a distinguished member of Congress, was Cleveland's secretary of the treasury in 1896.

We reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms, and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair state of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the state of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but three millions in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers?

No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost.

Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

[The Cleveland Democrats, with their devotion to the gold standard, were appalled by the nomination of Bryan. "What a burlesque on a Democratic convention," wrote Postmaster General Wilson in his diary. "May God help the country!" He stressed the youth, ambition, and Populist leanings of the candidate, while noting that Bryan's "utter ignorance of the great diplomatic, financial, and other questions a President has constantly to dispose of, will be lost sight of in the fanaticism of the one idea he represents." (F. P. Summers, The Cabinet Diary of William L. Wilson, 1896–1897 *[Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957], p. 116.) Conservatives, then and later, generally agreed that Bryan was strong on sound but weak on substance.]*

E. The Triumph of McKinley

1. The "Anarchists" Lose Out (1896)

Byran's whirlwind campaign for free silver gained such momentum in its early stages that he might have won if the election had been held two months earlier. But frightened "gold-bug" Republicans opened wide their purses, and the subsequent deluge of propaganda helped bring victory to William McKinley, the Republican candi-

[1] *The Nation* (New York) *63* (November 5, 1896), p. 337.

date. Many of the gold-standard Cleveland Democrats spurned Bryan and contributed actively to McKinley's victory. The gold-bug East stressed the presence in Bryan's camp of such radicals as Eugene V. Debs, who had headed the Pullman strike of 1894, and Governor Altgeld of Illinois, who had pardoned the three surviving Haymarket Riot anarchists. In what respects is this editorial in the New York Nation *least fair?*

We have escaped from what a large number of people supposed was an immense danger, the danger of having our currency adulterated and our form of government changed, and a band of ignoramuses and anarchists put at the head of what remained of the great American republic. Probably no man in civil life has succeeded in inspiring so much terror, without taking life, as Bryan. Attila and Tamerlane frightened more people, but they killed or threatened to kill them; they hardly destroyed more property.

Bryan succeeded in persuading hundreds of thousands that the great fabric of government which was built up by the wisdom of experience of a thousand years, and cemented by hundreds of thousands of lives, was, almost in the first century of its existence, about to be handed over by the vote of its own people to a knot of silly, half-taught adventurers and anarchists. We were to exchange the Constitution and the Supreme Court for the decrees of Altgeld and Debs and Bryan and Teller, whose principal occupation was to be striking off "cheap money for the poor man."

The whole episode has been utterly discreditable to our politics, as conducted by politicians. Could anything better reveal the character of our nominating system than the fact that the nominating convention of one of our two great parties could be taken possession of by a few adventurers, that the platform could be drawn, in the main, by a noted anarchist [Altgeld], and an unknown young man nominated on it simply because the audience was pleased with one of his metaphors, and that it should drive away from it all the party's men of light and leading before going to the country?

2. Bryan's Afterthoughts (1896)

While his memory of the campaign was still fresh, Bryan recorded his impressions. His then-unprecedented six hundred speeches and his eighteen thousand miles of sweaty travel must have left him in something of a daze. What does his account suggest about the ethics of the opposition, the intellectual level of the campaign, and the assumption that the canvass was a crusade rather than a campaign?

The reminiscences of the campaign of 1896 form such a delightful chapter in memory's book that I am constrained to paraphrase a familiar line and say that it is better to have run and lost than never to have run at all. . . .

Unless I am mistaken, the deep awakening among the people during the campaign just closed will result in a more careful study of political questions by both men and women, and in a more rigid scrutiny of the conduct of public officials by those whom they serve. No matter what may be the ultimate outcome of the struggle over the financial quesiton, better government will result from the political interest which has been aroused. . . .

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[2]W. J. Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago: Conkey 1896), pp. 612–624, passim.

"It Can Not Pass While He Is There."
This 1895 cartoon depicts President Grover Cleveland defying the congressional "silver bugs" of the hydra-headed Free Silver movement. (The Granger Collection)

During the campaign I ran across various evidences of coercion, direct and indirect. One of the most common means of influencing voters was the advertising of orders placed with manufacturers, conditioned upon Republican success at the polls. The following is an illustration. Tuesday morning, November 3rd, there appeared at the head of the last column of the first page of the *Morning News,* of Wilmington, Del.:

> CONTINGENT ORDERS.
>
> The Harlan and Hollingsworth Company, of this city, have received a contract for a boat costing $300,000. One clause in the contract provides that in the event of Bryan's election the contract shall be canceled. If the boat is build here, $160,000 of its cost would be paid to Wilmington workmen for wages. The corporation wanting the boat feel that it would not be justified in having it constructed if Bryan should become President. . . .

I may mention a still more forcible means adopted by many employers. The workingmen were paid off Saturday night before election and notified that they might expect work Wednesday morning in case of Mr. McKinley's election, but that they

Money Talks
"No, Mr. McKinley will not make any campaign speeches, but there will be other eloquent speakers in the field." Mark Hanna [Republican national chairman]. A reference to the common assumption that Hanna's lavish use of money swung the election. (Buffalo Times, 1896)

need not return if I was elected. Whether the employers themselves were actually afraid or whether they merely intended to frighten their employees, the plan worked admirably and exerted a most potent influence on election day. . . .

The ratio of 16 to 1 was scrupulously adhered to during the campaign, and illustrated with infinite variety. At one place our carriage was drawn by sixteen white horses and one yellow horse; at any number of places we were greeted by sixteen young ladies dressed in white and one dressed in yellow, or by sixteen young men dressed in white and one dressed in yellow. But the ratio was most frequently represented in flowers, sixteen white chrysanthemums and one yellow one being the favorite combination. . . .

It is impossible to chronicle all the evidences of kindly feeling given during the campaign; in fact the good will manifested and the intense feeling shown impressed me more than any other feature of the campaign. When the result was announced my composure was more endangered by the sorrow exhibited by friends than it was during all the excitement of the struggle. Men broke down and cried as they expressed their regret, and there rises before me now the face of a laboring man of Lincoln, who, after he dried his tears, held out his hand from which three fingers were missing, and said: "I did not shed a tear when those were taken off."

People have often lightly said that they would die for a cause, but it may be asserted in all truthfulness that during the campaign just closed there were thousands of bimetallists who would have given their lives, had their lives been demanded, in order to secure success to the principles which they advocated. Surely, greater love hath no man than this. . . .

I am proud of the character of my support. Those who voted for me did so of their own volition; neither coercion nor purchase secured their suffrages; their confidence and good will robbed defeat of all its pangs.

3. *The London* Standard *Rejoices (1896)*

William McKinley, the high priest of high protection, had expected to emphasize the tariff in the campaign, but Bryan took the play away from him with free silver. The

[3]Quoted in *Public Opinion 21* (November 12, 1896): 623.

business world on both sides of the Atlantic, unwilling to be paid off in fifty-cent silver dollars, rejoiced over the Republican triumph. London reported that millions of dollars' worth of orders from the United States had been placed in England contingent on Bryan's defeat. Why is the London Standard, *in the following article, not altogether happy?*

The complete rejection of Bryan's tempting program, addressed to indolence, incapacity, and cupidity, shows that these qualities are less widely distributed in the United States than Bryan would have us believe. There has been a revolt of the honest and loyal citizens, who are solicitous for the fair name and fame of the Republic, and the Bryanites astonished the world by the comparative paucity of their numbers. The hopelessly ignorant and savagely covetous waifs and strays of American civilization voted for Bryan, but the bulk of the solid sense, business integrity, and social stability sided with McKinley. The nation is to be heartily congratulated. The victory has drawbacks for Englishmen, and, indeed, for every country in Europe engaged in manufacturing industries. It is a triumph of good faith, but also a triumph of [tariff] protection.

Thought Provokers

1. Was it improper for the sugar trust to lobby for a tariff on sugar?
2. Is a company like Pullman's justified in cutting wages when it has a large surplus of money? Does management have a higher obligation to the investor than to the laborer? Is the businessperson the best interpreter of the public interest? Is a large-scale business a purely private matter?
3. Explain how the money question increased anti-British bitterness. Was this feeling rational? irrational? To what extent is the United States today the object of such envy?
4. Explain why the free-silver craze developed the momentum that it did. Comment on the common assumption that the silverites were all ignorant, poor, and basically dishonest.
5. Would disaster have befallen the United States if Bryan had been elected and the Treasury had coined many dollars with the purchasing power of fifty cents each? Did Bryan's defeat help improve or worsen British–American relations?

31

The Path of Empire

It has been a splendid little war [with Spain]; begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by that fortune which loves the brave.

John Hay, 1898

Prologue: As the century neared its sunset, the American people felt a strange restlessness. The frontier was filling up; factories and farms were pouring out exportable surpluses; the nation had not had a rousing war for a generation. Spain, trying desperately to crush a rebellion in Cuba with brutal measures, proved to be the whipping boy. The big-business administration of McKinley did not want war; but public opinion, inflamed by the racy new yellow journalism, did. Although Spain made important eleventh-hour diplomatic concessions, an impatient and outraged Congress declared hostilities. The U.S. Navy was ready, and smashed two badly outmatched Spanish fleets—one at Manila, the other off Cuba. The army, however, was most unready. After some sharp and confused fighting in Cuba, the Spaniards hoisted the white flag. The imperialistic virus had meanwhile attacked the American people, and McKinley, their ever-obedient servant, demanded and obtained all of the Philippines in the treaty of peace signed at Paris in December 1898.

A. Yellow Journalism in Flower

1. Pulitzer Demands Intervention (1897)

The oppressed Cubans revolted in 1895, and the Spanish commander, General ("Butcher") Weyler, tried to crush them by herding them into pesthole concentration camps. Atrocities on both sides were inevitable, but the United States heard little of Cuban misdeeds. The American yellow press, with Joseph Pulitzer's New York World *and William Randolph Hearst's New York* Journal *competing in sensationalism, headlined lurid horror tales. The basic principle of the so-called new journalism seemed to be "Anything to Sell a Paper," regardless of the truth. A* World *reporter wrote from Cuba that slaughtered rebels were fed to dogs and that children of high-ranking Spanish families clamored for Cuban ears as playthings. The following editorial in Pulitzer's* World *demanded action. What point or points probably made the heaviest impact on the American public?*

How long are the Spaniards to drench Cuba with the blood and tears of her people?

[1] New York *World,* February 13, 1897.

How long is the peasantry of Spain to be drafted away to Cuba to die miserably in a hopeless war, that Spanish nobles and Spanish officers may get medals and honors?

How long shall old [Cuban] men and women and children be murdered by the score, the innocent victims of Spanish rage against the patriot armies they cannot conquer?

How long shall the sound of rifles in Castle Morro at sunrise proclaim that bound and helpless prisoners of war have been murdered in cold blood?

How long shall Cuban women be the victims of Spanish outrages and lie sobbing and bruised in loathsome prisons?

How long shall women passengers on vessels flying the American flag be unlawfully seized and stripped and searched by brutal, jeering Spanish officers, in violation of the laws of nations and of the honor of the United States?*

How long shall American citizens, arbitrarily arrested while on peaceful and legitimate errands, be immured in foul Spanish prisons without trial?†

How long shall the navy of the United States be used as the sea police of barbarous Spain?

How long shall the United States sit idle and indifferent within sound and hearing of rapine and murder?

How long?

2. Hearst Stages a Rescue (1897)

William Randolph Hearst, the irresponsible California playboy who had inherited some $20 million from his father, was even more ingenious than his arch-rival Joseph Pulitzer. He is said to have boasted (with undue credit to himself) that it cost him $3 million to bring on the Spanish-American War. He outdid himself in the case of Evangelina Cisneros, a "tenderly nurtured" Cuban girl of eighteen who was imprisoned in Havana on charges of rebellion and reportedly faced a twenty-year incarceration with depraved fellow inmates. The yellow press pictured her as a beautiful young woman whose only crime had been to preserve her virtue against the lustful advances of a "lecherous" Spanish officer. Hearst's New York Journal *whipped up a storm of sympathy for the girl and inspired appeals to the Spanish queen and to the Pope. All else failing, a* Journal *reporter rented a house next to the prison, drugged the inmates, sawed through the cell bars, and—using a forged visa—escaped with Señorita Cisneros disguised as a boy. What does this account in the* Journal *reveal about the character and the techniques of the new yellow journalism?*

EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL

AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ACCOMPLISHES AT A SINGLE STROKE WHAT THE RED TAPE OF DIPLOMACY FAILED UTTERLY TO BRING ABOUT IN MANY MONTHS

By Charles Duval
(Copyright, 1897, by W. R. Hearst)

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*The most highly publicized case actually involved an examination by a police matron.

†By 1897 there were few, if any, U.S. citizens in Cuban prisons, even naturalized Americans of Cuban birth.

[2] New York *Journal,* October 10, 1897.

Havana, Oct. 7, via Key West, Fla., Oct. 9.—Evangelina Cosio y Cisneros is at liberty, and the *Journal* can place to its credit the greatest journalistic coup of this age. It is an illustration of the methods of new journalism and it will find an endorsement in the heart of every woman who has read of the horrible sufferings of the poor girl who has been confined for fifteen long months in Recojidas Prison.

The *Journal,* finding that all other methods were unavailing, decided to secure her liberation through force, and this, as the specially selected commissioner of the *Journal,* I have succeeded in doing.

I have broken the bars of Recojidas and have set free the beautiful captive of monster Weyler, restoring her to her friends and relatives, and doing by strength, skill, and strategy what could not be accomplished by petition and urgent request of the Pope.

Weyler could blind the Queen to [the] real character of Evangelina, but he could not build a jail that would hold against *Journal* enterprise when properly set to work.

Tonight all Havana rings with the story. It is the one topic of conversation; everything else pales into insignificance.

B. The Declaration of War

1. Madrid's Diplomatic Concessions (1898)

General Stewart L. Woodford, a New Yorker of distinguished bearing and ingratiating manner, had served as a Civil War officer, a lawyer, and a congressman. Though only an amateur diplomat, he revealed surprising skill as the U.S. minister in Madrid. He was under instructions from the State Department to secure from Spain (1) an immediate end to the (modified) reconcentration policy, (2) the granting of an armistice to the insurgents, and (3) acknowledgment of Cuba's independence if the president deemed it necessary. After long haggling, the Madrid government ordered an end to reconcentration, March 30, 1898. Two of Woodford's subsequent cablegrams to Washington, reprinted herewith, reveal his further progress. What pressures were being exerted for peace in Madrid? Did Spain's concessions offer hope of an amicable adjustment in Cuba?

Madrid, April 9, 1898

Assistant Secretary Day, Washington:

Spanish minister for foreign affairs has just sent for me. The representatives of the European powers called upon him this morning and advised acquiescence in Pope's request for an armistice [in Cuba]. Armistice has been granted. Spanish minister in Washington instructed to notify our Department of State and yourself. Authority has been cabled to General Blanco [in Cuba] to proclaim armistice. I send verbatim memorandum just handed me by Spanish minister for foreign affairs, as follows:

"In view of the earnest and repeated request of His Holiness [the Pope], supported

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), p. 746.

resolutely by declarations and friendly counsels of the representatives of the six great European powers, who formulated them this morning in a collective visit to the minister of state, as corollary of the efforts of their Governments in Washington, the Spanish Government has resolved to inform the Holy Father that on this date it directs the general-in-chief [Blanco] of the army in Cuba to grant immediately a suspension of hostilities for such length of time as he may think prudent to prepare and facilitate the peace earnestly desired by all."

I hope that this dispatch may reach you before the President's message goes to Congress.

WOODFORD

Madrid, April 10, 1898

President McKinley, Washington:

[Referring to] My personal [dispatch] No. 66. In view of action of Spanish Government, as cabled Saturday, April 9, I hope that you can obtain full authority from Congress to do whatever you shall deem necessary to secure immediate and permanent peace in Cuba by negotiations, including the full power to employ the Army and Navy, according to your own judgment, to aid and enforce your action. If this be secured, I believe you will get final settlement before August 1 on one of the following bases: either such autonomy as the insurgents may agree to accept, or recognition by Spain of the independence of the island, or cession of the island to the United States.

I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present Government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can. With your power of action sufficiently free you will win the fight on your own lines. I do not expect immediate reply, but will be glad to have an early acknowledgment of receipt.

WOODFORD

2. *Spain Regrets the* Maine *(1898)*

The U.S. commission investigating the Maine *had not permitted Spanish officials to examine the wreck, no doubt out of fear that the evidence might be tampered with. The Spaniards nevertheless ran their own inquiry, and concluded that the explosion was internal. (In 1976 a U.S. Navy investigation conducted by Admiral Hyman G. Rickover came to a nearly identical conclusion.) When the Spanish minister in Washington reported to the State Department his nation's recent concessions regarding Cuba, he added the following plea regarding the* Maine. *What light does it cast on the theory of Spanish official culpability, and what is the most convincing evidence of Spain's good faith?*

The Government of Her Majesty doubts not that this [granting of concessions to Cuba] will be recognized by the United States Government, even as it must recognize the manifest injustice with which a portion of the public opinion of this country [the United States] claims to discover responsibilities on the part of Spain for the horrible catastrophe which took place on the calamitous night of the 15th of February last. Her

[2] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898* (April 10, 1898), pp. 748–749.

Majesty the Queen Regent, her responsible government, the Governor-General of Cuba, the insular government, and all the higher authorities of Habana displayed from the first moment the profound sorrow and sentiments of horror which that measureless misfortune caused to them, as well as the sympathy which on that melancholy occasion linked them to the American Government and people.

Proof of this is found in the visits of Her Majesty's chargé d'affaires to the illustrious President of the United States, the visits made by the highest officers of the Spanish State to Mr. Woodford, the assistance unsparingly given to the victims, the funeral obsequies which were provided for them by the municipal council of Habana, and the notes addressed to the Department of State by this legation. . . .

The officers and crews of Her Majesty's war vessels lying near the *Maine,* heedless of the evident peril that menaced them, as is testified by the officers of that American ironclad, immediately lowered their boats, saving a large number of the wrecked ship's men, who alone owe their lives to the instant and efficient aid of the Spanish sailors.

It is singular that these well-known facts and impressive declarations seem to have been forgotten by [American] public opinion, which instead lends credence to the most absurd and offensive conjectures.

The Government of Her Majesty would very greatly esteem the sense of justice and the courtesy of the United States Government were an official statement to set the facts in their true light, for it would seem that they are ignored, and the failure to appreciate them is potentially contributing to keep up an abnormal excitement in the minds of the people that imperils, causelessly and most irrationally, the friendly relations of the two countries.

As for the question of fact which springs from the diversity of views between the reports of the Spanish and American boards, the Government of Her Majesty, although not yet possessed of the official text of the two reports, has hastened to declare itself ready to submit to the judgment of impartial and disinterested experts, accepting in advance the decision of the arbitrators named by the two parties, which is obvious proof of the frankness and good faith which marks the course of Spain on this as on all occasions.

[The U.S. government failed to accept Spain's offer of arbitration.]

3. McKinley Submits a War Message (1898)

Despite Spain's belated concessions, McKinley sent his war message to Congress on April 11, 1898. His nerves were giving way under the constant clamor for war; his heart went out to the mistreated Cubans. (He had anonymously contributed $5,000 for their relief.) He realized that Spain's offer of an armistice, at the discretion of her commander, did not guarantee peace. The rebels had to agree on terms, and Spain had shown a talent for breaking promises and protracting negotiations. Further delay would only worsen the terrible conditions. Among the reasons that McKinley here gives Congress for intervention, which are the soundest and which the weakest? Was there danger in intervening for humanitarian reasons?

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[3]James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1899), vol. 10, pp. 147, 150, passim.

The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation; the expeditions of filibustering [freebooting] that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

These elements of danger and disorder already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by a tragic event which has deeply and justly moved the American people. I have already transmitted to Congress the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana during the night of the 15th of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our Navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, [and] grief and want brought to their homes and sorrow to the nation.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the government, was unanimous in its conclusion that the destruction of the *Maine* was caused by an exterior explosion—that of a submarine mine.* It did not assume to place the responsibility. That remains to be fixed.

In any event, the destruction of the *Maine,* by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American Navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there. . . .

[McKinley here refers to the offer by the Spanish minister to arbitrate the Maine, *and simply adds, "To this I have made no reply."]*

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*Assuming that the outside-explosion theory is correct—and it has been seriously challenged—the *Maine* might have been blown up by Cuban insurgents seeking to involve the United States in the war.

The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop. . . .

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me.

This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

[The president had prepared the foregoing war message a week or so before he submitted it; the delay was primarily to permit U.S. citizens to flee Cuba. A few hours before McKinley finally moved, the cablegrams on pp. 138–139 arrived from Minister Woodford in Madrid. They brought the news that Spain, having already revoked reconcentration, had met the rest of the president's demands by authorizing an armistice. So, at the end of a message that urged war, McKinley casually tacked on the two foregoing paragraphs hinting that hostilities might be avoided. Eight days later a bellicose Congress overwhelmingly passed what was in effect a declaration of war. Several years after the event General Woodford told O. G. Villard, "When I sent that last cable to McKinley, I thought I should wake up the next morning to find myself acclaimed all over the United States for having achieved the greatest diplomatic victory in our history. . . ." Instead, he learned of the war message. (O. G. Villard, Fighting Years *[New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939], p. 136.)]*

4. Professor Norton's Patriotic Protest (1898)

Lovable and immensely popular, Charles Eliot Norton served for many years at Harvard as professor of the history of the fine arts. After war broke out, he shocked public opinion with a speech in Cambridge urging young men not to enlist. The press denounced him as one of the "intellectual copperheads." McKinley had recommended war in the interests of civilization; Norton here urges an opposite course. Who had the sounder arguments? Was it more patriotic to protest than to acquiesce?

And now of a sudden, without cool deliberation, without prudent preparation, the nation is hurried into war, and America, she who more than any other land was

[4] *Public Opinion 24* (June 23, 1898): 775–776.

pledged to peace and good will on earth, unsheathes her sword, compels a weak and unwilling nation to a fight, rejecting without due consideration her [Spain's] earnest and repeated offers to meet every legitimate demand of the United States. It is a bitter disappointment to the lover of his country; it is a turning back from the path of civilization to that of barbarism.

"There never was a good war," said Franklin. There have indeed been many wars in which a good man must take part. . . . But if a war be undertaken for the most righteous end, before the resources of peace have been tried and proved vain to secure it, that war has no defense. It is a national crime. The plea that the better government of Cuba, and the relief of the *reconcentrados,* could only be secured by war is the plea either of ignorance or of hypocrisy.

But the war is declared; and on all hands we hear the cry that he is no patriot who fails to shout for it, and to urge the youth of the country to enlist, and to rejoice that they are called to the service of their native land. The sober counsels that were appropriate before the war was entered upon must give way to blind enthusiasm, and the voice of condemnation must be silenced by the thunders of the guns and the hurrahs of the crowd.

Stop! A declaration of war does not change the moral law. "The Ten Commandments will not budge" at a joint resolve of Congress. . . . No! the voice of protest, of warning, of appeal is never more needed than when the clamor of fife and drum, echoed by the press and too often by the pulpit, is bidding all men fall in and keep step and obey in silence the tyrannous word of command. Then, more than ever, it is the duty of the good citizen not to be silent, and spite of obliquity, misrepresentation, and abuse, to insist on being heard, and with sober counsel to maintain the everlasting validity of the principles of the moral law.

C. The Sordid Little War

1. Rough Times for Rough Riders (1898)

Fight-thirsty Theodore Roosevelt was so determined to get into action that he resigned his post as assistant secretary of the navy. He hastily raised a volunteer cavalry outfit and, as lieutenant colonel of these Rough Riders, managed to reach Cuba—without the horses. Exposing himself with reckless courage, he got into the thick of the fray and won renown near Santiago. But commanding General Shafter was too fat for active duty, the "embalmed beef" was vomit-inducing, and most of the volunteers were poorly trained and equipped. They betrayed their position with old-fashioned, smoke-emitting powder; and one outfit dragged around a captive balloon, thereby revealing its movements. The easy naval victories, combined with the nation's holiday mood and John Hay's reference to the "splendid little war," left a false impression of glamor. What does Roosevelt's letter to his close friend, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, suggest about this romantic image of the war? about Roosevelt's character?

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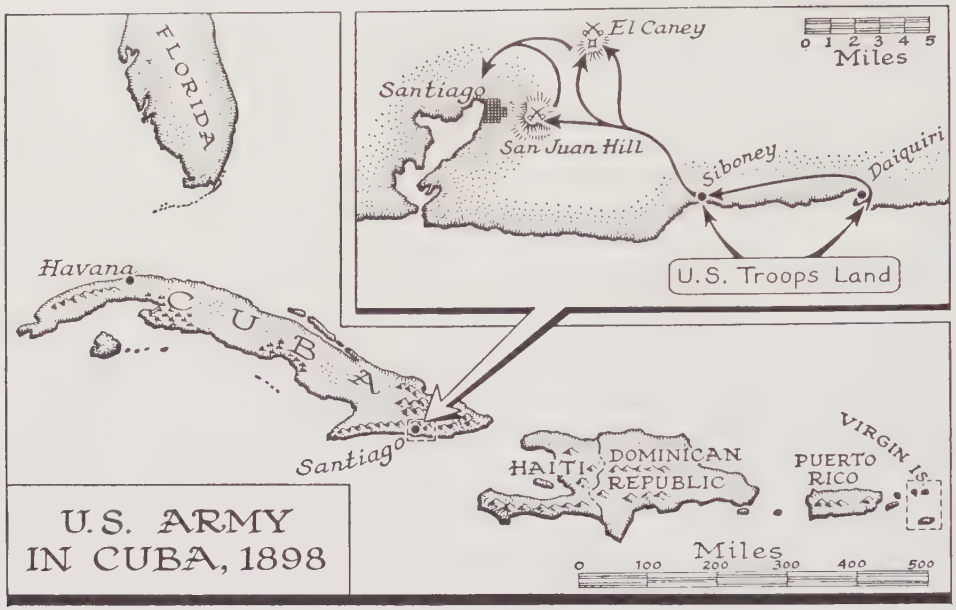

Outside Santiago, July 3, 1898

Dear Cabot: Tell the President for Heaven's sake to send us every regiment and, above all, every battle possible. We have won so far at a heavy cost; but the Spaniards fight very hard, and charging these intrenchments against modern rifles is terrible. We are within measurable distance of a terrible military disaster; we *must* have help—thousands of men, batteries, and *food* and ammunition. The other volunteers are at a hideous disadvantage owing to their not having smokeless powder. Our General [Shafter] is poor; he is too unwieldy to get to the front. I commanded my regiment, I think I may say, with honor. We lost a quarter of our men. For three days I have been at the extreme front of the firing line; how I have escaped I know not; I have not blanket or coat; I have not taken off my shoes even; I sleep in the drenching rain, and drink putrid water. Best love to Nannie.

2. Disillusionment over the Cubans (1898)

The U.S. press, in playing up Spanish atrocities, had idealized the nondescript Cuban insurgents and their shadowy government. The liberating U.S. troops were speedily disillusioned. They had to restrain their ragged allies from pillaging towns, shooting Spanish prisoners, and butchering the wounded. The insurgents flatly refused to help their deliverers with such menial tasks as building roads and carrying American wounded from the battlefield. U.S. anger and contempt naturally bred Cuban resentment. In the Teller amendment, passed by Congress in 1898, the United States had pledged itself to free Cuba; in the Platt amendment, passed by Congress in 1902,

[2]Norfolk (Va.) *Landmark,* in *Public Opinion 25* (July 28, 1898): 104.

Peace!—and After?
Spain (to Uncle Sam): "Well, you wanted him! You've got him! And I wish you joy of him!!" (Punch *[London], 1898)*

Washington reserved the right to intervene to preserve order. What was the relationship between the Platt amendment and the views expressed in the following Virginia editorial?

Day by day the news from Santiago brings out more clearly the real character of the majority of the Cuban insurgents. Men who have to be prevented by force from killing prisoners and plundering surrendered cities are not likely to make admirable citizens of an independent country. Liberty, according to their conception of it, would truly be synonymous with many crimes.

In the meanwhile, let us be thankful that the President [McKinley] stood so strongly against the recognition of the alleged insurgent government—a step which was urged with ceaseless vehemence by many influential members of Congress, and by innumerable orators and periodicals. Wouldn't we have been in a pretty predicament if we had found ourselves obliged at every point to bow to the wishes of the undisciplined, bloodthirsty guerrillas who seem to compose the majority of the insurgent forces?

Of course, we believe that Cuba will rise from her ruin and show herself fully worthy of the attempt that has been made to save her, but a good many years will pass before it will be safe for the United States to withdraw their troops and leave the island to her own devices. Even then, it is a question whether Cuban independence outside of the Union will be a success or a failure.

D. The Siren Song of Imperialism

1. McKinley Prays for Guidance (1898)

What to do with the conquered Philippines? At first McKinley considered taking only a foothold at Manila, on the main island of Luzon. But this would be rendered militarily untenable if the remaining islands should fall into the hands of an unfriendly power, possibly Germany. The decision then lay between all and nothing. To hand back the islands to Spain was unthinkable. After fighting a war to free Cuba from Spanish misrule, the United States could hardly return the Filipinos, who had likewise risen in revolt, to Spanish misrule. To cut them completely loose, however, might result in a mad scramble among the powers that would touch off a world war into which the United States might be drawn. McKinley had to make the deicison while badly upset by the murder of his brother-in-law at the hands of a betrayed woman. He later told a group of fellow Methodists how he sought divine guidance, presumably late in October 1898. How sound was McKinley's reasoning? Are there elements of racism in his thinking?

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came:

(1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;

(2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;

(3) That we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and

(4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died.

And then I went to bed and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are and there they will stay while I am President!

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[1] This document is a report of an interview with McKinley at the White House, November 21, 1899, written by one of the interviewers and confirmed by others present. Published in *The Christian Advocate,* January 22, 1903, it is here reprinted from C. S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (1916), vol. 2, pp. 110–111.

2. Professor Sumner Spurns Empire (1898)

The "magnificently bald" and "iron-voiced" Professor William G. Sumner of Yale was an immensely popular lecturer and a leading anti-imperialist. Fearlessly outspoken, he offended influential alumni by opposing tariff protection and by turning a cynical eye on the United States' "civilizing mission" in the Philippines. The truth is that the more obvious the natural resources of the islands became, the less capable the inhabitants seemed of self-rule. The moral obligation of the "white man's burden," which the British poet Kipling urged the United States to shoulder, had many of the earmarks of the loot sack. The British welcomed Americans as fellow civilizers, no doubt in part because imperialistic misery loved company. Why did Sumner believe that the conquered peoples would be unlikely to accept U.S. rule, and that such rule was a perversion of American principles?

There is not a civilized nation which does not talk about its civilizing mission just as grandly as we do. The English, who really have more to boast of it in this respect than anybody else, talk least about it, but the Phariseeism with which they correct and instruct other people has made them hated all over the globe. The French believe themselves the guardians of the highest and purest culture, and that the eyes of all mankind are fixed on Paris, whence they expect oracles of thought and taste. The Germans regard themselves as charged with a mission, especially to us Americans, to save us from egoism and materialism. The Russians, in their books and newspapers, talk about the civilizing mission of Russia in language that might be translated from some of the finest paragraphs in our imperialistic newspapers.

The first principle of Mohammedanism is that we Christians are dogs and infidels, fit only to be enslaved or butchered by Moslems. It is a corollary that wherever Mohammedanism extends it carries, in the belief of its votaries, the highest blessings, and that the whole human race would be enormously elevated if Mohammedanism should supplant Christianity everywhere.

To come, last, to Spain, the Spaniards have, for centuries, considered themselves the most zealous and self-sacrificing Christians, especially charged by the Almighty, on this account, to spread true religion and civilization over the globe. They think themselves free and noble, leaders in refinement and the sentiments of personal honor, and they despise us as sordid money-grabbers and heretics. I could bring you passages from peninsular authors of the first rank about the grand rôle of Spain and Portugal in spreading freedom and truth.

Now each nation laughs at all the others when it observes these manifestations of national vanity. You may rely upon it that they are all ridiculous by virtue of these pretensions, including ourselves. The point is that each of them repudiates the standards of the others, and the outlying nations, which are to be civilized, hate all the standards of civilized men.

We assume that what we like and practice, and what we think better, must come as a welcome blessing to Spanish-Americans and Filipinos. This is grossly and obviously untrue. They hate our ways. They are hostile to our ideas. Our religion, language, institutions, and manners offend them. They like their own ways, and if we appear

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[2]W. G. Sumner, *War and Other Essays* (1919), pp. 303–305. By permission of the Yale University Press.

Reluctant Imperialists
Many Americans balked at their country's transformation into an imperial power. The argument between pro- and anti-imperialists figured prominently in the presidential election of 1900. (Historical Pictures Service)

amongst them as rulers, there will be social discord in all the great departments of social interest. The most important thing which we shall inherit from the Spaniards will be the task of suppressing rebellions.

If the United States takes out of the hands of Spain her mission, on the ground that Spain is not executing it well, and if this nation in its turn attempts to be schoolmistress to others, it will shrivel up into the same vanity and self-conceit of which Spain now presents an example. To read our current literature one would think that we were already well on the way to it.

Now, the great reason why all these enterprises which begin by saying to somebody else, "We know what is good for you better than you know yourself and we are going to make you do it," are false and wrong is that they violate liberty; or, to turn the same statement into other words, the reason why liberty, of which we Americans talk so much, is a good thing is that it means leaving people to live out their own lives in their own way, while we do the same.

If we believe in liberty, as an American principle, why do we not stand by it? Why are we going to throw it away to enter upon a Spanish policy of dominion and regulation?

3. Beveridge Trumpets Imperialism (1898)

Albert J. Beveridge delivered this famous speech, "The March of the Flag," at Indianapolis, Indiana, on September 16, 1898, before McKinley had decided to keep the Philippines. Born to an impoverished family, Beveridge had spent his youth at hard

[3] C. M. Depew, ed., *The Library of Oratory* (New York: The Globe Publishing Company, 1902), vol. 14, pp. 438–440.

manual labor but ultimately secured a college education with prizes won in oratorical contests. The cadences of his spellbinding oratory were such that "Mr. Dooley" (F. P. Dunne) said you could waltz to them. The year after making this address, Beveridge was elected to the U.S. Senate from Indiana at the remarkably youthful age of thirty-six. How convincing is his reply to the anti-imperialists' warnings against the annexation of noncontiguous territory and to their argument that no more land was needed? What were his powers as a prophet?

Distance and oceans are no arguments. The fact that all the territory our fathers bought and seized is contiguous is no argument. In 1819 Florida was further from New York than Porto Rico is from Chicago today; Texas, further from Washington in 1845 than Hawaii is from Boston in 1898; California, more inaccessible in 1847 than the Philippines are now. . . . The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire—the oceans join us, a river never to be dredged, a canal never to be repaired.

Steam joins us; electricity joins us—the very elements are in league with our destiny. Cuba not contiguous! Porto Rico not contiguous! Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous! Our navy will make them contiguous. [Admirals] Dewey and Sampson and Schley have made them contiguous, and American speed, American guns, American heart and brain and nerve will keep them contiguous forever.

But the Opposition is right—there is a difference. We did not need the western Missisippi Valley when we acquired it, nor Florida, nor Texas, nor California, nor the royal provinces of the far Northwest. We had no emigrants to people this imperial wilderness, no money to develop it, even no highways to cover it. No trade awaited us in its savage fastnesses. Our productions were not greater than our trade. There was not one reason for the land-lust of our statesmen from Jefferson to Grant, other than the prophet and the Saxon within them.

But today we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. Today our industrial society is congested; there are more workers than there is work; there is more capital than there is investment. We do not need more money—we need more circulation, more employment. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor. And so, while we did not need the territory taken during the past century at the time it was acquired, we do need what we have taken in 1898, and we need it now.

Think of the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Porto Rico when the republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety! Think of the tens of thousands of Americans who will invade mine and field and forest in the Philippines when a liberal government, protected and controlled by this republic, if not the government of the republic itself, shall establish order and equity there! Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common-school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba, when a government of law replaces the double reign of anarchy and tyranny!—think of the prosperous millions that Empress of Islands will support when, obedient to the law of political gravitation, her people ask for the highest honor liberty can bestow, the sacred Order of the Stars and Stripes, the citizenship of the Great Republic!

What does all this mean for every one of us? It means opportunity for all the glorious young manhood of the republic—the most virile, ambitious, impatient, militant manhood the world has ever seen. It means that the resources and the commerce

of these immensely rich dominions will be increased as much as American energy is greater than Spanish sloth; for Americans henceforth will monopolize those resources and that commerce.

[The Treaty of Paris, by which the United States acquired the Philippines, received Senate approval by a close vote on February 6, 1899. The imperialists had little to add to the materialistic-humanitarian arguments herein presented by McKinley and Beveridge. The anti-imperialists stressed the unwisdom of annexing noncontiguous areas in the tropics thickly populated by alien peoples. They also harped on the folly of departing from the principles of freedom and nonintervention as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Emancipation Proclamation. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts assailed the imperialists with these words: "If you ask them what they want, you are answered with a shout: 'Three cheers for the flag! Who will dare to haul it down? Hold on to everything you can get. The United States is strong enough to do what it likes. The Declaration of Independence and the counsel of Washington and the Constitution of the United States have grown rusty and musty. They are for little countries and not for great ones. There is no moral law for strong nations. America has outgrown Americanism.' " (Congressional Record, *55th Cong., 3d sess., [1899] p. 495.)]*

Thought Provokers

1. Have the newspapers in a democracy an ethical responsibility to pursue sober policies, even though such tactics hurt circulation? Has the press shown more responsibility in recent years than in 1898?
2. Should a diplomat be dismissed because of a *private* letter stolen from the mails? Were patriotic Spaniards justified in resenting American attitudes and accusations in 1897–1898? Should the United States have accepted arbitration of the *Maine* dispute?
3. It has been said that a joint-power intervention in Cuba for humanitarian reasons would have been on sounder ground than the United States' unilateral intervention. Explain. Using McKinley's reasoning, would Spain have been justified in intervening in the American Civil War to prevent continued bloodshed off Cuba's shores? Would a grant of autonomy have solved the Cuban problem?
4. To what extent were the anti-imperialists idealists? Was there anything morally objectionable in their attitude?
5. In the long run, would the United States have been better off if it had kept Cuba and relinquished the Philippines? Did intervention solve the Cuban problem? Has the so-called white man's burden proved to be unselfish or a cover for selfishness?

32

America on the World Stage, 1899–1909

The mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation.

President McKinley, 1898

Prologue: The resentful Filipinos, unwilling to be caged by American overlords, revolted in 1899. The insurrection dragged on scandalously for seven years. In 1900 the Democratic presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, trumpeting anti-imperialism as the "paramount issue," again ran unsuccessfully against the prosperity president, William McKinley. The victor was fatally shot late in 1901 after serving only six months of his second term. Theodore Roosevelt, moving up from the vice-presidency, promptly launched a two-fisted, big-stick foreign policy. By strong-arm methods, he secured a canal zone at Panama, and then "made the dirt fly." By devising the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, he intervened in the bankrupt Dominican Republic to prevent other powers from intervening. By mediating a settlement at the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, he won the Nobel Peace Prize. And by interceding in the quarrel between California and Japan over Japanese immigrants, he worked out the "Gentlemen's Agreement" for amicably halting the inflow.

A. The Bitter Fruits of Imperialism

1. Beveridge Deplores Unpatriotic Talk (1900)

The Filipino troops, under their leader Emilio Aguinaldo, had cooperated loyally with the Americans in capturing Manila. They had received informal promises of freedom, but when these were not honored, they rose in revolt. The fighting between Filipinos and Americans rapidly degenerated into brutal guerrilla warfare. Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana (see p. 148), recently elected to the U.S. Senate, went to the Philippines on a personal tour of inspection and reported his findings in an impressive Senate speech. Should the anti-imperialists have been silenced by his argument?

It has been charged that our conduct of the war has been cruel. Senators, it has been the reverse. I have been in our hospitals and seen the Filipino wounded as carefully, tenderly cared for as our own. Within our lines they may plow and sow and

[1] *Congressional Record,* 56th Cong., 1st sess., (January 9, 1900), p. 708.

Senator Beveridge Urges Philippine Imperialism
America ignores Puerto Rico bound hand and foot with tariffs. (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, *1900)*

reap and go about the affairs of peace with absolute liberty. And yet all this kindness was misunderstood, or rather not understood. Senators must remember that we are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. We are dealing with Orientals who are Malays. We are dealing with Malays instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness, forbearance for fear. . . .

Mr. President, reluctantly and only from a sense of duty am I forced to say that American opposition to the war has been the chief factor in prolonging it. Had Aguinaldo not understood that in America, even in the American Congress, even here in the Senate, he and his cause were supported; had he had not known that it was proclaimed on the stump and in the press of a faction in the United States that every shot his misguided followers fired into the breasts of American soldiers was like the volleys fired by Washington's men against the soldiers of King George, his insurrection would have dissolved before it entirely crystallized.

The utterances of American opponents of the war are read to the ignorant soldiers of Aguinaldo, and repeated in exaggerated form among the common people. Attempts have been made by wretches claiming American citizenship to ship arms and ammunition from Asiatic ports to Filipinos, and these acts of infamy were coupled by the Malays with American assaults on our government at home.

The Filipinos do not understand free speech, and therefore our tolerance of American assaults on the American President and the American government means to them that our President is in the minority or he would not permit what appears to them such treasonable criticism. It is believed and stated in [the islands of] Luzon, Panay, and Cebu that the Filipinos have only to fight, harass, retreat, break up into small parties, if necessary, as they are doing now, but by any means hold out until the next presidential election, and our forces will be withdrawn.

All this has aided the enemy more than climate, arms, and battle. Senators, I have heard these reports myself; I have talked with the people; I have seen our mangled boys in the hospital and field; I have stood on the firing line and beheld our dead soldiers, their faces turned to the pitiless southern sky, and in sorrow rather than

anger I say to those whose voices in America have cheered those misguided natives on to shoot our soldiers down, that the blood of those dead and wounded boys of ours is on their hands, and the flood of all the years can never wash that stain away. In sorrow rather than anger I say these words, for I earnestly believe that our brothers knew not what they did.

2. Bryan Vents His Bitterness (1901)

In 1900 the Republican President McKinley, who favored keeping the Philippines, again ran against the Democrat William J. Bryan, who favored giving them independence. Republicans accused Byran of prolonging the insurrection by holding out false hopes. One popular magazine published a picture of the Filipino leader on its front cover, with the query, "Who is behind Aguinaldo?" The curious reader lifted a flap and saw the hawklike features of Bryan. McKinley triumphed by a handsome margin, and Republicans misleadingly hailed the results as a national mandate to retain the islands. The next year Bryan expressed his bitterness as follows, several months after the United States had captured Aguinaldo. What is his strongest rebuttal to Republican charges that the Democrats were responsible for prolonging the insurrection? How good a prophet was Bryan?

In the campaign of 1900 the Republican leaders denied that their party contemplated a permanent increase in the standing army. They asserted that a large army was only necessary because of the insurrection in the Philippines, and they boldly declared that the insurrection would cease immediately if the Republican ticket was successful. The Democratic platform and Democratic speakers were blamed for the prolongation of the war. "Just re-elect President McKinley," they said, "and let the Filipinos know they are not to have independence, and they will lay down their arms and our soldiers can come home."

Well, the Republican ticket was elected, and the Filipinos were notified that they were not to have independence. But a month after the election the Republicans rushed through Congress a bill authorizing the President to raise the regular army to 100,000, and now, after a year has elapsed, the insurrection is still in progress and the end is not yet. Some of the worst losses of the year have been suffered by our troops within two months. . . .

After the Republican victory made it impossible for the imperialists to blame the anti-imperialists for the continuation of hostilities, the Republican leaders declared that Aguinaldo, actuated by selfish ambition, was compelling his countrymen to continue the war. But even after his capture and imprisonment—yes, even after his captors had secured from him an address advising his comrades to surrender—the insurrection continued.

How long will it take the imperialists to learn that we can never have peace in the Philippine Islands? That we can suppress open resistance is certain, although the cost may be far beyond any gain that can be derived from a colonial government, but that we can ever make the Filipinos love us or trust us while we rule them through a carpetbag government is absurd.

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[2] *The Commoner,* November 22, 1901.

If the Republicans had read the speeches of Abraham Lincoln as much recently as they did in former years, they would have known that hatred of an alien government is a natural thing and a thing to be expected everywhere. Lincoln said that it was God himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. . . .

3. The Nation Denounces Atrocities (1902)

Many of the Filipino tribes were simple peoples who knew little of so-called "civilized" warfare. Some of them would horribly mutilate and torture American captives, sometimes fastening them down to be eaten alive by insects. The infuriated white soldiers retaliated by shooting a few prisoners and by administering the "water cure"—that is, forcing buckets of dirty water into Filipinos, deflating them with rifle butts, and repeating the painful process. In certain areas the Americans herded the populace into reconcentration camps, somewhat after the manner of "Butcher" Weyler in Cuba. General Jacob ("Hell Roaring Jake") Smith was "admonished" by the War Department for an order (not carried out) to kill all males over ten years of age on the island of Samar. How sound is the parallel that the New York Nation *here draws between Spanish behavior in Cuba and U.S. behavior in the Philippines?*

Even if the condemnation of barbarous warfare in the Philippines by the imperialist press is somewhat belated, we welcome it, as we welcome everything that compels Americans to give attention to a subject to which too many of them have become increasingly indifferent. Silence, we know, is consistent with shame, and may be one of the signs of its existence; and the fact that only a few of the more unblushing or foolish newspapers have defended Gen. Smith's policy of extermination shows what the general sentiment is.

To allege the provocation which our soldiers had is to set up a defense which President Roosevelt brushed aside in advance. To fall back on the miserable sophistry that "war is hell" is only another way of making out those who engage in that kind of war to be fiends. It is, besides, to offer an excuse for ourselves which we did not tolerate for an instant in the case of Spanish atrocities. That is our present moral humiliation in the eyes of the world.

We made war on Spain four years ago for doing the very things of which we are now guilty ourselves. As the Chicago *News* pointedly observes, we are giving Spain as good reason to interfere with us on the ground of humanity as we had to interfere with her. Doubtless she would interfere if she were strong enough and thought she could acquire some islands in the virtuous act.

4. A San Francisco Weekly Defends the Army (1902)

Moderate defenders of the Republican administration replied that the charges of cruelty were grossly exaggerated, that atrocity stories were being used by Democrats for partisan advantage, and that in any event such tales did not affect the question of the

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[3] *The Nation* (New York) *74* (May 8, 1902): 357.

[4] San Francisco *Argonaut 50* (May 26, 1902): 342.

United States' duty in the Philippines. The Outlook *(April 26, 1902) concluded: "The humanity of the army as a whole cannot be discredited by single acts of cruelty, no matter how abhorrent these may be in their character." The extreme imperialists openly avowed a policy of brutality. Shockingly frank was the San Francisco* Argonaut, *a respectable and long lived weekly magazine. How does it apportion the blame for the existing situation between Republicans and Democrats? What force is there in its case for the army?*

There has been too much hypocrisy about this Philippine business—too much snivel—too much cant. Let us all be frank.

WE DO NOT WANT THE FILIPINOS.

WE WANT THE PHILIPPINES.

All of our troubles in this annexation matter have been caused by the presence in the Philippine Islands of the Filipinos. Were it not for them, the Treaty of Paris would have been an excellent thing; the purchase of the archipelago for twenty millions of dollars would have been cheap. The islands are enormously rich; they abound in dense forests of valuable hardwood timber; they contain mines of the precious metals; their fertile lands will produce immense crops of sugar cane, rice, and tobacco. Touched by the wand of American enterprise, fertilized with American capital, these islands would speedily become richer than Golconda was of old.

But, unfortunately, they are infested by Filipinos. There are many millions of them there, and it is to be feared that their extinction will be slow. Still, every man who believes in developing the islands must admit that it cannot be done successfully while the Filipinos are there. They are indolent. They raise only enough food to live on; they don't care to make money; and they occupy land which might be utilized to much better advantage by Americans. Therefore the more of them killed, the better.

It seems harsh. But they must yield before the superior race, and the American syndicate. How shortsighted, then, to check the army in its warfare upon these savages; particularly when the army is merely carrying out its orders and the duly expressed wishes of the American people, as shown through their elections and their representatives.

Doubtless, many of the excellent gentlemen now in Congress would repudiate these sentiments as brutal. But we are only saying what they are doing. We believe in stripping all hypocritical verbiage from national declarations, and telling the truth simply and boldly. We repeat—the American people, after thought and deliberation, have shown their wishes. THEY DO NOT WANT THE FILIPINOS. THEY WANT THE PHILIPPINES.

It is no one party, no one class, that is responsible for our Philippine policy. It is the people of the United States. The Democratic Party shares equally the responsibility with the Republican Party. The Democratic Party voted for the war with Spain. Had it opposed the fifty-million [arms] appropriation, the war could not have taken place. The Democrats advocated the purchase of the Philippines. For a time the confirmation of the Philippine treaty was in doubt. It was the direct personal lobbying of William J. Bryan with the Demoratic Senators which led to the confirmation of the Philippine purchase, and which also led to the present bloody war. Mr. Bryan said at the time that he advocated the confirmation of the treaty in order to put "the Republicans into a hole." He has certainly put his country into a hole. Is he proud of his work?

We are all responsible. You, reader, are responsible. If you are a Republican, your

party has made this action part of its national policy. If you are a Democrat, your party, by its vote in the House of Representatives, made the war possible, and by its vote in the Senate turned the scales for the purchase of the Philippines.

But if we, the people of the United States, are responsible for the Philippine campaign, the American army is not. The army is only seventy thousand out of seventy millions. The army did not ask to go there. It was sent. It has fought for four years under tropic suns and torrential rains, in pestilential jungles and miasmatic swamps, patiently bearing the burdens placed upon it by the home country, and with few laurels to be gained as a result of hard and dangerous duty. Nearly every general officer returning from the Philippines has returned to either a wrecked reputation, newspaper odium, or public depreciation. Look at Merritt, Otis, Merriam, MacArthur, Funston. The best treatment that any of them has received is not to be abused. And yet, with these melancholy examples before them, our army toils on uncomplainingly doing its duty.

The army did not bring on the war. We civilians did it. The army is only doing our bidding as faithful servants of their country. And now that they have shown a perfectly human tendency to fight the devil with fire, we must not repudiate their actions, for their actions are our own. They are receiving the fire of the enemy from the front. It is shameful that there should be a fire upon them from the rear.

B. The Panama Revolution

1. Hay Twists Colombia's Arm (1903)

The Spanish-American War, which netted a far-flung empire, increased public pressure for an isthmian canal. Nicaragua had long been the favored route, but in 1902 Congress approved Colombia's Isthmus of Panama. Secretary of State Hay, by threatening to revert to the Nicaragua route, finally secured a treaty from the reluctant Colombian envoy in Washington. But the Senate of Colombia delayed ratification, for it was dissatisfied with the rather niggardly financial terms offered for this priceless asset—$10 million plus an annual payment of $250,000. Secretary Hay thereupon sent the following telegram to the U.S. minister in Bogotá, the capital of Colombia. Critics have contended that this statement contains an intolerable threat to a sovereign republic. Does it?

Department of State
Washington, June 9, 1903

The Colombian Government apparently does not appreciate the gravity of the situation. The canal negotiations were initiated by Colombia, and were energetically pressed upon this Government for several years. The propositions presented by Colombia, with slight modifications, were finally accepted by us. In virtue of this agreement our Congress reversed its previous judgment [favoring Nicaragua] and

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), p. 146.

decided upon the Panama route. If Colombia should now reject the treaty or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly understanding between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that action might be taken by the Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would regret. Confidential. Communicate substance of this verbally to the minister of foreign affairs. If he desires it, give him a copy in form of memorandum.

HAY

[When the American envoy in Bogotá conveyed this stern message to the foreign minister, the latter asked whether the threat meant hostile measures against Colombia or the adoption of the Nicaragua route. The American was unable to answer. Actually, Secretary Hay took liberties with the truth when he stated that Colombia had "energetically pressed" canal negotiations for several years. In fact, Washington had done the pressing.]

2. Roosevelt Hopes for Revolt (1903)

The Colombian Senate unanimously rejected the canal-zone treaty on August 12, 1903. Among other motives, it hoped to secure for Colombia an additional $40 million—the sum that Washington was proposing to pay the heirs of the French company that had started the canal in the 1870s. The Panamanians feared that the United States would now turn to Nicaragua, as the law required Roosevelt to do if blocked, and thus deprive the Panamanians of the anticipated prosperity that the canal would bring. They had revolted against Colombia's misrule fifty-three times in the past fifty-seven years (by Roosevelt's count), and they were now riper than ever for rebellion. The following letter that Roosevelt sent to Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the Review of Reviews, *is often cited as evidence that he connived at the revolt. Does it provide good supporting evidence for that conclusion?*

My dear Dr. Shaw: I enclose you, purely for your own information, a copy of a letter of September 5th from our Minister to Colombia. I think it might interest you to see that there was absolutely not the slightest chance of securing by treaty any more than we endeavored to secure. The alternatives were to go to Nicaragua, against the advice of the great majority of competent engineers—some of the most competent saying that we had better have no canal at this time than go there—or else to take the territory by force without any attempt at getting a treaty.

I cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panama. Whatever other governments can do, the United States cannot go into the securing by such underhand means, the secession. Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent State, or if it made itself so at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of revolt, and therefore I cannot say it.

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[2]Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* edited by E. E. Morison (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), copyright © 1951, 1952, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, © 1979, 1980 by E. E. Morison.

3. Official Connivance in Washington (1903)

The rebels in Panama, encouraged by Roosevelt's ill-concealed anger, revolted on November 3, 1903. Under the ancient treaty of 1846 with Colombia, the United States had guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus, obviously against foreign invaders. *In this case Roosevelt guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus by having orders issued to the* Nashville *and other U.S. naval units to prevent Colombian troops from landing and crossing from the Atlantic port of Colón to Panama City and crushing the rebellion. On November 4, 1903, Panama proclaimed its independence. A little more than an hour after receiving the news, Roosevelt hastily authorized* de facto *recognition, which was extended on November 6, 1903. This unseemly haste suggested improper connivance by Washington, and in response to a public demand Roosevelt sent the following official documents to Congress. They consist of interchanges between Acting Secretary of State Loomis (Hay was then absent) and the U.S. vice-consul general at Panama City, Felix Ehrman. What do these documents suggest about U.S. complicity in the Panamanian revolution?*

Mr. Loomis to Mr. Ehrman
Department of State
Washington, November 3, 1903
(Sent 3:40 P.M.)

Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed.

LOOMIS, Acting

Mr. Ehrman to Mr. Hay
Panama, November 3, 1903
(Received 8:15 P.M.)

No uprising yet. Reported will be in the night. Situation is critical.

EHRMAN

Mr. Ehrman to Mr. Hay
Panama, November 3, 1903
(Received 9:50 P.M.)

Uprising occurred [at Panama City] tonight, 6; no bloodshed. [Colombian] Army and navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized tonight, consisting three consuls, also cabinet. Soldiers changed. Supposed same movement will be effected in Colón. Order prevails so far. Situation serious. Four hundred [Colombian] soldiers landed Colón today [from] Barranquilla.

EHRMAN

Mr. Loomis to Mr. Ehrman
Department of State
Washington, November 3, 1903
(Sent 11:18 P.M.)

Message sent to *Nashville* to Colón may not have been delivered. Accordingly see that following message is sent to *Nashville* immediately: *Nashville,* Colón:

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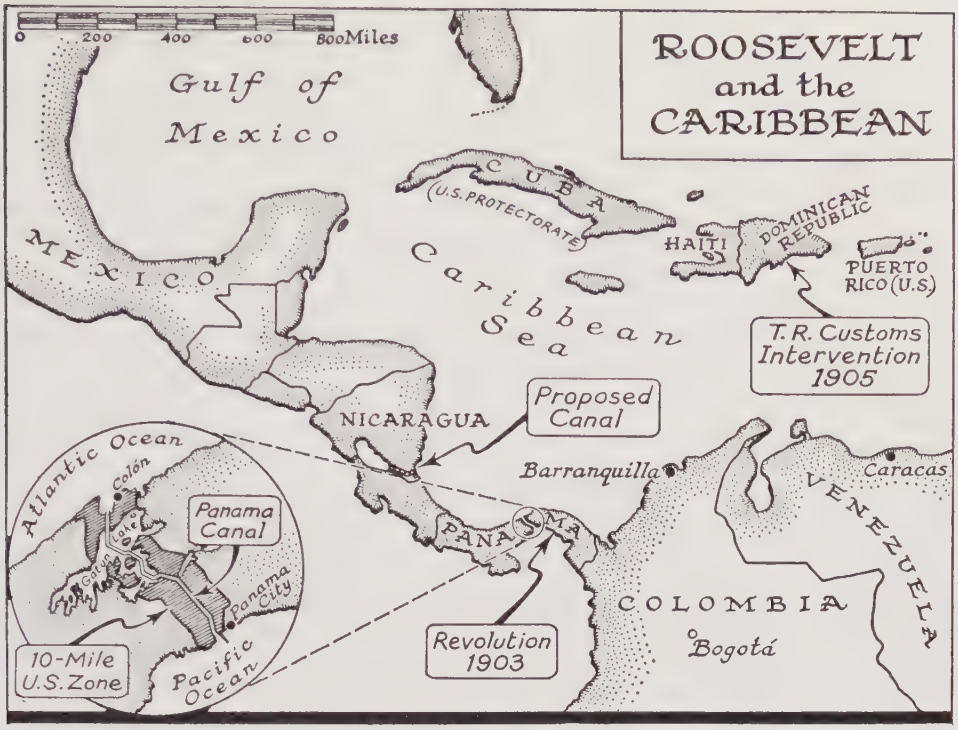
[3] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1903,* p. 231.



In the interests of peace make every effort to prevent [Colombian] Government troops at Colón from proceeding to Panama. The transit of the Isthmus must be kept open and order maintained. Acknowledge.

(signed) Darling, Acting [Secretary of Navy]

Secure special train [to deliver message], if necessary. Act promptly.

LOOMIS, Acting

[Resolute action by Commander Hubbard of the Nashville, *in response to his instructions from Washington, forced the Colombian troops to sail away from Colón on November 5, two days after the revolutionists seized Panama City.]*

C. The Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean

1. Roosevelt Launches a Corollary (1904)

The corrupt and bankrupt "banana republics" of the Caribbean were inclined to overborrow, and Roosevelt believed they could properly be "spanked" by European creditors. But the British-German spanking of Venezuela in 1902 resulted in the sinking of two Venezuelan gunboats and the bombardment of a fort and village. Such

[1] *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature) vol. 16 (December 6, 1904), pp. 7053–7054.

interventions foreshadowed a possibly permanent foothold and a consequent violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Sensing this danger, Roosevelt, in his annual message to Congress of 1904, sketched out his famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe had in effect warned the European powers in 1823, "Hands off." Roosevelt was now saying that since the United States would not permit the powers to lay their hands on, he had an obligation to do so himself. In short, he would intervene to keep them from intervening. In the statement embodied in his annual message, how does he justify this newly announced U.S. role, and what assurances does he give to the Latin American countries?

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States.

Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which, with the aid of the Platt amendment, Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end.

Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society, they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence cannot be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

2. A Latin American Protests (1943)

Following up his new corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt arranged with the local authorities to take over and administer the customshouses of the bankrupt Santo Domingo. The European credits then had no real excuse for interfering, for they

[2]Luis Quintanilla, *A Latin American Speaks* (New York: The Macmillan Company 1943), pp. 125–126. By permission of the author.

received their regular payments. In his annual message of 1905, Roosevelt added a refinement to his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: to prevent European creditors from taking over customshouses (and perhaps staying), the United States had an obligation to take over the customshouses itself. In subsequent years, and pursuant to the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, the marines landed and acted as international policemen, notably in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua. The Latin Americans, cherishing their sovereign right to revolution and disorder, bitterly resented this bayonet-enforced twisting of Monroe's protective dictum. Below, an outspoken Mexican diplomat, with a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, expresses his wrath. It has been said that the Roosevelt corollary was so radically different from the original Monroe Doctrine (see Vol. I, p. 225) that the two should never have been associated. Was Roosevelt's corollary a logical extension or a radical revision of the Monroe Doctrine?

No document has proved more harmful to the prestige of the United States in the Western Hemisphere [than the Roosevelt corollary]. No White House policy could be more distasteful to Latin Americans—not even, perhaps, outspoken imperialism. Latin Americans are usually inclined to admire strength, force, a nation *muy hombre* [very manly]. This was imperialism without military glamour. . . . Moreover, it was a total distortion of the original Message. Monroe's Doctrine was defensive and negative: defensive, in that it was essentially an opposition to eventual aggression from Europe; negative, in that it simply told Europe what it should not do—not what the United States should do.

The Monroe Doctrine of later corollaries became aggressive and positive; aggressive, because, even without actual European attack, it urged United States "protection" of Latin America—and that was outright intervention; positive, because instead of telling Europe what not to do, it told the United States what it should do in the Western Hemisphere. From a case of America vs. Europe, the corollaries made of the Doctrine a case of the United States vs. America.

President Monroe had merely shaken his head, brandished his finger, and said to Europe, "Now, now, gentlemen, if you meddle with us, we will not love you any more," while Teddy Roosevelt, brandishing a big stick, had shouted, "Listen, you guys, don't muscle in—this territory is ours."

In still another corollary, enunciated to justify United States intervention [in Santo Domingo], the same Roosevelt said: "It is far better that this country should put through such an arrangement [enforcing fulfillment of financial obligations contracted by Latin American states] rather than to allow any foreign country to undertake it." To intervene in order to protect: to intervene in order to prevent others from so doing. It is the "Invasion for Protection" corollary, so much in the limelight recently, in other parts of the world.

[Latin American bitterness against this perversion of the Monroe Doctrine festered for nearly three decades. A sharp turn for the better came in 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, implementing a policy initiated by President Hoover, formally renounced the doctrine of intervention in Latin America. Thus what the first Roosevelt gave, the second Roosevelt took away.]

D. Roosevelt and Japan

1. The President Anticipates Trouble (1905)

Secretary of State John Hay, attempting to halt European land-grabbing in China, had induced the reluctant powers to accept his famed Open Door policy in 1899–1900. But Russia's continued encroachments on China's Manchuria led to the exhausting Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, during which the underdog Japanese soundly thrashed the Russian army and navy. President Roosevelt, who was finally drafted as peace mediator, wrote the following letter to his close friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Victory-drunk, Japan was becoming understandably cocky, while the race-conscious California legislature was preparing to erect barriers against Japanese immigrants. Why did Roosevelt regard the attitude of Californians as bigoted, foolish, and dangerous?

That Japan will have her head turned to some extent I do not in the least doubt, and I see clear symptoms of it in many ways. We should certainly as a nation have ours turned if we had performed such feats as the Japanese have in the past sixteen months; and the same is true of any European nation. Moreover, I have no doubt that some Japanese, and perhaps a great many of them, will behave badly to foreigners. They cannot behave worse than the State of California, through its Legislature, is now behaving toward the Japanese.

The feeling on the Pacific slope, taking it from several different standpoints, is as foolish as if conceived by the mind of a Hottentot. These Pacific Coast people wish grossly to insult the Japanese and to keep out the Japanese immigrants on the ground that they are an immoral, degraded, and worthless race; and at the same time that they desire to do this for the Japanese, and are already doing it for the Chinese, they expect to be given advantages in Oriental markets; and with besotted folly are indifferent to building up the navy while provoking this formidable new power—a power jealous, sensitive, and warlike, and which if irritated could at once take both the Philippines and Hawaii from us if she obtained the upper hand on the seas.

Most certainly the Japanese soldiers and sailors have shown themselves to be terrible foes. There can be none more dangerous in all the world. But our own navy, ship for ship, is I believe at least as efficient as theirs, although I am not certain that our torpedo boats would be handled as well as theirs. At present we are superior to them in number of ships, and this superiority will last for some time. It will of course come to an end if [Senator] Hale has his way, but not otherwise.

I hope that we can persuade our people on the one hand to act in a spirit of generous justice and genuine courtesy toward Japan, and on the other hand to keep the navy respectable in numbers and more than respectable in the efficiency of its units. If we act thus we need not fear the Japanese. But if, as Brooks Adams says, we show ourselves "opulent, aggressive, and unarmed," the Japanese may sometime work us an injury.

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[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* edited by E. E. Morison (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), copyright © 1951, 1952 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, © 1979, 1980 by E. E. Morison.

2. Japan Resents Discrimination (1906)

The San Francisco Board of Education precipitated a crisis in 1906 by ordering all Asian students to attend a specially segregated school. The sensitive Japanese rose in instant resentment against what they regarded as a deliberate and insulting act of discrimination. The Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun, *a reputable journal, reacted as follows. Where was Japanese national pride most deeply wounded?*

The whole world knows that the poorly equipped army and navy of the United States are no match for our efficient army and navy. It will be an easy work to awake the United States from her dream of obstinacy when one of our great admirals appears on the other side of the Pacific. . . . The present situation is such that the Japanese nation cannot rest easy by relying only upon the wisdom and statemanship of President Roosevelt. The Japanese nation must have a firm determination to chastise at any time the obstinate Americans.

Stand up, Japanese nation! Our countrymen have been HUMILIATED on the other side of the Pacific. Our poor boys and girls have been expelled from the public schools by the rascals of the United States, cruel and merciless like demons.

At this time we should be ready to give a blow to the United States. Yes, we should be ready to strike the Devil's head with an iron hammer for the sake of the world's civilization. . . . Why do we not insist on sending [war]ships?

3. The Gentlemen's Agreement (1908)

The San Francisco school incident revealed anew that a municipality or a state could take perfectly legal action that might involve the entire nation in war. Roosevelt soothed the Japanese, but not the Californians, by adopting the Asians' side of the dispute. He publicly branded the action of the School Board as a "wicked absurdity," and he brought that entire body to Washington, where he persuaded the members to come to terms. The San Franciscans agreed to readmit Japanese children to the public schools on condition that Roosevelt would arrange to shut off the influx of Japanese immigrants. This he did in the famous Gentlemen's Agreement, which consisted of an understanding growing out of an extensive exchange of diplomatic notes. These were officially summarized as follows in the annual report of the U.S. commissioner-general of immigration. In what ways did these agreements leave the fundamental issues unresolved?

In order that the best results might follow from an enforcement of the regulations, an understanding was reached with Japan that the existing policy of discouraging the emigration of its subjects of the laboring classes to continental United States should be continued and should, by cooperation of the governments, be made as effective as possible.

This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue pass-

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[2] October 22, 1906, in T. A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises* (1934), p. 50. By permission of the Stanford University Press.

[3] *Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, 1908* (1908), pp. 221–222.

ports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists."

With respect to Hawaii, the Japanese Government stated that, experimentally at least, the issuance of passports to members of the laboring classes proceeding thence would be limited to "former residents" and "parents, wives, or children of residents." The said government has also been exercising a careful supervision over the subject of the emigration of its laboring class to foreign contiguous territory [Mexico, Canada].

[The honor-system Gentlemen's Agreement worked reasonably well until 1924, when Congress in a fit of pique slammed the door completely in the faces of the Japanese. The resulting harvest of ill will had much to do with the tragic events that eventually led to Pearl Harbor and World War II.]

Thought Provokers

1. Critics said that although the Filipinos might not have been able to govern themselves, Americans were incapable of governing them if true to the "consent of the governed" philosophy of the Declaration of Independence. Comment.
2. Would it have been better to delay construction of the Panama Canal for ten years or so rather than have the scandal that attended the Panama coup? Was the scandal really necessary?
3. With reference to Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, are nations entitled to complete sovereignty if they fail to exercise it properly? When certain states of the United States defaulted on their debts to British creditors in the 1830s, Britain did not attempt to take over American customshouses. Why not? Are there different rules of international behavior for small nations and large nations?
4. Why did Japan especially resent California's discrimination in 1906, and why was the Gentlemen's Agreement better than exclusion by act of Congress?

33

Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt

Men with the muckrake are often indispensable to the well-being of society, but only if they know when to stop raking the muck.

Theodore Roosevelt, 1906

Prologue: A wave of political reform, known as the progressive movement, washed over the United States as the new century opened. Progressivism was inspired by muckraking journalists, who exposed corruption, the adulteration of food and drugs, and the exploitation of labor; by socialists, who called attention to the growing class divisions in the industrial United States; by ministers of the gospel alarmed at the grinding poverty in which many Americans lived; and by feminists who clamored for fair treatment for families, women, and children. Theodore Roosevelt embraced many of the tenets of progressivism when he became president in 1901. He fought to tame the big corporations and to protect consumers from dangerous products. Among his major achievements as a reformer was the invigoration of the campaign to conserve the nation's fast-disappearing natural resources, especially the forests. Other progressives championed the cause of women's suffrage, still a subject of hot controversy. When Roosevelt's handpicked successor, William Howard Taft, appeared to betray many of the principles of progressivism, Roosevelt determined to challenge him for the Republican presidential nomination in 1912.

A. The Heyday of Muckraking

1. Exposing the Meat Packers (1906)

In 1906 Upton Sinclair, the youthful and prolific socialist writer, published his novel The Jungle, *a damning exposure of conditions in the Chicago meat-packing plants. Seeking to turn people to socialism, he succeeded in turning their stomachs. The uproar that followed publication of his novel caused President Roosevelt to initiate an official investigation, and the following sober report was hardly less shocking than* The Jungle. *It confirmed the essential truth of Sinclair's exposé, except for such lurid scenes as men falling into vats and emerging as lard. Which aspects of this official investigation revealed conditions most detrimental to the public health?*

[1] *Congressional Record,* 59th Cong., 1st sess. (June 4, 1906), p. 7801.

. . . Meat scraps were also found being shoveled into receptacles from dirty floors, where they were left to lie until again shoveled into barrels or into machines for chopping. These floors, it must be noted, were in most cases damp and soggy, in dark, ill-ventilated rooms, and the employees in utter ignorance of cleanliness or danger to health expectorated at will upon them. In a word, we saw meat shoveled from filthy wooden floors, piled on tables rarely washed, pushed from room to room in rotten box carts, in all of which processes it was in the way of gathering dirt, splinters, floor filth, and the expectoration of tuberculous and other diseased workers.

Where comment was made to floor superintendents about these matters, it was always the reply that this meat would afterwards be cooked, and that this sterilization would prevent any danger from its use. Even this, it may be pointed out in passing, is not wholly true. A very considerable portion of the meat so handled is sent out as smoked products and in the form of sausages, which are prepared to be eaten without being cooked. . . .

As an extreme example of the entire disregard on the part of employees of any notion of cleanliness in handling dressed meat, we saw a hog that had just been killed, cleaned, washed, and started on its way to the cooling room fall from the sliding rail to a dirty wooden floor and slide part way into a filthy men's privy. It was picked up by two employees, placed upon a truck, carried into the cooling room and hung up with other carcasses, no effort being made to clean it. . . .

In one well-known establishment we came upon fresh meat being shoveled into barrels, and a regular proportion being added of stale scraps that had lain on a dirty floor in the corner of a room for some days previous. In another establishment, equally well known, a long table was noted covered with several hundred pounds of cooked scraps of beef and other meats. Some of these meat scraps were dry, leathery, and unfit to be eaten; and in the heap were found pieces of pigskin, and even some bits of rope strands and other rubbish. Inquiry evoked the frank admission from the man in charge that this was to be ground up and used in making "potted ham."

All of these canned products bear labels, of which the following is a sample:

ABATTOIR NO.—
THE CONTENTS OF THIS PACKAGE HAVE BEEN
INSPECTED ACCORDING TO THE ACT OF
CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1891.

[The agitation and investigation inspired by Sinclair's The Jungle *had much to do with bringing about the passage by Congress of the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.]*

2. Roosevelt Roasts Muckrakers (1906)

President Roosevelt, though recognizing some unpalatable truths in Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, *was critical. He wrote the author bluntly that Sinclair had said things that should not have been written unless backed up "with testimony that would satisfy an honest man of reasonable intelligence." Privately he declared that Sinclair*

[2]Theodore Roosevelt, "The Man with the Muck-Rake," *Putnam's Monthly and The Critic 1* (October 1906): 42–43.

had reflected unfairly on both honest and dishonest capitalism in Chicago. Finally, nauseated by excessive sensationalism, Roosevelt made the following famous attack (which gave rise to the term muckraker*) in a Washington speech. What are the strengths and weaknesses of his argument that hysterical and indiscriminate muckraking was doing more harm than good?*

In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-rake [manure rake], the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake himself the filth of the floor.

In *Pilgrim's Progress* the Man with the Muck-rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing.

Now it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake: and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

There are—in the body politic, economic, and social—many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man, whether politician or businessman; every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said. . . . Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mudslinging does not mean the endorsement of whitewashing, and both the interested individuals who need whitewashing and those others who practice mudslinging like to encourage such confusion of ideas. One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised overmuch as just, people get tired of hearing it;* and overcensure of the unjust finally and from similar reasons results in their favor.

*An allusion to Plutarch's story of the Athenian who voted for the banishment of Aristides (called "The Just") because he was tired of hearing everyone call him just.

Any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction; and, unfortunately, the reaction, instead of taking the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is very apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending or of giving immunity, and even strength, to offenders. The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and at the same time act as a profound deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price.

[Roosevelt thus threw muck at the muckrakers. They resented his attack, claiming that even if they exaggerated, they were exposing evil conditions and promoting desirable legislation. (At the same time, they made money selling their magazine articles and books.) But Roosevelt was unconvinced. In 1911 he went so far as to write privately: ". . . I think the muckrakers stand on a level of infamy with the corruptionists in politics. After all, there is no great difference between violation of the eighth [no stealing] and the ninth [no lying] commandments; and to sell one's vote for money is morally, I believe, hardly as reprehensible as to practice slanderous mendacity for hire." (Roosevelt Letters, *vol. 7, p. 447.*) *The truth is that he continued with intemperate muckraking himself, attacking "malefactors of great wealth," "nature fakers," and others. "You're the chief muckraker," Speaker Cannon told him flatly in 1906.]*

B. Corruption in the Cities

1. Steffens Bares Philadelphia Bossism (1904)

A California-born journalist, (Joseph) Lincoln Steffens, after serving as a "gentleman reporter" in New York, emerged as one of the first and most influential of the reforming muckrakers. Associated with McClure's Magazine, *the leading muckraking journal, he published a sensational series of articles on municipal graft, later collected in book form as* The Shame of the Cities *(1904). After the muckraking craze ended, Steffens became disillusioned, visited Russia, interviewed Lenin, and developed a warm admiration for the Soviet Union. In his famous exposé about conditions in Philadelphia, what is most ironic? What is most shocking? Who was responsible for the existence and continuation of these irregularities?*

Other American cities, no matter how bad their own condition may be, all point with scorn to Philadelphia as worse—"the worst-governed city in the country." St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh submit with some patience to the jibes of any other community; the most friendly suggestion from Philadelphia is rejected with contempt. The Philadelphians are "supine," "asleep"; hopelessly ring-ruled, they are "complacent." "Politically benighted," Philadelphia is supposed to have no light to throw upon a state of things that is almost universal.

[1] Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904), pp. 193–201, passim.

This is not fair. Philadelphia is, indeed, corrupt; but it is not without significance. Every city and town in the country can learn something from the typical political experience of this great representative city. New York is excused for many of its ills because it is the metropolis; Chicago, because of its forced development; Philadelphia is our "third largest" city and its growth has been gradual and natural.

Immigration has been blamed for our municipal conditions. Philadelphia, with 47 percent of its population native-born of native-born parents, is the most American of our greater cities.

It is "good," too, and intelligent. I don't know just how to measure the intelligence of a community, but a Pennsylvania college professor who declared to me his belief in education for the masses as a way out of political corruption, himself justified the "rake-off" of preferred contractors on public works on the ground of a "fair business profit."

Another plea we [Americans] have made is that we are too busy to attend to public business, and we have promised, when we come to wealth and leisure, to do better. Philadelphia has long enjoyed great and widely distributed prosperity. It is the city of homes. There is a dwelling house for every five persons—men, women, and children—of the population; and the people give one a sense of more leisure and repose than any community I ever dwelt in. Some Philadelphians account for their political state on the ground of their ease and comfort. . . .

Then we hear that we are a young people and that when we are older and "have traditions," like some of the old countries, we also will be honest. Philadelphia is one of the oldest of our cities and treasures for us scenes and relics of some of the noblest traditions of "our fair land." Yet I was told once, "for a joke," a party of boodlers [grafters] counted out the "divvy" [division] of their graft in unison with the ancient chime of Independence Hall. . . .

Philadelphia is proud; good people there defend corruption and boast of their machine. My college professor, with his philosophic view of "rake-offs," is one Philadelphia type. Another is the man who, driven to bay with his local pride, says: "At least you must admit that our machine is the best you have ever seen." . . .

Disgraceful? Other cities say so. But I say that if Philadelphia is a disgrace, it is a disgrace not to itself alone, nor to Pennsylvania, but to the United States and to American character. For this great city, so highly representative in other respects, is not behind in political experience, but ahead, with New York.

Philadelphia is a city that has had its reforms. . . . The present condition of Philadelphia, therefore, is not that which precedes, but that which follows reform, and in this distinction lies its startling general significance. What has happened . . . in Philadelphia may happen in any American city "after the reform is over."

For reform with us in usually revolt, not government, and is soon over. Our people do not seek, they avoid self-rule, and "reforms" are spasmodic efforts to punish bad rulers and get somebody that will give us good government or something that will make it. A self-acting form of government is an ancient superstition. We are an inventive people, and we all think that we shall devise some day a legal machine that will turn out good government automatically. The Philadelphians have treasured this belief longer than the rest of us and have tried it more often. . . .

The Philadelphia machine isn't the best. It isn't sound, and I doubt if it would stand in New York or Chicago. The enduring strength of the typical American political

machine is that it is a natural growth—a sucker, but deep-rooted in the people. The New Yorkers vote for Tammany Hall. The Philadelphians do not vote; they are disfranchised, and their disfranchisement is one anchor of the foundation of the Philadelphia organization.

This is no figure of speech. The honest citizens of Philadelphia have no more rights at the polls than the Negroes down South. Nor do they fight very hard for this basic privilege. You can arouse their Republican ire by talking about the black Republican votes lost in the Southern states by white Democratic intimidation, but if you remind the average Philadelphian that he is in the same position, he will look startled, then say, "That's so, that's literally true, only I never thought of it in just that way." And it is literally true.

The machine controls the whole process of voting, and practices fraud at every stage. The [tax] assessor's list is the voting list, and the assessor is the machine's man. . . . The assessor pads the list with the names of dead dogs, children, and nonexistent persons. One newspaper printed the picture of a dog, another that of a little four-year-old Negro boy, down on such a list. A "ring" orator, in a speech resenting sneers at his ward as "low down," reminded his hearers that that was the ward of Independence Hall, and, naming over the signers of the Declaration of Independence, he closed his highest flight of eloquence with the statement that "these men, the fathers of American liberty, voted down here once. And," he added with a catching grin, "they vote here yet."

Rudolph Blankenburg, a persistent fighter for the right and the use of the right to vote (and, by the way, an immigrant), sent out just before one election a registered letter to each voter on the rolls of a certain selected division. Sixty-three percent were returned marked "not at," "removed," "deceased," etc. . . .

The repeating [voting more than once] is done boldly, for the machine controls the election officers, often choosing them from among the fraudulent names; and when no one appears to serve, assigning the heeler [political hanger-on] ready for the expected vacancy. The police are forbidden by law to stand within thirty feet of the polls, but they are at the [ballot] box and they are there to see that the machine's orders are obeyed and that repeaters whom they help to furnish are permitted to vote without "intimidation" on the names they, the police, have supplied. . . .

The business proceeds with very few hitches; there is more jesting than fighting. Violence in the past has had its effect; and is not often necessary nowadays, but if it is needed the police are there to apply it. Several citizens told me that they had seen the police help to beat citizens or election officers who were trying to do their duty, then arrest the victim. . . .

2. Plunkitt Defends "Honest Graft" (1905)

Tammany Hall was the powerful and corrupt Democratic political machine that dominated New York City politics for many years. One of its cleverest officials, who became a millionaire through "honest graft," was George Washington (!) Plunkitt. According to his account as here recorded by a newspaper reporter, he was above such dirty work as "shaking down" houses of prostitution ("disorderly houses"). Is his

[2]William L. Riordan, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (1948 ed.), pp. 3–8. By permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

distinction between two kinds of graft legitimate? How did Tammany Hall sustain its power? Did it provide any valuable service?

Everybody is talkin' these days about Tammany men growin' rich on graft, but nobody thinks of drawin' the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our men have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game, and I'm gettin' richer every day, but I've not gone in for dishonest graft—blackmailin' gamblers, saloon-keepers, disorderly people, etc.—and neither has any of the men who have made big fortunes in politics.

There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the whole thing by sayin': 'I seen my opportunities and I took 'em.'

Just let me explain by examples. My party's in power in the city, and it's goin' to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm tipped off, say, that they're goin' to lay out a new park at a certain place.

I see my opportunity and I take it. I go to that place and I buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, which nobody cared particular for before.

Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course it is. Well, that's honest graft.

Or, supposin' it's a new bridge they're goin' to build. I get tipped off and I buy as much property as I can that has to be taken for approaches. I sell at my own price later on and drop some more money in the bank.

Wouldn't you? It's just like lookin' ahead in Wall Street or in the coffee or cotton market. It's honest graft, and I'm lookin' for it every day in the year. I will tell you frankly that I've got a good lot of it, too.

I'll tell you of one case. They were goin' to fix up a big park, no matter where. I got on to it, and went lookin' about for land in that neighborhood.

I could get nothin' at a bargain but a big piece of swamp, but I took it fast enough and held on to it. What turned out was just what I counted on. They couldn't make the park complete without Plunkitt's swamp, and they had to pay a good price for it. Anything dishonest is that?

Up in the watershed I made some money, too. I bought up several bits of land there some years ago and made a pretty good guess that they would be bought up for water purposes later by the city.

Somehow, I always guessed about right, and shouldn't I enjoy the profit of my foresight? It was rather amusin' when the condemnation commissioners came along and found piece after piece of the land in the name of George Plunkitt of the Fifteenth Assembly District, New York City. They wondered how I knew just what to buy. The answer is—I seen my opportunity and I took it. I haven't confined myself to land; anything that pays is in my line. . . .

I've told you how I got rich by honest graft. Now, let me tell you that most politicians who are accused of robbin' the city get rich the same way.

They didn't steal a dollar from the city treasury. They just seen their opportunities and took them. That is why, when a reform administration comes in and spends a half million dollars in tryin' to find the public robberies they talked about in the campaign, they don't find them.

The books are always all right. The money in the city treasury is all right. Everything is all right. All they can show is that the Tammany heads of departments looked after their friends, within the law, and gave them what opportunities they could to make honest graft. Now, let me tell you that's never goin' to hurt Tammany with the people. Ever good man looks after his friends, and any man who doesn't isn't likely to be popular. If I have a good thing to hand out in private life, I give it to a friend. Why shouldn't I do the same in public life? . . .

Tammany was beat in 1901 because the people were deceived into believin' that it worked dishonest graft. They didn't draw a distinction between dishonest and honest graft, but they saw that some Tammany men grew rich, and supposed they had been robbin' the city treasury or levyin' blackmail on disorderly houses, or workin' in with the gamblers and lawbreakers.

As a matter of policy, if nothing else, why should the Tammany leaders go into such dirty business when there is so much honest graft lyin' around when they are in power? Did you ever consider that?

Now, in conclusion, I want to say that I don't own a dishonest dollar. If my worst enemy was given the job of writin' my epitaph when I'm gone, he couldn't do more than write:

"George W. Plunkitt.
He Seen His Opportunities and He Took 'Em."

C. The Plight of Labor

1. Baer's Divine Right of Plutocrats (1902)

The anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania, who were frightfully exploited and accident-cursed, struck for higher wages in 1902. About 140,000 men were idled, and the chilled East was threatened with paralysis. George F. Baer, the multimillionaire spokesman for the owners, refused to permit intervention, arbitration, or even negotiation. He believed that mining was a "business," not a "religious, sentimental, or academic proposition." In response to a complaining letter from a Mr. W. F. Clark, he sent the following reply. What is the social philosophy of big business as here revealed?

17th July 1902

My dear Mr. Clark:—

I have your letter of the 16th instant.

I do not know who you are. I see that you are a religious man; but you are evidently biased in favor of the right of the working man to control a business in which he has no other interest than to secure fair wages for the work he does.

I beg of you not to be discouraged. The rights and interests of the laboring man

[1] *Literary Digest 25* (August 30, 1902): 258. A photostatic copy of the letter is in Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1912), vol. 2, p. 190.

will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country, and upon the successful management of which so much depends.

Do not be discouraged. Pray earnestly that right may triumph, always remembering that the Lord God Omnipotent still reigns, and that His reign is one of law and order, and not of violence and crime.

Yours truly,
Geo. F. Baer
President

[When the Baer letter was published, the press assailed its "arrant hypocrisy," "egregious vanity," and "ghastly blasphemy." Roosevelt nevertheless finally brought the disputants together late in 1902. Although he admittedly lost his temper and did not behave "like a gentleman," he had a large hand in working out the resulting compromise wage increase.]

2. Child Labor in the Coal Mines (1906)

The arrogant attitude of the coal operators seems even less excusable in the light of John Spargo's book The Bitter Cry of the Children*—another significant contribution to the "muckraking" movement. An English-born socialist, Spargo had come to America in 1901 at the age of twenty-five. He was especially stirred by the rickety children of the New York tenement districts. Their mothers had no time to prepare proper meals: needlework labor in the sweatshops ran from twelve to twenty hours a day, at a wage ranging from ten cents to a cent and a half an hour. In Spargo's description of work in the coal mines, what were the various kinds of hazards involved?*

Work in the coal breakers is exceedingly hard and dangerous. Crouched over the chutes, the boys sit hour after hour, picking out the pieces of slate and other refuse from the coal as it rushes past to the washers. From the cramped position they have to assume, most of them become more or less deformed and bent-backed like old men. When a boy has been working for some time and begins to get round-shouldered, his fellows say that "He's got his boy to carry round whenever he goes."

The coal is hard, and accidents to the hands, such as cut, broken, or crushed fingers, are common among the boys. Sometimes there is a worse accident: a terrified shriek is heard, and a boy is mangled and torn in the machinery, or disappears in the chute to be picked out later smothered and dead. Clouds of dust fill the breakers and are inhaled by the boys, laying the foundations for asthma and miners' consumption.

I once stood in a breaker for half an hour and tried to do the work a twelve-year-old boy was doing day after day, for ten hours at a stretch, for sixty cents a day. The gloom of the breaker appalled me. Outside the sun shone brightly, the air was pellucid, and the birds sang in chorus with the trees and the rivers. Within the breaker there was blackness, clouds of deadly dust enfolded everything, the harsh, grinding roar of the machinery and the ceaseless rushing of coal through the chutes filled the

[2]John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1906), pp. 163–165.

"A Little Child Shall Feed Them."
This cartoon pillories industrialists who were growing rich from the profits produced by child labor. (Historical Pictures Service)

ears. I tried to pick out the pieces of slate from the hurrying stream of coal, often missing them; my hands were bruised and cut in a few minutes; I was covered from head to foot with coal dust, and for many hours afterwards I was expectorating some of the small particles of anthracite I had swallowed.

I could not do that work and live, but there were boys of ten and twelve years of age doing it for fifty and sixty cents a day. Some of them had never been inside of a school; few of them could read a child's primer. True, some of them attended the night schools, but after working ten hours in the breaker the educational results from attending school were practically nil. "We goes fer a good time, an' we keeps de guys wot's dere hoppin' all de time," said little Owen Jones, whose work I had been trying to do. . . .

As I stood in that breaker I thought of the reply of the small boy to Robert Owen [British social reformer]. Visiting an English coal mine one day, Owen asked a twelve-year-old lad if he knew God. The boy stared vacantly at his questioner: "God?" he said, "God? No, I don't. He must work in some other mine." It was hard to realize amid the danger and din and blackness of that Pennsylvania breaker that such a thing as belief in a great All-good God existed.

From the breakers the boys graduate to the mine depths, where they become door tenders, switch boys, or mule drivers. Here, far below the surface, work is still more dangerous. At fourteen or fifteen the boys assume the same risks as the men, and are surrounded by the same perils. Nor is it in Pennsylvania only that these conditions exist. In the bituminous mines of West Virginia, boys of nine or ten are

Uncle Sam: "He's Good enough for me."
Millions of copies of this pro-Roosevelt cartoon by Davenport were circulated during the presidential campaign of 1904. (New York Evening Mail, 1904)

frequently employed. I met one little fellow ten years old in Mt. Carbon, W. Va., last year, who was employed as a "trap boy." Think of what it means to be a trap boy at ten years of age. It means to sit alone in a dark mine passage hour after hour, with no human soul near; to see no living creature except the mules as they pass with their loads, or a rat or two seeking to share one's meal; to stand in water or mud that covers the ankles, chilled to the marrow by the cold draughts that rush in when you open the trap door for the mules to pass through; to work for fourteen hours—waiting—opening and shutting a door—then waiting again—for sixty cents; to reach the surface when all is wrapped in the mantle of night, and to fall to the earth exhausted and have to be carried away to the nearest "shack" to be revived before it is possible to walk to the farther shack called "home."

Boys twelve years of age may be *legally* employed in the mines of West Virginia, by day or by night, and for as many hours as the employers care to make them toil or their bodies will stand the strain. Where the disregard of child life is such that this may be done openly and with legal sanction, it is easy to believe what miners have again

and again told me—that there are hundreds of little boys of nine and ten years of age employed in the coal mines of this state.

3. Sweatshop Hours for Bakers (1905)

The abuse of labor in dangerous or unhealthful occupations prompted an increasing number of state legislatures, exercising so-called police powers, to pass regulatory laws. In 1898 the Supreme Court upheld a Utah statute prohibiting miners from working more than eight hours a day, except in emergencies. In 1905, however, the Court, by a five-to-four decision in the case of Lochner *v.* New York, *overthrew a state law forbidding bakers to work more than ten hours a day. The majority held that the right of both employers and employees to make labor contracts was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. How might one describe the social conscience of the majority of the Supreme Court in the light of this memorable decision written by Mr. Justice Peckham?*

The question whether this act is valid as a labor law, pure and simple, may be dismissed in a few words. There is no reasonable ground for interfering with the liberty of person or the right of free contract, by determining the hours of labor, in the occupation of a baker. There is no contention that bakers as a class are not equal in intelligence and capacity to men in other trades or manual occupations, or that they are not able to assert their rights and care for themselves without the protecting arm of the state interfering with their independence of judgment and of action. They are in no sense wards of the state.

Viewed in the light of a purely labor law, with no reference whatever to the question of health, we think that a law like the one before us involves neither the safety, the morals, nor the welfare of the public, and that the interest of the public is not in the slightest degree affected by such an act. The law must be upheld, if at all, as a law pertaining to the health of the individual engaged in the occupation of a baker. It does not affect any other portion of the public than those who are engaged in that occupation. Clean and wholesome bread does not depend upon whether the baker works but ten hours per day or only sixty hours a week. The limitation of the hours of labor does not come within the police power on that ground. . . .

We think that there can be no fair doubt that the trade of a baker, in and of itself, is not an unhealthy one to that degree which would authorize the legislature to interfere with the right to labor, and with the right of free contract on the part of the individual, either as employer or employee.

In looking through statistics regarding all trades and occupations, it may be true that the trade of baker does not appear to be as healthy as some other trades, and is also vastly more healthy than still others. To the common understanding the trade of a baker has never been regarded as an unhealthy one. Very likely physicians would not recommend the exercise of that or of any other trade as a remedy for ill health. Some occupations are more healthy than others, but we think there are none which might not come under the power of the legislature to supervise and control the hours of

[3] 198 *U.S. Reports* 57, 59, 61.

working therein, if the mere fact that the occupation is not absolutely and perfectly healthy is to confer that right upon the legislative department of the government. . . .

. . . We do not believe in the soundness of the views which uphold this law. On the contrary, we think that such a law as this, although passed in the assumed exercise of the police power, and as relating to the public health, or the health of the employees named, is not within that power, and is invalid. The act is not, within any fair meaning of the term, a health law, but is an illegal interference with the rights of individuals, both employers and employees, to make contracts regarding labor upon such terms as they may think best, or which they may agree upon with the other parties to such contracts.

Statutes of the nature of that under review, limiting the hours in which grown and intelligent men may labor to earn their living, are mere meddlesome interferences with the rights of the individual, and they are not saved from condemnation by the claim that they are passed in the exercise of the police power and upon the subject of the health of the individual whose rights are interfered with, unless there be some fair ground, reasonable in and of itself, to say that there is material danger to the public health, or to the health of the employees, if the hours of labor are not curtailed.

[Mr. Justice Holmes, the great dissenter, filed a famous protest in the bakers' case. He argued that a majority of the people of New York State evidently wanted the law, and that the Court ought not to impose its own social philosophy. "The Fourteenth Amendment," he solemnly declared, referring to a famous work by an arch-conservative British social theorist, "does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics." *As for the right to work more than ten hours, Mayor Gaynor of New York remarked, "There were no journeymen bakers that I know of clamoring for any such liberty." Possibly chastened by Holmes's vigorous views, the Court relented and in 1908 unanimously approved an Oregon statute prohibiting the employment of women in factories, and other establishments more than ten hours in one day. In 1917 the Court upheld an Oregon ten-hour law for both men and women.]*

4. Unhealthful Work for Women (1912)

In 1912 the New York State Factory Investigating Commission published a preliminary report on working conditions in the state. Among the cases documented was that of "Case No. 45, Sadie G." What does the commission's description of her plight suggest about the relative power of employers and employees? Did the events that befell Sadie justify government legislation to protect female workers? What other remedies might have been proposed?

Sadie is an intelligent, neat, clean girl, who has worked from the time she got her working papers in embroidery factories. She was a stamper and for several years before she was poisoned, earned $10 a week. In her work she was accustomed to use a white powder (chalk or talcum was usual) which was brushed over the perforated designs and thus transferred to the cloth. The design was easily brushed off when

[a] *Preliminary Report of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission* (Albany, New York: The Argus Company 1912), vol. 1, pp. 488–489.

made of chalk or of talcum, if the embroiderers were not careful. Her last employer therefore commenced using white lead powder, mixed with rosin, which cheapened the work as the powder could not be rubbed off and necessitate restamping.

None of the girls knew of the change in powder, nor of the danger in its use. The workroom was crowded and hot, the stampers' tables were farthest from the windows and the constant use of the powder caused them to breathe it continually and their hands were always covered with it.

Sadie had been a very strong, healthy girl, good appetite and color; she began to be unable to eat, had terrible colic, but continued to go to work in spite of the fact that she felt miserable. Her hands and feet swelled, she lost the use of one hand, her teeth and gums were blue. When she finally had to stop work, after being treated for months, for stomach trouble, her physician advised her to go to a hospital. There the examination revealed the fact that she had lead poisoning—which was unaccountable as no one knew that her work had involved the use of lead until some one who had been on the job also recalled hearing the manager send a messenger out with money several times to buy a white lead powder.

Sadie was sick in the hospital for six months—(losing $10 per week). She said her employer bought off several of her witnesses, but before the case came to trial two years later several of them also became ill and consequently decided to testify for her. The employer appealed to the girl's feelings and induced her, on the day of the trial, to accept $150. He said that he had had business reverses and consequently would be unable to pay in case she won.

D. The Conservation Crusade

1. Roosevelt Saves the Forests (1907)

Greedy or shortsighted Americans had plundered their forests and mineral resources with incredible rapacity. President Roosevelt, a one-time Dakota cattle rancher, provided the lagging conservation movement with dynamic leadership. Under the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, he set aside about 150 million acres of government timberland as national forest reserves—more than three times as much as his three predecessors had saved. The "predatory interests" complained bitterly, and in this private letter Roosevelt took them to task. Actually, the worst offenders among the "skinners" were the small-fry lumbermen. The big trusts, though grasping, were in some degree governed by the reforestation needs of long-term lumbering. What advantages would result from Roosevelt's policy as he described it in the following letter?

As to the forest reserves, their creation has damaged just one class, that is, the great lumber barons: the managers and owners of those lumber companies which by illegal, fraudulent, or unfair methods have desired to get possession of the valuable

[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* edited by E. E. Morison (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), copyright © 1951, 1952 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, © 1979, 1980 by E. E. Morison.

timber of the public domain, to skin the land, and to abandon it when impoverished well-nigh to the point of worthlessness.

There are some small men who have wanted to get hold of this lumber land for improper purposes, but they are not powerful or influential, and though they have sometimes been put forward to cause an agitation, the real beneficiaries of the destruction of the forest reserves would be the great lumber companies, which would speedily monopolize them.

If it had not been for the creation of the present system of forest reserves, practically every acre of timberland in the West would now be controlled or be on the point of being controlled by one huge lumber trust. The object of the beneficiaries of this trust would be to exhaust the resources of the country for their own immediate pecuniary benefit, and then when they had rendered it well-nigh worthless to turn it contemptuously over to settlers, who would find too late that those responsible for such conditions had betrayed them and had been false to the public.

The policy of the Government is to put actual settlers on every plot of agricultural ground within the forest reserves, and then, instead of turning these forests over to great corporations or standing by with supine indifference while they are raided by timber thieves, to enforce the law with strict honesty against all men, big or little, who try to rob the public domain; and all the time to permit the freest use of the timber, consistent with preserving the forests for the benefit of the next generation. . . .

It is absolutely necessary to ascertain in practical fashion the best methods of reforestation, and only the National Government can do this successfully.

In the East, the states are now painfully, and at great expense, endeavoring to undo the effects of their former shortsighted policy in throwing away their forest lands. Congress has before it bills to establish by purchase great reserves in the White Mountains and the Southern Appalachians, and the only argument against the bills is that of their great expense. New York and Pennsylvania are now, late in the day, endeavoring themselves to protect the forests which guard the headwaters of their streams. Michigan and Wisconsin have already had their good timber stripped from their forests by the great lumber companies. But the Western states, far more fortunate than their Eastern sisters in their regard, can now reserve their forests for the good of all their citizens, without expense, if they choose to show the requisite foresight.

2. The West Protests Conservation (1907)

The new forest-reserve policies often worked a hardship on honest western settlers, who sometimes had to get permission from a federal official before they could lawfully cut a stick of firewood. The government, they charged, was more concerned with preserving trees than people. The governor of Colorado, disturbed by the large-scale withdrawals of western timber and coal lands by Washington, summoned a Public Lands Convention to meet in Denver in 1907. The deliberations of this body inspired the following editorial in a San Francisco newspaper. Did the West really oppose conservation? Was the East unfair in its demands?

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[2] San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 22, 1907.

The convention which has just adjourned at Denver is the first body of importance that has dealt with the subject of the disposal of the public lands of the United States. Considering the fact that the country has been in the real estate business for more than a century, and that during that period it has, by hook and crook, chiefly by crook, disposed of the major part of its holdings, it seems like a case of locking the stable door after nearly all of the horses have been stolen. The only question left to determine is whether the people who have permitted the theft of the horses, and who lent a hand in the stealing, shall be allowed to enjoy the most of the benefits which may accrue from taking good care of the steeds which still remain in the stalls.

The Far West, in which all the lands—coal-bearing, forest, pasture, and agricultural—still remaining in the possession of the government are to be found, has formally gone on record in this matter, and demands that the new states be treated with the same consideration as those commonwealths which have already divided their patrimony among their individual citizens. The Denver Convention in its resolutions recognizes the wisdom of treating the lands of the nation as a public trust, but it insisted that this trust should be administered for the benefit of the states wherein the lands still remaining are situated and not for the benefit of the people of the older states of the Union, who have no lands, forests, mines, or pastures that are not in the possession of private individuals.

Congress will be unable to resist the justice of this contention. As a rule, that body is not overswift to recognize the rights of those sections of the Union with a small representation in the Lower House, but the American people, when they understand the matter thoroughly, may be depended upon to prevent an injustice. Just now the popular impression at the East is that the Far West is opposed to the conservation of its forests, and that it supports the efforts of unscrupulous grabbers to steal the public domain. But the campaign of education inaugurated by the Public Lands Convention will soon convince it that all that is asked for is even justice for the new states, and that demands that the profits arising from the eleventh-hour reform shall not be absorbed by the states that have eaten their cake and now wish to share with those who have scarcely had a chance to nibble theirs.

E. The Crusade for Women's Suffrage

1. Senator Owen Supports Women (1910)

Wedded to the tried and true, President Taft was no enthusiast for women's suffrage. He believed the issue was one that should be handled by the individual states. As late as 1912 he wrote privately, "I cannot change my view . . . just to suit the exigencies of the campaign, and if it is going to hurt me, I think it will have to hurt me." But the embattled women now had an increasingly strong argument. Rapid industrialization after the Civil War had lured millions of women from the home into

[1] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 35,* Supplement (May 1910): 6–9, passim.

the office and the factory, where they were competing with men. By 1910 four states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho—had granted unrestricted suffrage to women, and the progressive upheaval of the era added great impetus to the reform. Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, who had earlier demanded citizenship for Indians, here makes a speech to a learned society favoring women's suffrage. What ideas about the nature of womanhood underlie his argument? What changes in society does he think women's suffrage will entail?

Women compose one-half of the human race. In the last forty years, women in gradually increasing numbers have been compelled to leave the home and enter the factory and workshop. Over seven million women are so employed, and the remainder of the sex are employed largely in domestic services. A full half of the work of the world is done by women. A careful study of the matter has demonstrated the vital fact that these working women receive a smaller wage for equal work than men do, and that the smaller wage and harder conditions imposed on the woman worker are due to the lack of the ballot.

Many women have a very hard time, and if the ballot would help them, even a little, I should like to see them have it. . . . Equal pay for equal work is the first great reason justifying this change of governmental policy.

There are others reasons which are persuasive: First, women, take it all in all, are the equals of men in intelligence, and no man has the hardihood to assert the contrary. . . .

The man is usually better informed with regard to state government, but women are better informed about house government, and she can learn state government with as much facility as he can learn how to instruct children, properly feed and clothe the household, care for the sick, play on the piano, or make a house beautiful. . . .

The woman ballot will not revolutionize the world. Its results in Colorado, for example, might have been anticipated. First, it did give women better wages for equal work; second, it led immediately to a number of laws the women wanted, and the first laws they demanded were laws for the protection of the children of the state, making it a misdemeanor to contribute to the delinquency of a child; laws for the improved care of defective children; also, the Juvenile Court for the conservation of wayward boys and girls; the better care of the insane, the deaf, the dumb, the blind; the curfew bell to keep children off the streets at night; raising the age of consent for girls; improving the reformatories and prisons of the state; improving the hospital services of the state; improving the sanitary laws affecting the health of the homes of the state. Their [women's] interest in the public health is a matter of great importance. Above all, there resulted laws for improving the school system.

Several important results followed. Both political parties were induced to put up cleaner, better men, for the women would not stand a notoriously corrupt or unclean candidate. The headquarters of political parties became more decent, and the polling places became respectable. The bad women, enslaved by mercenary vice, do not vote, and good women do vote in as great proportion as men. Every evil prophecy against granting the suffrage has failed. The public men of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho give it a cordial support.

The testimony is universal:

First, it has not made women mannish; they still love their homes and children

just the same as ever, and are better able to protect themselves and their children because of the ballot.

Second, they have not become office-seekers, nor pothouse politicians. They have not become swaggerers and insolent on the streets. They still teach good manners to men, as they always have done. It [suffrage] has made women broader and greatly increased the understanding of the community at large of the problems of good government; of proper sanitation, of pure food, or clean water, and all such matters in which intelligent women would naturally take an interest.

It has not absolutely regenerated society, but it has improved it. It has raised the educational qualification of the suffrage, and has elevated the moral standard of the suffrage, because there are more criminal men than criminal women. . . .

The great doctrine of the American Republic that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" justifies the plea of one-half of the people, the women, to exercise the suffrage. The doctrine of the American Revolutionary War that taxation without representation is unendurable justifies women in exercising the suffrage.

2. A Woman Assails Women's Suffrage (1910)

As late as 1910 many women plainly did not want to shoulder the heavy civic responsibilities that would come with the ballot. One argument was that each sex was superior in its own sphere—women in the home, men in the outside world—and that a separation was best for all concerned. Agitators for women's suffrage feared that if their cause were submitted to a vote by all women, it would be defeated. The suffragists argued that the women who wanted the vote ought to have it. Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones, an opponent of votes for women, here pleads her case before a scholarly group. How do her views differ from those of Senator Owen, just given? Which of them esteemed women more highly? How do Jones's views compare with those of Jane Addams? *(see p. 97)*

The anti-suffragists are not organizing or rushing into committees, societies, or associations, and their doings are not being cried out from the house-tops. Yet they show by undeniable facts, easily verified, that woman suffrage bills and proposals have been defeated and turned down at the rate of once in every twenty-seven days in the state legislatures for the last twelve years. . . .

A great many states have granted to women school suffrage, but only a partisan or sectarian issue will bring out the woman's vote. In Massachusetts women have voted on school boards, and after thirty years' training, only 2 or 3 percent of the women register to vote. This hardly can be pronounced "success," or worth while. . . .

Taxation without representation is tyranny, but we must be very careful to define what we mean by the phrase. If we adopt the suffrage attitude, "I pay taxes, therefore I should vote," the natural conclusion is that everybody who pays taxes should vote, or we have a tyrannical form of government. Remember that this argument is used in an unqualified way. We have a "tyranny" here, we are told, because some women pay

[2] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 35,* Supplement (May 1910): 16–21, passim.

The Church Vote Disfranchised
Women's-suffrage propaganda issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. (Headquarters News Letter, *October 25, 1916*)

taxes, yet do not vote. If this is true without any qualification, it must be true not only of women, but of everybody. Accordingly, this government is tyrannical if corporations pay taxes, but do not vote; if aliens pay taxes, but do not vote; if minors pay taxes, but do not vote; if anybody pays taxes, but does not vote. The only correct conclusion is, not that women should vote because some of them pay taxes, but that every taxpayer should be given the privilege of the ballot. . . .

A very conscientious investigation by this League cannot find that the ballot will help the wage-earning woman. Women must resort to organization, association, and trade unions, and then they can command and maintain a standard wage. Supply and demand will do the rest. Women are not well trained and often very deficient and unskilled in most of their occupations. They are generally only supplementary workers and drop their work when they marry. When married, and home and children are to be cared for, they are handicapped way beyond their strength. Married women should be kept out of industry, rather than urged into it, as scientists, physicians, and sociologists all state that as women enter into competitive industrial life with men, just so does the death rate of little children increase and the birth rate decrease.

Anti-suffragists deplore the fact that women are found in unsuitable occupations. But the suffragists glory in the fact that there are women blacksmiths, baggage masters, brakemen, undertakers, and women political "bosses" in Colorado.

The suffragists call this progress, independence, and emancipation of women. "Anti's" ask for more discrimination and better selection of industrial occupations for wage-earning women. Knowing that the average woman has half of the physical strength of the average man, and the price she must pay when in competition with him is too great for her ultimate health and her hope of motherhood, the "Anti's" ask for caution and extreme consideration before new activities are entered upon. . . .

The suffrage leaders say that a woman without the vote has no self-respect. We must then look to the suffrage states to find the fulfillment of the woman's true position, complete—worthy, exalted, and respected. But what do we find when we look at Utah! Women have voted there for forty years. Mormonism and woman suffrage were coincident. By the very nature of its teachings, as indicated by Brigham Young, the basis of the Mormon Church is woman—and the Mormon Church is the greatest political machine in the four suffrage States. . . .

The question of woman suffrage should be summed up in this way: Has granting the ballot to women in the two suffrage states where they have had it for forty years brought about any great reforms or great results? No—Wyoming has many more men than women, so the results cannot be measured. The Mormon women of Utah are not free American citizens. They are under the Elder's supreme power, and vote accordingly, and polygamy has been maintained by the woman's vote, and is still to be found, although forbiden, because women have political power.

Have the saloons been abolished in any of the suffrage states? No.

Do men still drink and gamble? Yes, without a doubt.

Have the slums been done away with? Indeed no.

Are the streets better cleaned in the states where women vote? No, they are quite as bad as in New York City and elsewhere.

Have the red-light districts been cleared away? Decidedly not, and they can be reckoned upon as a political factor, when they are really needed.

Have women purified politics? No, not in the least.

Have women voted voluntarily? Some do; but thousands are carried to the polls in autos and carriages; otherwise they would not vote.

Has pure food and pure milk been established by the woman's vote? Not at all.

Have women's wages been increased because women vote? No, indeed.

Have women equal pay for equal work? Not any more than in New York City.

Are there laws on the statute books that would give women equal pay for equal work? No, and never will be.

Are women treated with more respect in the four suffrage states than elsewhere? Not at all—certainly not in Utah. . . .

[The "anti's" also argued that womenfolk were adequately represented by their menfolk; that women already exercised a strong influence indirectly ("harem government"); that suffrage would end chivalry; that women were already overburdened in the home; that family quarrels over partisan issues would increase the divorce rate; that females were too emotional; and that women, if allowed to vote, would soon be serving on juries and forced to hear "indecent testimony." Despite such objections, some of them frivolous, nationwide women's suffrage finally triumphed with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.]

Thought Provokers

1. In what ways did the muckrakers represent both the best and the worst features of a free press in the United States?
2. Was corruption a "natural" by-product of the adaptation of U.S. institutions to the new urban environment? Did it serve any useful civic purpose?
3. Was government protection necessary to improve the lot of the laborer in the industrializing United States? How justifiable were special laws to guard women and youthful workers?
4. What motives inspired Roosevelt's crusade for conservation? How different or similar is the attitude of the West today toward efforts at government control of the environment?
5. Were women powerless without the ballot? How has the suffrage changed the position of women? How has the nation's political agenda changed as a result of women's suffrage?

34

Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad

We dare not turn from the principle that morality and not expediency is the thing that must guide us. . . .

Woodrow Wilson, 1913

Prologue: The presidential election of 1912 was unusual in U.S. history. It featured three plausible candidates—William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson—and amounted to a referendum on which of the competing philosophies of progressivism would prevail. When Woodrow Wilson emerged the victor, he energetically set out to achieve landmark reforms in tariff policy, banking, and antitrust legislation. Triumphant at home, Wilson was soon embroiled in explosive diplomatic troubles abroad, beginning with Mexico in 1914. In that same year, war broke out in Europe, straining the United States' historic commitment to neutrality and testing all of Wilson's considerable political skills.

A. The Election of 1912

1. Theodore Roosevelt Proposes Government Regulation (1912)

Provoked by the failure of his successor, William Howard Taft, to pursue progressive policies, Theodore Roosevelt attempted to wrest the Republican presidential nomination from Taft in 1912. Having failed in that effort, Roosevelt became the candidate of one of the most vigorous third parties in U.S. history, the Progressive or Bull Moose party. In the ensuing election campaign, Roosevelt strenuously attacked the Democratic platform's call for strengthening the antitrust laws, and defended his own proposal for more extensive government regulation of the economy. In discussing the trust issue, however, Roosevelt went beyond the narrow technicalities of economic policy and raised fundamental questions of political philosophy. In the remarks excerpted here, what are Roosevelt's most telling arguments against antitrust? What was his underlying philosophy of government? Was that philosophy new in the context of the U.S. political tradition?

[1] Theodore Roosevelt, *Progressive Principles: Selections from Addresses Made During the Presidential Campaign of 1912,* Elmer H. Youngman, ed. (New York: Progressive National Service, 1913), pp. 141–152, 216–217.

As construed by the Democratic platform, the Anti-Trust Law would, if it could be enforced, abolish all business of any size or any efficiency. The promise thus to apply and construe the law would undoubtedly be broken, but the mere fitful effort thus to apply it would do no good whatever, would accomplish widespread harm, and would bring all trust legislation into contempt. . . .

What is needed is . . . a National Industrial commission . . . which should have complete power to regulate and control all the great industrial concerns engaged in inter-State business—which practically means all of them in this country. This commission should exercise over these industrial concerns like powers to those exercised over the railways by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. . . .

Our proposal is to help honest business activity, however extensive, and to see that it is rewarded with fair returns so that there may be no oppression either of business men or of the common people. We propose to make it worth while for our business men to develop the most efficient business agencies for use in international trade; for it is to the interest of our whole people that we should do well in international business. . . .

We favor co-operation in business, and ask only that it be carried on in a spirit of honesty and fairness. We are against crooked business, big or little. We are in favor of honest business, big or little. We propose to penalize conduct and not size. But all very big business, even though honestly conducted, is fraught with such potentiality of menace that there should be thoroughgoing Governmental control over it, so that its efficiency in promoting prosperity at home and increasing the power of the Nation in international commerce may be maintained, and at the same time fair play insured to the wage-workers, the small business competitors, the investors, and the general public. Wherever it is practicable we propose to preserve competition; but where under modern conditions competition has been eliminated and cannot be successfully restored, then the Government must step in and itself supply the needed control on behalf of the people as a whole. . . .

The people of the United States have but one instrument which they can efficiently use against the colossal combinations of business—and that instrument is the Government of the United States (and of course in the several States the governments of the States where they can be utilized). Mr. Wilson's proposal is that the people of the United States shall throw away this, the one great instrument, the one great weapon they have with which to secure themselves against wrong. He proposes to limit the governmental action of the people and therefore to leave unlimited and unchecked the action of the great corporations whose enormous power constitutes so serious a problem in modern industrial life. Remember that it is absolutely impossible to limit the power of these great corporations whose enormous power constitutes so serious a problem in modern industrial life except by extending the power of the Government. All that these great corporations ask is that the power of the Government shall be limited. No wonder they are supporting Mr. Wilson, for he is advocating for them what they hardly dare venture to advocate for themselves. These great corporations rarely want anything from the Government except to be let alone and to be permitted to work their will unchecked by the Government. All that they really want is that governmental action shall be limited. In every great corporation suit the corporation lawyer will be found protesting against extension of governmental power. Every court decision favoring a corporation takes the form of declaring unconstitu-

tional some extension of governmental power. Every corporation magnate in the country who is not dealing honestly and fairly by his fellows asks nothing better than that Mr. Wilson's programme be carried out and that there be stringent limitations of governmental power.

There once was a time in history when the limitation of governmental power meant increasing liberty for the people. In the present day the limitation of governmental power, of governmental action, means the enslavement of the people by the great corporations who can only be held in check through the extension of governmental power.

2. Woodrow Wilson Asks for "a Free Field and No Favor" (1912)

Two "progressive" candidates—Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—faced off in the crucial election of 1912. (William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate, finished a distant third.) The election amounted, in effect, to a referendum on which variant of progressivism would prevail. In Woodrow Wilson's remarks that follow, what are his principal differences from Theodore Roosevelt? What is the meaning of his distinction between "benevolence" and "justice"? Which of the two candidates' philosophies was more forward-looking, and which more backward-looking?

Mr. Roosevelt attached to his platform some very splendid suggestions as to noble enterprises which we ought to undertake for the uplift of the human race; but when I hear an ambitious platform put forth, I am very much more interested in the dynamics of it than in the rhetoric of it. . . . You know that Mr. Roosevelt long ago classified trusts for us as good and bad, and he said that he was afraid only of the bad ones. Now he does not desire that there should be any more bad ones, but proposes that they should all be made good by discipline, directly applied by a commission of executive appointment. All he explicitly complains of is lack of publicity and lack of fairness; not the exercise of power, for throughout that plank the power of the great corporations is accepted as the inevitable consequence of the modern organization of industry. All that it is proposed to do is to take them under control and regulation. . . .

If the government is to tell big business men how to run their business, then don't you see that big business men have to get closer to the government even than they are now? Don't you see that they must capture the government, in order not to be restrained too much by it? . . .

I don't care how benevolent the master is going to be, I will not live under a master. That is not what America was created for. America was created in order that every man should have the same chance as every other man to exercise mastery over his own fortunes. . . . If you will but hold off the adversaries, if you will but see to it that the weak are protected, I will venture a wager with you that there are some men in the United States, now weak, economically weak, who have brains enough to compete with these gentlemen and who will presently come into the market and put these gentlemen on their mettle. . . .

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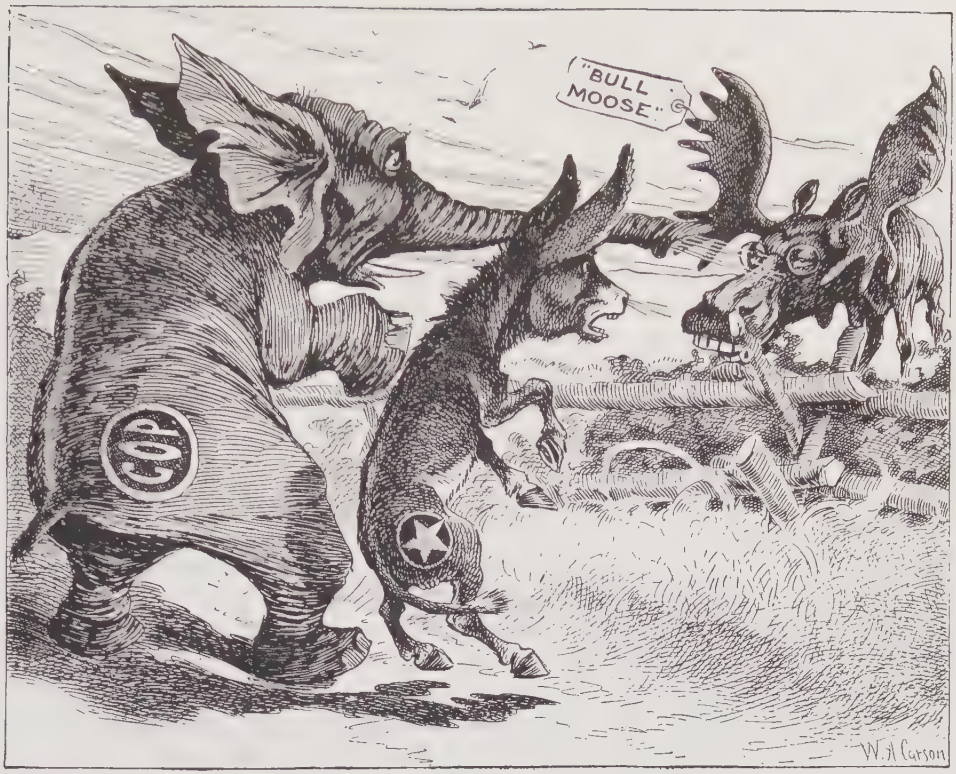
[2]Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom: A Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People,* William Bayard Hale, ed. (New York and Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, Page, 1913), pp. 191–222. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday and Co.



The Bull-Moose Challenge
Though short-lived, Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive (Bull Moose) party was among the most electorally potent of all American third parties, and left a rich legacy of reform proposals, many of which were later enacted into law. (Historical Pictures Service)

I agree that as a nation we are now about to undertake what may be regarded as the most difficult part of our governmental enterprises. We have gone along so far without very much assistance from our government. We have felt, and felt more and more in recent months, that the American people were at a certain disadvantage as compared with the people of other countries, because of what the governments of other countries were doing for them and our government omitting to do for us.

It is perfectly clear to every man who has any vision of the immediate future, who can forecast any part of it from the indications of the present, that we are just upon the threshold of a time when the systematic life of this country will be sustained, or at least supplemented, at every point by governmental activity. And we have now to determine what kind of governmental activity it shall be; whether, in the first place, it shall be direct from the government itself, or whether it shall be indirect, through instrumentalities which have already constituted themselves and which stand ready to supersede the government.

I believe that the time has come when the governments of this country, both state and national, have to set the stage, and set it very minutely and carefully, for the doing of justice to men in every relationship of life. It has been free and easy with us so far; it has been go as you please; it has been every man look out for himself; and we have

continued to assume, up to this year when every man is dealing, not with another man, in most cases, but with a body of men whom he has not seen, that the relationships of property are the same that they always were. We have great tasks before us, and we must enter on them as befits men charged with the responsibility of shaping a new era.

We have a great program of governmental assistance ahead of us in the co-operative life of the nation; but we dare not enter upon that program until we have freed the government. That is the point. Benevolence never developed a man or a nation. We do not want a benevolent government. We want a free and a just government. Every one of the great schemes of social uplift which are now so much debated by noble people amongst us is based, when rightly conceived, upon justice, not upon benevolence. It is based upon the right of men to breathe pure air, to live; upon the right of women to bear children, and not to be overburdened so that disease and breakdown will come upon them; upon the right of children to thrive and grow up and be strong; upon all these fundamental things which appeal, indeed, to our hearts, but which our minds perceive to be part of the fundamental justice of life.

Politics differs from philanthropy in this: that in philanthropy we sometimes do things through pity merely, while in politics we act always, if we are righteous men, on grounds of justice and large expediency for men in the mass. Sometimes in our pitiful sympathy with our fellow-men we must do things that are more than just. We must forgive men. We must help men who have gone wrong. We must sometimes help men who have gone criminally wrong. But the law does not forgive. It is its duty to equalize conditions, to make the path of right the path of safety and advantage, to see that every man has a fair chance to live and to serve himself, to see that injustice and wrong are not wrought upon any. . . .

The reason that America was set up was that she might be different from all the nations of the world in this: that the strong could not put the weak to the wall, that the strong could not prevent the weak from entering the race. America stands for opportunity. American stands for a free field and no favor. . . .

B. Battling for Tariff Reform

1. A President Appears Before Congress (1913)

Woodrow Wilson, a lifelong foe of a highly protective tariff, had refused to uphold the "wrong side" of the question as a student debater at Princeton. As president, he was determined to redeem his campaign pledges and lower the existing Republican rates. Regarding himself as a colleague rather than a competitor of Congress, he decided to bridge the mile-long gap between Capitol Hill and the White House by presenting his messages in person. (President Jefferson, shy and weak-voiced, had discontinued personal appearances in 1801.) Wilson's shattering of precedent struck

[1] D. F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1926), vol. 1, pp. 52–55.

many senators as effrontery. Secretary of Agriculture Houston, a former university president himself, here recaptures the tension in his diary entry. Note Wilson's distinction between "protection" and "patronage." Why, basically, did he urge a lowering of the tariff?

The discussion [in the cabinet] was interrupted because the President had to leave at twelve o'clock to go to the Capitol to read his Tariff Message. I had a distinct sensation when this departure was brought thus sharply to my mind. I recognized both its political and historical significance. Some members of the Cabinet seemed to be a trifle shaky about the venture. The President showed no sign that he was aware, as of course he was, that anything unusual was about to happen.

The President regards himself as the head of his party and its political leader. He believes that he can lead better, can get nearer to Congress, and convey his message more impressively to the people by delivering his message in person. He is right; and his example will probably be followed till we get a President who is timid and a poor or indifferent speaker.

Most of the members of the Cabinet went to the Capitol to hear the President read his message. . . . There seemed to me to be a distinctly tense atmosphere, as if strange things were about to happen. Members of Congress appeared to be a trifle nervous, and something of a chill pervaded the air. Some members of Congress, I thought, had a sullen look. Suddenly the President of the United States was announced, and the Speaker rapped loudly with his gavel. The whole body stood up. . . .

The beauty of the President's English was instantly felt; and his first sentences relieved the strain and made for easier feeling. They were:

"I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the government, hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to cooperate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another."

The message was short. It pointed out that the tariff burden should be lightened; that, while the whole face of our commercial life had altered, tariff schedules had remained the same or had moved in the direction they had been given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it appeared today, and that our task was to square them with the facts. Tariff legislation had wandered very far afield. We had passed beyond the notion of protecting industry. We had come to hold that it was entitled to the direct patronage of the government. We were giving to each group of manufacturers what they thought they needed to maintain a closed market. We had built a set of privileges and fostered monopoly, "until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the test of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted agreement.

"We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our businessmen and our producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better merchants and better traders than any in the world." The object of duties henceforth must be to promote effective competition. We

must accomplish our purpose without reckless haste. We must build up our foreign trade. We more than ever need an outlet for our energies. . . .

The next time I saw the President was at Cabinet meeting on Friday, April 11th. When he came in, I congratulated him on his address and on the success of his personally appearing before Congress. He thanked me and smilingly remarked: "Congress looked embarrassed. I did not feel so."

2. Wilson Tackles the Tariff Lobby (1913)

The new low-tariff Underwood bill passed the Democratic House without undue difficulty, but when it reached the Senate the fast-talking lobbyists descended in droves. Buttonholing senators, they resorted to high-pressure persuasion. The bill was in grave danger of being mutilated, as similar measures had been in the days of Presidents Cleveland and Taft. Wilson thereupon appealed directly to the people, over the heads of the lobbyists, in the following remarkable statement issued to the press. A snowstorm of approving telegrams and letters descended upon the White House and Congress. The lobbyists scurried for cover, and the Underwood-Simmons bill passed in substantially its original form. Could the Senate properly regard this statement as a reflection on its integrity?

I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead the judgment of public men not only, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the Tariff bill.

It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

The Government in all its branches ought to be relieved from this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two Houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be released from this unbearable situation.

3. Senator Cummins Defends Lobbying (1913)

Wilson's routing of the lobbyists aroused the Senate to a four-hour debate, during which some Republicans professed to be insulted. Certain senators attempted to draw a distinction between the professional lobbyist, who would espouse any cause for money, and the legitimate representatives of endangered interests. Senator Cummins of Iowa, a progressive Republican who had voted against the high Republican tariff of

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 63d Cong., 1st sess. (statement of May 26, 1913), p. 1804.

[3] *Congressional Record,* 63d Cong., 3d sess. (May 29, 1913), pp. 1802–1803.

1909, here recounts his own experience. Was the lobbying he describes legitimate or illegitimate?

. . . I represent a state that probably has a little direct concern in the tariff as any state in the Union. I represent a state that can probably care for itself without any assistance whatever from legislation as well or as completely as any state in the Union.

Yet this bill had barely reached the Senate until there came into my office a committee composed of three of the best-known and the most estimable men in my state. They constituted a committee raised by what is known as the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association, an association made up of the farmers of my state, who would be horrified if from any source they were characterized as lobbyists attempting to improperly influence legislation. They came here to protest against admitting meat free and at the same time putting a duty on cattle.

I acted simply as their guide to the subcommittee room presided over so graciously and, I am sure, so fairly by my distinguished friend from Mississippi [Senator Williams]. They were received in a perfectly proper way; they were received kindly and decently, and they stated their case to the members of the subcommittee.

What impression they made I do not know, nor need I inquire. They did not confine the submission of their case to the subcommittee in formal session. They laid the facts, as they understood them, before every Senator with whom they could secure an audience; and having done so, like the good people they are, they went home.

I do not know whether their visit here accomplished anything or not; that is yet to be ascertained. But I do not want the people of this country to receive the impression that there was anything wrong in those men from my state coming to Washington for the purpose of putting before individual Senators or a committee of Senators their case as they understood it, and explaining how the proposed change in the tariff law would affect them.

[The Democratic press generally acclaimed the new low-tariff Underwood-Simmons law. The New York World *exulted: "It is the first tariff in fifty years which was passed by the representatives of the people, and not by the representatives of privilege and plutocracy." On the other hand, the Republican Boston* Evening Transcript *sourly remarked, "Framed unscientifically, and inspired by partisanship, the new tariff will of necessity encounter political and industrial opposition."]*

C. Campaigning for Monetary Reform

1. Brandeis Indicts Interlocking Directorates (1914)

Populists, muckrakers, progressives, and Wilsonian Democrats alike had condemned the monopolistic "money trust." In 1912 the Democratic House of Representatives appointed the famed Pujo committee, which launched a searching investigation. The next year it released a sensational report stating that 341 directorships in 112 corporations controlled resources amounting to $22.245 billion. Many of these

[1]L. D. Brandeis, *Other People's Money* (1914), pp. 51–53. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

directorships, including the Wall Street House of Morgan, were interlocking. Louis D. Brandeis, a brilliant young liberal destined to be a Supreme Court justice, develops this aspect in the following partial summary of the Pujo committee's findings. What was the most objectionable feature of interlocking directorates from the standpoint of the public?

The practice of interlocking directorates is the root of many evils. It offends laws human and divine. Applied to rival corporations, it tends to the suppression of competition and to violation of the Sherman [antitrust] law. Applied to corporations which deal with each other, it tends to disloyalty and to violation of the fundamental law that no man can serve two masters. In either event it tends to inefficiency; for it removes incentive and destroys soundness of judgment. It is undemocratic, for it rejects the platform: "A fair field and no favors," substituting the pull of privilege for the push of manhood. It is the most potent instrument of the Money Trust. Break the control so exercised by the investment bankers over railroads, public-service and industrial corporations, over banks, life-insurance and trust companies, and a long step will have been taken toward attainment of the New Freedom.

The term "interlocking directorates" is here used in a broad sense as including all intertwined conflicting interests, whatever the form, and by whatever device effected. The objection extends alike to contracts of a corporation, whether with one of its directors individually, or with a firm of which he is a member, or with another corporation in which he is interested as an officer or director or stockholder. The objection extends likewise to men holding the inconsistent position of director in two potentially competing corporations, even if those corporations do not actually deal with each other.

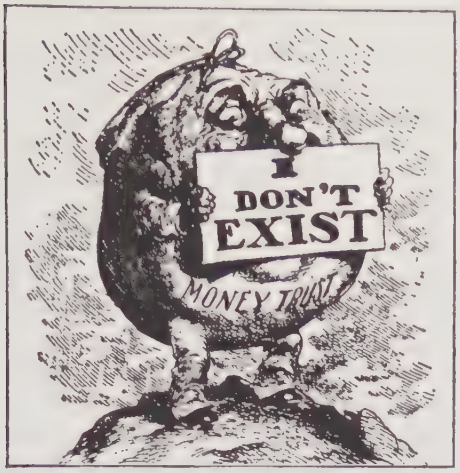
A single example will illustrate the vicious circle of control—the endless chain—through which our financial oligarchy now operates:

J. P. Morgan (or a partner), a director of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, causes that company to sell to J. P. Morgan & Co. an issue of bonds. J. P. Morgan & Co. borrow the money with which to pay for the bonds from the Guaranty Trust Company, of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. J. P. Morgan & Co. sell the bonds to the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. The New Haven spends the proceeds of the bonds in purchasing steel rails from the United States Steel Corporation, of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. The United States Steel Corporation spends the proceeds of the rails in purchasing electrical supplies from the General Electric Company, of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. The General Electric Company sells supplies to the Western Union Telegraph Company, a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; and in both Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director.

2. Morgan Denies a Money Trust (1913)

J. Pierpont Morgan, bulbous-nosed but august, appeared before the Pujo committee with eight attorneys. (Their estimated fees for two days were $45,000.) He denied not only the existence of a money trust but even the possibility of its existence. Less

[2] *Letter from Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. . . .* (privately printed, February 25, 1913), pp. 8–9, 12, 17–18. Reproduced by permission.



His Alibi
(New York World, 1913)

convincing was his claim that he neither possessed nor desired great financial power. A subsequent letter from the House of Morgan to the Pujo committee summarized the influential financier's point of view. To what extent does this statement refute the charges against the bankers?

. . . There have been spread before your Committee elaborate tables of so-called interlocking directorates, from which exceedingly mistaken inferences have been publicly drawn. In these tables it is shown that 180 bankers and bank directors serve upon the boards of corporations having resources aggregating $25,000,000,000, and it is implied that this vast aggregate of the country's wealth is at the disposal of these 180 men.

But such an implication rests solely upon the untenable theory that these men, living in different parts of the country, in many cases personally unacquainted with each other, and in most cases associated only in occasional transactions, vote always for the same policies and control with united purpose the directorates of the 132 corporations on which they serve.

The testimony failed to establish any concerted policy or harmony of action binding these 180 men together, and, as a matter of fact, no such policy exists. The absurdity of the assumption of such control becomes more apparent when one considers that, on the average, these directors represent only one quarter of the memberships of their boards. It is preposterous to suppose that every "interlocking" director has full control in every organization with which he is connected, and that the majority of direcors who are not "interlocking" are mere figureheads, subject to the will of a small minority of their boards.

Perhaps the greatest harm in the presentation referred to lay in the further unwarranted inference, to which has been given wide publicity, that the vast sum of $25,000,000,000 was in cash or liquid form, subject to the selfish use or abuse of individuals. Such an idea excites the public mind to demand the correction of a fancied situation which does not and, in our belief, never can exist. . . .

Such growth in the size of banks in New York and Chicago has frequently been erroneously designated before your Committee as "concentration," whereas we have

hitherto pointed out [that] the growth of banking resources in New York City has been less rapid than that of the rest of the country. But increase of capital, and merger of two or more banks into one institution (with the same resources as the aggregate of the banks merging into it), has been frequent, especially since January 1, 1908.

These mergers, however, are a development due simply to the demand for larger banking facilities to care for the growth of the country's business. As our cities double and treble in size and importance, as railroads extend and industrial plants expand, not only is it natural, but it is necessary, that our banking institutions should grow in order to care for the increased demands put upon them. Perhaps it is not known as well as it should be that in New York City the largest banks are far inferior in size to banks in the commercial capitals of other and much smaller countries. . . .

For a private banker to sit upon . . . a directorate is in most instances a duty, not a privilege. Inquiry will readily develop the fact that the members of the leading banking houses in this country—and it was the leading houses only against which animadversions were directed—are besought continually to act as directors in various corporations, whose securities they may handle, and that in general they enter only those boards which the opinion of the investing public requires them to enter, as an evidence of good faith that they are willing to have their names publicly associated with the management.

Yet, before your Committee, this natural and eminently desirable relationship was made to appear almost sinister, and no testimony whatever was adduced to show the actual working of such relationships.

3. McAdoo Exposes the Bankers (c. 1913)

President Wilson, the foe of special privilege, was determined to break the so-called money monopoly. The need for a more flexible currency had been brought home to the nation by the disastrous "bankers' panic" of 1907. Wilson therefore threw the weight of his dynamic personality behind the Federal Reserve Bill introduced in Congress in 1913. The big bankers, mostly conservative Republicans, fought it passionately. They favored a huge new central bank with themselves in control; they were forced, however, to accept a twelve-district Federal Reserve System, with a government-appointed Federal Reserve Board in control. Lanky, black-haired William G. McAdoo, Wilson's secretary of the treasury (and son-in-law), here describes the initial opposition of the bankers. In what respect were they most seriously wrong?

As time went by, we observed that the public generally—I mean the ordinary, average citizen—was in favor of the Federal Reserve Bill. The bankers in the larger money centers were almost to a man bitterly opposed to it, and many businessmen shared their views. Sentiment among the smaller banks was divided—those against the bill being largely in the majority.

At the national convention of the American Bankers' Association, held in Boston, October, 1913, only two delegates attempted to speak in favor of the legislation; each was howled down until the chairman managed to make himself heard, and begged the convention to give them the courtesy of attention.

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[3]From *Crowded Years* by W. G. McAdoo, Copyright 1931 by William G. McAdoo. Copyright © renewed 1959 by Eleanor McAdoo. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Dr. Joseph French Johnson, professor of political economy at New York University, said at a dinner of the Academy of Political Science that the bill, if passed, would bring on a dangerous credit expansion and that it would cause "a collapse of the banking system." He added that "blacksmiths could not be expected to produce a Swiss watch." The blacksmiths were, in this case, I suppose, the Democrats, and the Federal Reserve Bill was the Swiss watch. So I infer, and I fancy that another meaning, to the effect that Professor Johnson himself was an excellent watchmaker, lurked in the background.

And from Chicago came reports of a speech of Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, Republican member of the Senate from Illinois. In addressing the Illinois Bankers' Association he said: "I would support a law to wind a watch with a crowbar as cheerfully as I will support any such bill."

But James B. Forgan, banking magnate of Chicago, was more direct in his expression of opinion. He said nothing about crowbars and blacksmiths and Swiss watches. He declared that the bill was "unworkable, impractical, and fundamentally bad." It would bring about, he said, "the most damnable contraction of currency ever seen in any country."

Forgan's idea that the currency would be damnably contracted was not shared by all the opponents of the Glass-Owen [Federal Reserve] Bill. Many bankers and economists proved, to their own satisfaction by figures and diagrams, that the Federal Reserve System would produce an extraordinary inflation. These vast and irreconcilable differences of opinion between the various groups of our adversaries had the effect of lessening my respect for so-called banking experts. I found that they could take the same set of facts and reach two diametrically opposite conclusions.

For example, Forgan estimated that the currency would be contracted to the extent of $1,800,000,000, while Senator Elihu Root, using the same data, predicted an inflation of at least $1,800,000,000.

President Arthur T. Hadley, of Yale, who had a high reputation as an economist, believed that the bill, if passed, would lead to inflation on an unparalleled scale, with a consequent depreciation. He was so deeply moved that he wrote a personal letter to President Wilson on July 1, 1913, for the purpose of pointing out to the President that the Act would "involve the country in grave financial danger." Practically all of our gold would leave for Europe, he thought. He was greatly mistaken. There is now in the United States about 45 percent of all the gold in the world.

Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York, declared that the notes of the Federal Reserve Banks would be "fiat money," and James J. Hill, the famous railroad builder and financier, said the plan was "socialistic." James R. Mann, Republican leader of the House, condemned the bill as all wrong, badly conceived, and impossible as a practical measure. However, he added bitterly, it did not matter; the national banks would not go into the system, anyway. Most of them would become state banks, and the Federal Reserve would just lie down and die for lack of support. Saying this, he washed his hands of the whole affair.

[The Federal Reserve System, approved by Congress late in 1913, not only carried the nation triumphantly through World War I but remains the bulwark of the nation's financial structure. The sneers of the bankers gave way to cheers. Currency expansion to meet growing needs was abundantly provided by the issuance of Federal Reserve notes, backed in part by promissory notes and other assets held by the member banks.

The national banks, authorized during the Civil War, were required to join the Federal Reserve System. Wall Street's grip on money and credit was thus weakened, and interlocking directorates were curbed the next year (1914) by the Clayton Anti-Trust Act.]

D. Moral Meddling in Mexico

1. Wilson Asks for War on Huerta (1914)

The decade-long despotic rule of dictator Díaz in Mexico crumbled during the upheaval of 1910–1911. But the revolution took an ugly turn in 1913, when General Huerta—a full-blooded Indian who was an alcoholic and a drug addict—connived at the murder of the liberal President Madero and forthwith seized power. Wilson, whose heart went out to the oppressed masses of Mexico, refused to recognize this bloody-handed dictator, and thereby departed from the traditional U.S. policy of recognizing established regimes. Pursuing a plan of "watchful waiting," he modified the United States' arms embargo to the advantage of Huerta's foes. The crisis came to a boil in April 1914, when Mexican officials seized two men from the United States' Navy boat at Tampico. The local officials promptly tendered apologies. But Admiral Mayo, acting without specific authorization from Washington, demanded a twenty-one-gun salute to the American flag. When Huerta refused to comply, Wilson went before Congress to ask for authority (which he already had as commander in chief) to use force. How did he attempt to reconcile his friendship for the Mexican people with a request to fight them? What other inconsistencies emerge?

The [Tampico] incident cannot be regarded as a trivial one, especially as two of the men arrested were taken from the boat itself—that is to say, from the territory of the United States. But had it stood by itself, it might have been attributed to the ignorance or arrogance of a single officer. Unfortunately, it was not an isolated case. A series of incidents have recently occurred which cannot but create the impression that the representatives of General Huerta were willing to go out of their way to show disregard for the dignity and rights of this Government,* and felt perfectly safe in doing what they pleased, making free to show in many ways their irritation and contempt. . . . So far as I can learn, such wrong and annoyances have been suffered to occur only against representatives of the United States. . . .

The manifest danger of such a situation was that such offense might grow from bad to worse until something happened of so gross and intolerable a sort as to lead directly and inevitably to armed conflict. It was necessary that the apologies of General Huerta and his representatives should go much further; that they should be such as to attract the attention of the whole population to their significance, and such as to impress upon General Huerta himself the necessity of seeing to it that no further

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[1] Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), vol. 29, pp. 472–474.

*Professor A. S. Link concludes that this statement misrepresents the facts; Huerta had shown "extraordinary concern" for U.S. interests (*Wilson: The New Freedom* [1956], p. 398).

occasion for explanations and professed regrets should arise. I, therefore, felt it my duty to sustain Admiral Mayo in the whole of his demand, and to insist that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas.

Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now propose to pursue.

This Government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own constitution, it has no government. General Huerta has set his power up in the City of Mexico, such as it is, without right and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control. If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result of his attitude of personal resentment toward this Government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted Republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws and their own government.

But I earnestly hope that war is not now in question. I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister Republic. Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder or embarrass them. We would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent. The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way, and we sincerely desire to respect their right. The present situation need have none of the grave implications of interference if we deal with it promptly, firmly, and wisely.

No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our Government without recourse to the Congress, and yet not exceed my constitutional powers as President. But I do not wish to act in a manner possibly of so grave consequence except in close conference and cooperation with both the Senate and House. I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even admist the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico.

There can in what we do be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States, only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind.

2. A Republican Assails "Watchful Waiting" (1916)

A patriotic Congress promptly granted Wilson the authority to intervene. A day earlier, however (April 21, 1914), U.S. forces, under emergency orders from the White House, had bombarded and occupied Vera Cruz in a vain attempt to prevent a

[2] *Congressional Record,* 64th Cong., 1st sess. (January 27, 1916), pp. 1636–1638, *passim.*

German ship from landing munitions that might be used against U.S. troops. With a Louisville paper crying "On to the Isthmus!" and with a full-blown war imminent, the "ABC" powers (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) offered to mediate. Wilson gladly accepted this escape hatch, on April 25, 1914. Nearly three months later Huerta was forced to abdicate, but U.S. businessmen clamored for full-dress intervention as U.S. citizens continued to lose both their property and their lives. When the European war erupted later in 1914, Republicans criticized Wilson for being "too proud to fight." They also condemned him for insisting that Americans leave the Mexican danger zone while he permitted others to sail through submarine-infested danger zones on the high seas. Here Representative William E. Humphrey, a prominent congressman from Washington, voices typical Republican complaints. How effectively does he support his charges that Wilson's policy was meddling, vacillating, hypocritical, inconsistent, and futile?

The President's policy in Mexico is not based upon his party platform. It is characterized by weakness, uncertainty, vacillation, and uncontrollable desire to intermeddle in Mexican affairs. He has not had the courage to go into Mexico nor the courage to stay out.

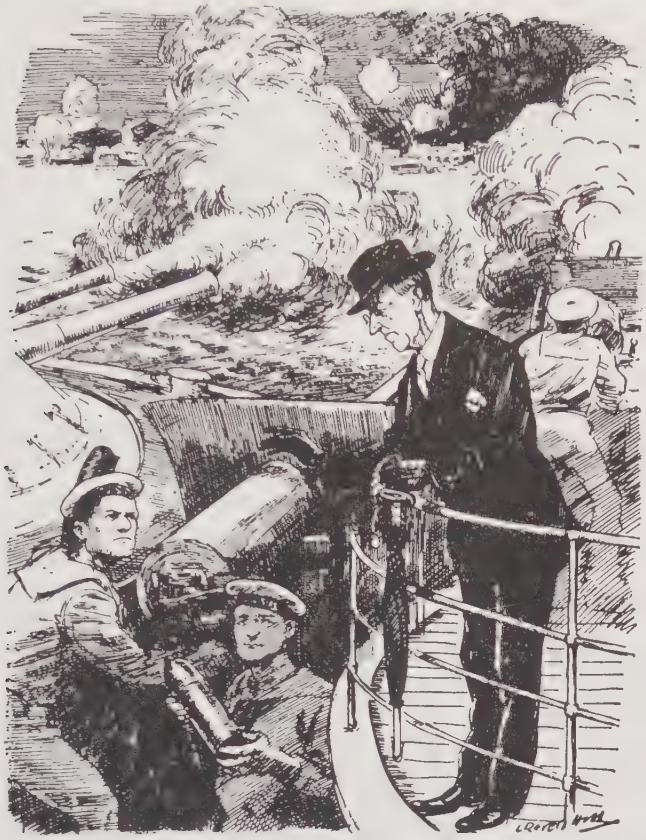
The President has repeatedly declared that he would not interfere in Mexico nor permit others to do so. . . . At Columbus, Ohio, in his recent speech he said:

"The Mexicans may not know what to do with their government; but that is none of our business, and, so long as I have the power to prevent it, nobody shall 'butt in' to alter it for them."

At the notable talk in the White House not long ago to the Democratic National Committee, where he referred to other people "talking through their hat," if he is correctly reported, he declared "that the Mexicans can raise all the h——— they please; it is none of our business." Remember, the language I am using is not mine but the reported language of the President. Certainly their ability to raise what he so delicately described ought to satisfy even the President and that wing of the Democratic Party that believes in "watchful waiting."

But if the President had followed these declarations, however un-American and indefensible they may be, it would have been far better for us and probably for Mexico. But his deeds have been strangers to his words. Instead of a policy of "hands off," it has been a policy of constant interference in Mexican affairs.

The President told Huerta that he must not be a candidate; that he would not be recognized. He talked about fair elections and constitutional government, and showed a strong desire not only to control Mexican politics but to go into Mexico and regulate the land system of that country. He sent his secret special agents to Mexico City and became involved in a personal quarrel with Huerta. This controversy reached its climax in the most grotesque and stupendous piece of folly in the history of civilized nations when the President appeared here before Congress and virtually asked that the United States declare war against Huerta, the individual. And, what was even more ridiculous and absurd, it was done. And for what reason? Who today will tell us the cause of that action? American had been driven from Mexico; American property had been destroyed in Mexico; American men had been murdered in Mexico; American women had been outraged in Mexico. But all these did not disturb the serenity of "watchful waiting," or recall to the mind of the President the Democratic platform



A Sort of War
President Wilson: *"I hope you are not shooting at my dear friends the Mexicans?"* U.S.A. Gunner: *"Oh, no, sir. We have strict orders only to aim at one Huerta."* (Punch *(London), 1914)*

declarations about protecting life and property of American citizens along the border and on foreign soil.

We were told that Huerta was a murderer, an assassin, a usurper, and a traitor, and a man that we would never under any circumstances recognize. But Huerta, the individual, not representing Mexico but himself, had refused to salute the American flag on a gasoline launch in a place where it had no right to be; or, to be exact, for the sake of history, Huerta agreed to fire six guns in salute, while the President, as I recall, demanded twenty-one.*

This insult from an assassin and a murderer that we would not in any way recognize was more than this administration, too proud to fight, could endure. Our magnificent battleship squadron was hurried to Mexican waters, although at that time the Mexican Navy consisted of one old antiquated gunboat. The Army was sent to Mexico, and, after Vera Cruz was bombarded by our Navy, it was landed on Mexican soil. Seventeen [nineteen] of our own soldiers lost their lives and more than a hundred Mexicans were killed. We seized the customhouse and carried away more than a million dollars.

*Huerta had agreed to a twenty-one-gun salute if it was returned on a gun-for-gun basis, but this was unacceptable to Wilson.

And all this for what purpose? Why did we go to Mexico and what did we accomplish and why did we return? We were told that a German vessel was about to land a cargo of guns and ammunition, and this was the reason for hurrying our Navy to Mexican waters. But that same German vessel landed its cargo in Mexico. We are told that our Army and Navy went to Mexico to make Huerta apologize. Has anyone read that apology? We are told that our Army and Navy went to Mexico to make Huerta salute the flag. Has anyone heard that salute? . . .

Our policy in Mexico has earned us the contempt of the world, and beyond question has greatly influenced the warring nations of Europe in their present attitude toward us. . . .

We make a tremendous bluster about the killing of American citizens upon the high seas and fill the air with tumult and the noise of many typewriters, although the killing is only accidental and undoubtedly really regretted by those who did the act. But so far we have looked with equanimity undisturbed while hundreds of Americans have been purposely foully murdered in Mexico in a most cruel and fiendish manner. . . .

Speaking for myself, but believing that I voice the sentiment of the American people, there are some things that I would do in regard to Mexico if upon me rested the responsibility. I would either go into Mexico and pacify the country or I would keep my hands entirely out of Mexico. If we are too proud to fight, we should be too proud to quarrel. I would not choose between murderers. I would not permit either side to procure guns or ammunition in this country that may hereafter be used to murder Americans. I would not depend upon secret personal agents for my information. I would deal openly and in the light of day with the Mexican situation. I would practice pitiless publicity as well as preach it. I would give the American people the facts. I would let them know the truth, and if that is done the American people will quickly decide what shall be done.

And, above all, I would do this—the thing that should have been done more than three years ago, and if it had been done, the letting of American blood in Mexico would not have occurred: I would serve notice upon all factions that no longer would any of them be permitted, under any pretense whatever, to destroy American property, or to murder American men, or to ravish American women, and back of that notice I would place the power of this great Republic.

E. Acquiescing in the British Blockade

1. Lord Bryce's Propaganda Report (1915)

The American people were so deeply shocked by Germany's brutal invasion of Belgium that they uncritically swallowed large doses of Allied propaganda. British propagandists stressed the medically preposterous stories of Belgian babies (still living)

[1]Viscount Bryce, *Report on the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1915), p. 51. Many of the incidents in the Bryce report were later proved to have been grossly exaggerated or completely fabricated.

Babes on Bayonets
An exaggerated stereotype in the United States of German atrocities in Belgium. (Life, 1915)

with their hands hacked off and the alleged German practice of converting battlefield corpses into fertilizer and soap. The Germans, much less persuasively, charged that the Allies gouged out the eyes of prisoners, that French soldiers put cholera germs in wells used by Germans, and that a Belgian priest had placed a machine gun behind his altar and mowed down German Catholic soldiers who came to mass. Lord Bryce, admired in the United States for his sympathetic two-volume The American Commonwealth, *served his country by lending his name to a sensational report on atrocities in Belgium. In the following account (one of many alleging German arson, rape, mayhem, and murder) what part is least worthy of belief? What was the probable effect of the Bryce report in predisposing the American people to accept British infractions of neutral rights?*

The [German] officer spoke Flemish. He knocked at the door; the peasant did not come. The officer ordered the soldiers to break down the door, which two of them did. The peasant came and asked what they were doing. The officer said he did not come quickly enough, and that they had "trained up" [disciplined] plenty of others. His hands were tied behind his back, and he was shot at once without a moment's delay.

The wife came out with a little sucking child. She put the child down and sprang at the Germans like a lioness. She clawed their faces. One of the Germans took a rifle and struck her a tremendous blow with the butt on the head. Another took his bayonet and fixed it and thrust it through the child. He then put his rifle on his shoulder with the child up it, its little arms stretched out once or twice.

The officers ordered the houses to be set on fire, and straw was obtained, and it was done. The man and his wife and the child were thrown on the top of the straw. There were about forty other peasant prisoners there also, and the officer said: "I am doing this as a lesson and example to you. When a German tells you to do something next time you must move more quickly." The regiment of Germans was a regiment of Hussars, with crossbones and a death's-head on the cap.

2. Page Plays Britain's Game (c. 1915)

The British, with their powerful navy, undertook to starve Germany into submission with a blockade. But the ancient practice of stationing warships off the three-mile line proved hazardous, primarily because of new long-range guns and lurking submarines. The British therefore took liberties with international law. They mined the North Sea and forced neutral ships into their ports to be searched for munitions and other contraband of war. They arbitrarily broadened the normal contraband lists to include such necessities as food and cotton. They halted the slippage of supplies into Germany through neighboring neutrals like Denmark by limiting these small countries to their prewar imports. Even though London paid for many of the intercepted cargoes, Washington protested against these disagreeable practices as violations of international law. Foreign Secretary Grey here tells how he dealt with Ambassador Page, the ex-journalist who became Wilson's ardently pro-British representative in London. Did Page behave appropriately as the spokesman in London for the U.S. government?

We got a list of absolute contraband that was not seriously challenged. But there was much more difficulty to come. We were now entitled to seize such things as copper and rubber in any ship on the high seas, if they were consigned to a German port. This alone was of little use. Germany could import goods as easily through Dutch, Danish, or Swedish ports as through her own, and in Sweden especially there were people disposed to make Sweden a source of supply for Germany. It was therefore as essential to Britian and the Allies to seize copper or rubber going to a Swedish or neutral port as when going to a German port.

It was on this point that controversy arose with the United States. The very fact that the United States was, in a sense, the trustee for the right of weaker neutrals made its Government disposed to champion those rights. Was a peaceful Swede desiring copper for innocent purposes to have it stopped? On the other hand, was the British Navy to let copper pass under its very guns to a Swede who as importing it for the German Government, and going to send it straight to Germany to be made into munitions to kill British soldiers?

The argument between these two opposite points of view was long, voluminous, and extensive. It was published, and anyone who has enough curiosity and time may read it.

The Navy acted and the Foreign Office had to find the argument to support the action; it was anxious work. British action provoked American argument; that was met by British counter-argument. British action preceded British argument; the risk was that action might follow American argument. In all this [Ambassador] Page's advice and suggestion were of the greatest value in warning us when to be careful or encouraging us when we could safely be firm.

One incident in particular remains in my memory. Page came to see me at the Foreign Office one day, and produced a long despatch [sic] from Washington contesting our claim to act as we were doing in stopping contraband going to neutral ports. "I

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[2]Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years* (1925), vol. 2, 109–110. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

am instructed," he said, "to read this despatch to you." He read, and I listened. He then said: "I have now read the despatch, but I do not agree with it; let us consider how it should be answered!"

3. Lansing's Pro-Ally Tactics (c. 1916)

International law required a blockading power to stop and search all merchant ships before seizing or sinking them. If they were unresisting enemy merchantmen, they could lawfully be destroyed only if proper provision was made for the safety of passengers and crew. The blockading British, because of the menace of new weapons, were taking "liberties" with the old rules. The Germans, unable to sustain an orthodox blockade of the British Isles with fragile submarines vulnerable to ramming or gunfire, began to sink enemy merchantmen without warning. Berlin argued that Germany was forced to take such "liberties" because Allied merchant ships had first sunk German submarines attempting to stop them. Secretary of State Lansing, a fussily precise legalist who was warmly pro-Ally at heart, here explains his reactions. Why did the United States turn against Germany rather than Britain?

Sifted down to the bare facts the position was this: Great Britain insisted that Germany should conform her conduct of naval [submarine] warfare to the strict letter of the rules of international law, and resented even a suggestion that there should be any variation of the rules to make them reasonably applicable to new conditions. On the other hand, Great Britain was herself repeatedly departing from the rules of international law, on the plea that new conditions compelled her to do so, and even showed resentment because the United States refused to recognize her right to ignore or modify the rules whenever she thought it necessary to do so.

Briefly, the British Government wished international law enforced when they believed that it worked to the advantage of Great Britain, and wished the law modified when the change would benefit Great Britain.

There is no doubt that the good relations between the United States and Great Britain would have been seriously jeopardized by this unreasonable attitude, which seems unworthy of British statesmanship, except for the fact that the British violations of law affected American property, while the German violations affected American lives. Nothing else saved our relations with Great Britain from becoming strained to the breaking point. Even as it was, there were many Americans, both in public and in private life, who considered that we were unjust, or at least unfair, because we differentiated between the illegal acts of the belligerents on the basis of their results.

These complaints against the conduct of the British were increasing in the United States, were gaining more and more converts in Congress, and were exerting more and more pressure upon the government to adopt vigorous measures to compel Great Britain to cease her illegal practices, when the Germans, with their genius for always doing the wrong thing in the wrong way and at the wrong time, perpetrated new crimes in their submarine campaign. These events made the complaints against

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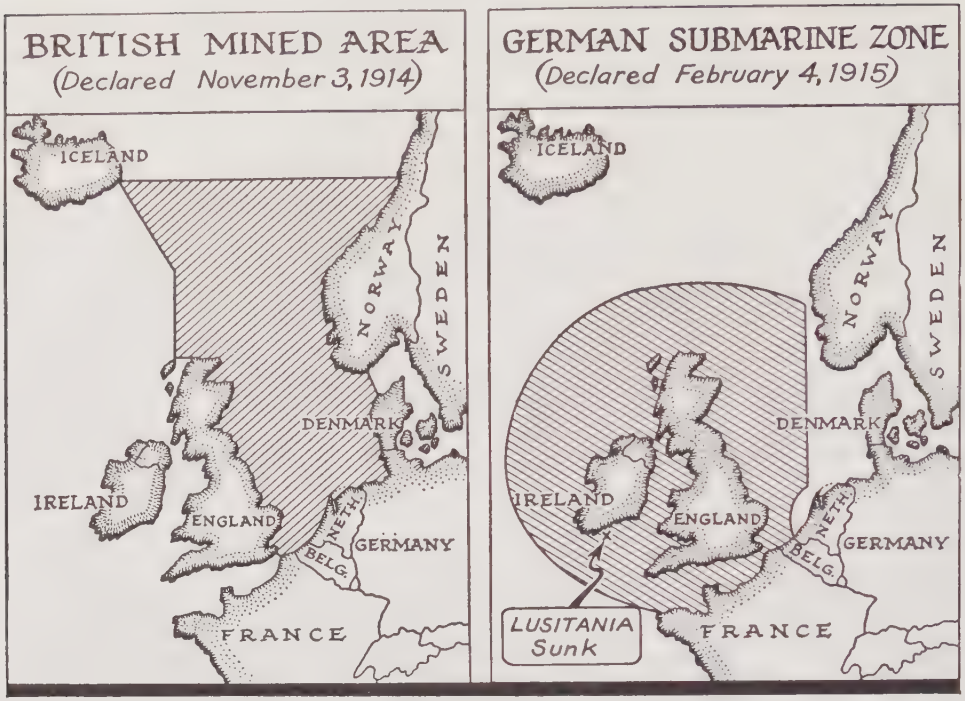
[3] *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing* (1935), pp. 110–12. Copyright 1935 by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.; used by special permission of the publishers.



the British seem insignificant and ill-timed, and aroused anew the indignation of the American people toward the ruthless commanders of Germany's undersea corsairs.

The British have only the stupidity of the Germans to thank for saving them from having a very serious situation develop in their relations with this country in the spring of 1916. It was luck on their part and nothing more. They had done everything that they could to make the position of this government difficult; and the worst of it was that they did not appear to realize it, for which our Embassy at London, it must be admitted, was by no means blameless.

Sympathetic as I felt toward the Allies and convinced that we would in the end join with them against the autocratic governments of the Central Empires, I saw with apprehension the tide of resentment against Great Britain rising higher and higher in this country. It was becoming increasingly difficult to avoid bringing the controversies between our two governments to a head, and to keep from assuming positions which went beyond the field of discussion.

I did all that I could to prolong the disputes by preparing, or having prepared, long and detailed replies, and introducing technical and controversial matters in the hope that, before the extended interchange of arguments came to an end, something would happen to change the current of American public opinion, or to make the American people perceive that German absolutism was a menace to their liberties and to democratic institutions everywhere.

Fortunately, this hope and effort were not in vain. Germany did the very thing which she should not have done. The tide of sentiment in the United States turned, and it was possible to prevent a widespread demand being made that the Allied

Powers be "brought to book" without further delay for their illegal treatment of our commerce.

Thought Provokers

1. What elements of conservatism can be found in Roosevelt's and Wilson's "progressive" philosophies? In what ways did their proposals foreshadow later U.S. political developments?
2. Was the revival of personal presidential appearances before Congress desirable or undesirable? Do the kinds of lobbies that Wilson denounced have any legitimate functions in the U.S. system of government?
3. Who benefited from high tariffs? from reduced tariffs?
4. What were the good and bad features of interlocking directorates? Should private bankers have been permitted to write the Federal Reserve Act? To what extent did Wilson's tariff and banking legislation conform to the political philosophy defined in his campaign of 1912?
5. Would the prestige of the United States have been better served by a disavowal of Admiral Mayo's unauthorized demand than by the bombardment of Vera Cruz? Should the president of the United States sit in moral judgment of foreign governments?
6. Was the United States, before it became a belligerent in 1917, truly neutral with respect to the Great War that broke out in Europe in 1914?

35

The War to End War, 1917–1918

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war.
Woodrow Wilson, War Message, April 2, 1917

Prologue: The United States maintained a shaky neutrality for more than two years after war engulfed Europe in the summer of 1914. In practice, however, U.S. policies favored the Allies (chiefly Britain and France) against Germany and Austria-Hungary (the Central Powers). Facing ultimate starvation, the Germans finally proclaimed a desperate all-out campaign of submarine warfare in January 1917. As U.S. merchant ships were torpedoed on the high seas, Wilson reluctantly asked for a declaration of war. With a substantial minority dissenting, Congress agreed. War mobilization proceeded in the United States with unprecedented emotional fervor, deliberately cultivated by the government. Civil liberties were endangered, and "pacifists" were harassed. Wilson eventually rallied public opinion with his fourteen-point peace proposal, and U.S. troops made a significant military contribution in the final days of fighting. But Wilson proved incapable of securing congressional approval of the peace treaty he had helped to negotiate.

A. War with Germany

1. Wilson Breaks Diplomatic Relations (1917)

After stern warnings from President Wilson, Germany generally avoided sinking unresisting passenger ships without warning. But in March 1916 a German submarine torpedoed a French liner, the Sussex, *and caused some eighty casualties, including injuries to several Americans. Wilson indignantly presented an ultimatum to Berlin threatening a severance of diplomatic relations—an almost certain prelude to war—unless Germany discontinued these inhumane tactics. The Germans reluctantly acquiesced. Finally, however, driven to the wall by the British blockade, they dramatically announced, on January 31, 1917, the opening of unrestricted submarine warfare on virtually all ships plying the war zone, including U.S. vessels. Wilson, whose hand had now been called, went sorrowfully before Congress to deliver this speech. Was he naïve or idealistic? Was he hasty in accepting the German U-boat challenge?*

[1] *Congressional Record,* 64th Cong., 2d sess. (February 3, 1917), pp 2578–2579.

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this [submarine] declaration, . . . this Government has no alternative, consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States, but to take the course which . . . it announced that it would take. . . .

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed. . . .

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own, or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded—if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity—I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people.

We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

[Wilson first undertook to arm U.S. merchantmen against the submarines ("armed neutrality"). When this tactic failed and German U-boats began to sink U.S. vessels, he again went before Congress, on April 2, 1917. Referring principally to these sinkings, he asked for a formal resolution acknowledging the fact that Germany had "thrust" war on the United States. "We have no quarrel with the German people," he declared—only with their government. With militaristic forces rampant, "there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world." Hence "The world must be made safe for democracy." War is "terrible." "But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice

in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."]

2. Representative Kitchin Assails the War Resolution (1917)

Congress responded promptly to Wilson's request for a war resolution. But the lopsided though far-from-unanimous vote—82 to 6 in the Senate and 373 to 50 in the House—revealed a widespread opposition to hostilities, especially in the German-American areas. A flaming antiwar speech came from the lips of Representative Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, an eloquent and beloved string-tie congressman, whose outburst produced a deluge of unflattering letters and telegrams. "Go to Germany," demanded one detractor. "They need fertilizer!" Ascertain what truth there was in Kitchin's allegation that Wilson's inconsistent and unneutral policies were taking the nation into war. Did Kitchin deserve to be called pro-German?

Great Britain every day, every hour, for two years has violated American rights on the seas. We have persistently protested. She has denied us not only entrance into the ports of the Central Powers but has closed to us by force the ports of neutrals. She has unlawfully seized our ships and our cargoes. She has rifled our mails. She has declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover all the ports of her enemy. She made the entire North Sea a military area—strewed it with hidden mines and told the neutral nations of the world to stay out or be blown up. We protested.* No American ship was sunk, no American life was destroyed, because we submitted and did not go in. We kept out of war. We sacrificed no honor. We surrendered permanently no essential rights. We knew that these acts of Great Britain, though in plain violation of international law and of our rights on the seas, were not aimed at us. They were directed at her enemy. They were inspired by military necessity. Rather than plunge this country into war, we were willing to forgo for the time our rights. I approved that course then; I approve it now.

Germany declares a war zone sufficiently large to cover the ports of her enemy. She infests it with submarines and warns the neutral world to stay out, though in plain violation of our rights and of international law. We know that these acts are aimed not directly at us but intended to injure and cripple her enemy, with which she is in a death struggle.

We refuse to yield; we refuse to forgo our rights for the time. We insist upon going in.

In my judgment, we could keep out of the war with Germany as we kept out of the war with Great Britain, by keeping our ships and our citizens out of the war zone of Germany as we did out of the war zone of Great Britain. And we would sacrifice no

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 65th Cong., 1st sess. (April 5, 1917), pp. 332–333.

*Kitchin was mistaken. The United States did not formally protest against the British mined zone; more than two years later it merely reserved its rights.

War Against Everybody
The German announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare (January 31) was interpreted in the United States as war on the entire civilized world by the Kaiser. (New York World, 1917)

more honor, surrender no more rights, in the one case than in the other. Or we could resort to armed neutrality, which the President recently urged and for which I voted on March 1.

But we are told that Germany has destroyed American lives while Great Britain destroyed only property. Great Britain destroyed no American lives because this nation kept her ships and her citizens out of her war zone which she sowed with hidden mines.

But are we quite sure that the real reason for war with Germany is the destruction of lives as distinguished from property, that to avenge the killing of innocent Americans and to protect American lives war becomes a duty?

Mexican bandits raided American towns, shot to death sleeping men, women, and children in their own homes. We did not go to war* to avenge these deaths. . . .

We were willing to forgo our rights rather than plunge this country into war while half the world was in conflagration. I approved that course then; I approve it now.

Why can we not, why should we not, forgo for the time being the violation of our rights by Germany, and do as we did with Great Britain, do as we did with Mexico, and thus save the universe from being wrapped in the flames of war?

I have hoped and prayed that God would forbid our country going into war with another for doing that which perhaps under the same circumstances we ourselves would do.

*Technically, the United States did not go to war, but Wilson sent General Pershing into Mexico in 1916–1917 to pursue the bandit Villa.

B. The War for the American Mind

1. Un-Christlike Preachers (1918)

Ministers of the gospel, swallowing Allied propaganda and falling prey to the wartime hysteria, engaged in un-Christian excesses. "It is religious to hate the Kaiser," declared the Reverend James R. Day, chancellor of Syracuse University, "because the Bible teaches us to hate the Devil and all his works." Less elegantly, a prominent Baptist pastor in Cleveland cried, "To hell with the Kaiser!" Here a prominent Methodist bishop and author, Dr. William A. Quayle, pays his disrespects to Germany in a magazine article. Did he accept Wilson's view that the United States was fighting only Germany's rulers?

Let us set down sternly that we are at war with the Germans, not the Junkers [German aristocrats], not autocracy, not Prussianism, not the Kaiser. . . . The German people is what we war with. The German people is committing the unspeakable horrors which set the whole world aghast. The German people is not and has not been conducting war. It is and has been conducting murder. Hold fast to that. The Supreme Court of New York declared the sinking of the *Lusitania* an act of piracy. Piracy is not war. All decencies, honors, humanities, international agreements, and laws have been smashed by them day and night from the first rape of Belgium to now. The new atrocity which appeared this week was spraying prisoners with burning oil. This is Germany's most recent jest. It makes them laugh so!

They have violated every treaty with the United States; they have lied from start to finish and to everybody. A treaty was a scrap of paper.* . . .

Germany has ravished the women of Belgium, Servia, Roumania, Poland, Armenia. Germany murdered the passengers of the *Lusitania* and struck a medal to celebrate that German triumph, dating it two days before the horrible occurrence. Germany had ruined cathedrals and cities in sheer wanton fury, in such fashion as has not been done in all the wars waged in Europe since the days of the building of the cathedrals. Germany has poisoned wells, crucified inhabitants and soldiers, burned people in their houses, and this by system. Germany has denatured men and boys, has wantonly defaced the living and the dying and the dead. An eye-witness tells of seeing women dead at a table with their tongues nailed to the table and left to die.

Germany has stolen things little and big: playthings from children, finery from women, pictures of incalculable worth, bank-deposits, railroads, factories. Germany has sunk hospital-ships, has bombed hospitals and Red Cross camps. Germany has disclosed neither decency nor honor from the day it started war, nor has a single voice in Germany to date been lifted up against the orgies of ruthlessness which turn the soul sick and which constitute the chief barbarity of history. Germany remains unblushing and unconscious of its indecency. Germany's egotism still struts like a Kaiser.

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[1] *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* quoted in *Literary Digest* 59 (October 19, 1918): 28.

*The phrase "scrap of paper" became one of the great propaganda weapons of the war. The German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, had defended Germany's invasion of Belgium in 1914 by referring to the treaty of 1839 guaranteeing Belgian neutrality as a "scrap of paper."

Having Their Fling
In 1918 the editors of the antiwar socialist journal, The Masses, *were tried under the Espionage Act for obstructing the war. This cartoon was Exhibit F for the prosecution. (*The Masses *[New York], 1917)*

And to climax its horrid crimes, Germany has inflicted compulsory polygamy on the virgins of its own land.

[If such tales were given currency by well-educated clergymen schooled in Christian forbearance, one can hardly blame rank-and-file Americans for believing the same accounts. Actually there were cases of rape and violence affecting civilians on both sides; the Germans were involved to a greater extent because they fought almost the entire war on enemy territory. The Lusitania *medal was struck off* after *the sinking; the story of the "crucified Canadian" was a complete hoax; the French cathedral at Rheims was damaged after the towers had been used for military observation. The rest of this account reflects an uncritical belief in the thoroughly unreliable stories in the Bryce report.]*

2. Abusing the Pro-Germans (1918)

The several million enemy aliens in the United States were under suspicion, especially those who did not buy Liberty Bonds. One of them was Robert Paul Prager, a young German residing in Illinois. He had tried to enlist in the navy but was rejected

[2]Frederick Palmer, *Newton D. Baker* (1931), vol. 2, pp. 162–163. Copyright 1931 by Frederick D. Palmer. Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company.

because he had lost an eye. After he had spoken out for socialism, he was seized by a drunken mob in 1918, stripped of his clothes, wrapped in an American flag, and hanged. A patriotic jury acquitted the ringleaders. This was the worst outrage of its kind, but another almost occurred, as Secretary of War Baker related in the following letter. What does it reveal of the American state of mind at this time? Why was such an incident much less likely to occur in World War II?

The spirit of the country seems unusually good, but there is a growing frenzy of suspicion and hostility toward disloyalty. I am afraid we are going to have a good many instances of people roughly treated on very slight evidence of disloyalty. Already a number of men and some women have been "tarred and feathered," and a portion of the press is urging with great vehemence more strenuous efforts at detection and punishment. This usually takes the form of advocating "drum-head courts-martial"* and "being stood up against a wall and shot," which are perhaps none too bad for real traitors, but are very suggestive of summary discipline to arouse mob spirit, which unhappily does not take time to weigh evidence.

In Cleveland a few days ago a foreign-looking man got into a street car and, taking a seat, noticed pasted in the window next to him a Liberty Loan poster, which he immediately tore down, tore into small bits, and stamped under his feet. The people in the car surged around him with the demand that he be lynched, when a Secret Service man showed his badge and placed him under arrest, taking him in a car to the police station, where he was searched and found to have two Liberty Bonds in his pocket and to be a non-English Pole. When an interpreter was procured, it was discovered that the circular which he had destroyed had had on it a picture of the German Emperor, which had so infuriated the fellow that he destroyed the circular to show his vehement hatred of the common enemy. As he was unable to speak a single word of English, he would undoubtedly have been hanged but for the intervention and entirely accidental presence of the Secret Service agent.

I am afraid the grave danger in this sort of thing, apart from its injustice, is that the German Government will adopt retaliatory measures. While the Government of the United States is not only not responsible for these things, but very zealously trying to prevent them, the German Government draws no fine distinctions.

3. La Follette Demands His Rights (1917)

Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin—undersized, pompadoured, and fiery—was one of the most eloquent reformers of his generation. Representing a state with a heavy concentration of German-Americans, he had spoken out vehemently against war with Germany and had voted against it. He and his five dissenting colleagues were pilloried in the press as traitors for voting their consciences. On October 6, 1917, La Follette rose and quoted (from the press) a charge to a federal grand jury in Texas by a district judge. The jurist reportedly had said that these six senators ought to be convicted of treason and shot. "I wish I could pay for the ammunition," he continued. "I would like to attend the execution, and if I were in the firing squad I would not want to be the marksman who had the blank shell." La

*Originally a hasty court-martial in the field, around a drum as a table.

[3] *Congressional Record,* 65th Cong., 1st sess. (October 6, 1917) pp. 7878–7879.

Follette then went on to present this classic defense of free speech. Why was free speech so severely threatened in this particular war?

But, sir, it is not alone Members of Congress that the war party in this country has sought to intimidate. The mandate seems to have gone forth to the sovereign people of this country that they must be silent while those things are being done by their Government which most vitally concern their well-being, their happiness, and their lives.

Today—for weeks past—honest and law-abiding citizens of this country are being terrorized and outraged in their rights by those sworn to uphold the laws and protect the rights of the people. I have in my possession numerous affidavits establishing the fact that people are being unlawfully arrested, thrown into jail, held incommunicado for days, only to be eventually discharged without ever having been taken into court, because they have committed no crime. Private residences are being invaded, loyal citizens of undoubted integrity and probity arrested, cross-examined, and the most sacred constitutional rights guaranteed to every American citizen are being violated.

It appears to be the purpose of those conducting this campaign to throw the country into a state of terror, to coerce public opinion, to stifle criticism, and suppress discussion of the great issues involved in this war.

I think all men recognize that in time of war the citizen must surrender some rights for the common good which he is entitled to enjoy in time of peace. *But, sir, the right to control their own Government, according to constitutional forms, is not one of the rights that the citizens of this country are called upon to surrender in time of war.*

Rather, in time of war, the citizen must be more alert to the preservation of his right to control his Government. He must be most watchful of the encroachment of the military upon the civil power. He must beware of those precedents in support of arbitrary action by administrative officials which, excused on the plea of necessity in wartime, become the fixed rule when the necessity has passed and normal conditions have been restored.

More than all, the citizen and his representative in Congress in time of war must maintain his right of free speech. More than in times of peace, it is necessary that the channels for free public discussion of governmental policies shall be open and unclogged.

I believe, Mr. President, that I am now touching upon the most important question in this country today—and that is the right of the citizens of this country and their representatives in Congress to discuss in an orderly way, frankly and publicly and without fear, from the platform and through the press, every important phase of this war; its causes, the manner in which it should be conducted, and the terms upon which peace should be made. . . .

I am contending for this right, because the exercise of it is necessary to the welfare, to the existence, of this Government, to the successful conduct of this war, and to a peace which shall be enduring and for the best interest of this country. . . .

Mr. President, our Government, above all others, is founded on the right of the people freely to discuss all matters pertaining to their Government, in war not less than in peace. . . . How can that popular will express itself between elections except by meetings, by speeches, by publications, by petitions, and by addresses to the representatives of the people?

For Services Rendered
German Kaiser hangs Iron Cross on Senator La Follette for speech opposing declaration of war. (Los Angeles Daily Times, 1917)

Any man who seeks to set a limit upon those rights, whether in war or peace, aims a blow at the most vital part of our Government. And then as the time for election approaches, and the official is called to account for his stewardship—not a day, not a week, not a month, before the election, but a year or more before it, if the people choose—they must have the right to the freest possible discussion of every question upon which their representative has acted, of the merits of every measure he has supported or opposed, of every vote he has cast and every speech that he has made. And before this treat fundamental right every other must, if necessary, give way, for in no other manner can representative government be preserved.

4. Chafee Upholds Free Speech (1919)

The socialists, many of whom were antiwar, ran afoul of the Espionage Act of 1917. Prominent among them was Rose Pastor Stokes, a Russian-born Jew who had worked in the United States as a cigarmaker and who became a prominent social

[4] *Harvard Law Review 32* (June 1919): 923–933, 965, 971–973.

worker and propagandist for socialism. Referring to U.S. soldiers, she remarked that they were "not fighting for democracy but for the protection and safeguarding of Morgan's millions." In a letter to the Kansas City Star *she wrote: "No government which is for the profiteers can also be for the people, and I am for the people, while the Government is for the profiteers." She was sentenced to ten years in prison, although a higher court later reversed the decision. President Wilson approved of her original conviction. Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, a prominent liberal, made the following comments on these espionage cases shortly after the war ended. How did he support his assumption that the suppression of free speech can be self-defeating and dangerous in the long run?*

Never in the history of our country, since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, has the meaning of free speech been the subject of such sharp controversy as to-day. Over two hundred prosecutions and other judicial proceedings during the war, involving speeches, newspaper articles, pamphlets, and books, have been followed since the armistice by a widespread legislative consideration of bills punishing the advocacy of extreme radicalism. . . .

The courts have treated opinions as statements of fact, and then condemned them as false because they differed from the President's speech or the resolution of Congress declaring war. They have made it impossible for an opponent of the war to write an article or even a letter in a newspaper of general circulation, because it will be read in some training camp where it might cause insubordination, or interfere with military success. He cannot address a large audience, because it is liable to include a few men in uniform; and some judges have held him punishable if it contains men between eighteen and forty-five; while Judge Van Valkenburgh, in *United States* v. *Rose Pastor Stokes,* would not even require that, because what is said to mothers, sisters, and sweethearts may lessen their enthusiasm for the war, and "our armies in the field and our navies upon the seas can operate and succeed only so far as they are supported and maintained by the folks at home." . . .

Although we have not gone so far as Great Britain in disregarding constitutional guarantees, we have gone much farther than in any other war, even in the Civil War, with the enemy at our gates. Undoubtedly some utterances had to be suppressed. We have passed through a period of danger, and have reasonably supposed the danger to be greater than it actually was, but the prosecutions in Great Britain during a similar period of peril in the French Revolution have not since been regarded with pride.

Action in proportion to the emergency was justified, but we have censored and punished speech which was very far from direct and dangerous interference with the conduct of the war. The chief responsibility for this must rest, not upon Congress, which was content for a long period with the moderate language of the Espionage Act of 1917, but upon the officials of the Department of Justice and the Post Office, who turned that statute into a drag-net for pacifists, and upon the judges who upheld and approved this distortion of law.

It may be questioned, too, how much has actually been gained. Men have been imprisoned, but their words have not ceased to spread. The poetry in *The Masses* was excluded from the mails only to be given a far wider circulation in two issues of the *Federal Reporter.* The mere publication of Mrs. Stokes' statement in the Kansas City *Star,* "I am for the people and the Government is for the profiteers," was considered

so dangerous to the morale of the training camps that she was sentenced to ten years in prison, and yet it was repeated by every important newspaper in the country during the trial. There is an unconscious irony in all suppression. . . .

Those who gave their lives for freedom would be the last to thank us for throwing aside so lightly the great traditions of our race. Not satisfied to have justice and almost all the people with our cause, we insisted on an artificial unanimity of opinion behind the war. Keen intellectual grasp of the President's aims by the nation at large was very difficult when the opponents of his idealism ranged unchecked, while the men who urged greater idealism went to prison. In our efforts to silence those who advocated peace without victory, we prevented at the very start that vigorous threshing out of fundamentals which might to-day have saved us from a victory without peace.

C. The Propaganda Front

1. Creel Spreads Fear Propaganda (c. 1918)

George Creel—a young, dynamic, but tactless journalist—headed the nation's great propaganda engine, the Committee on Public Information. He not only prepared documentary movies and unleashed tens of thousands of orators, but also issued some 75 million copies of pamphlets. He also employed a galaxy of distinguished historians and other scholars to prepare these propaganda booklets, many of them in paper covers of red, white, and blue. One title, How the War Came to America, *enjoyed a fantastic distribution of 7 million copies. Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, a Chaucer specialist at Stanford University, wrote the following highly imaginative account, inspired in part by Allied propaganda like the Bryce report. Distributed as a part of a pamphlet entitled* Why America Fights Germany, *it boasted a circulation of about 750,000 copies. To what emotions does it appeal most strongly?*

Now let us picture what a sudden invasion of the United States by these Germans would mean; sudden, because their settled way is always to attack suddenly.

First, they set themselves to capture New York City. While their fleet blockades the harbor and shells the city and the forts from far at sea, their troops land somewhere near and advance toward the city in order to cut its rail communications, starve it into surrender, and the plunder it.

One body of from 50,000 to 100,000 men lands, let us suppose, at Barnegat Bay, New Jersey, and advances without meeting resistance, for the brave but small American army is scattered elsewhere. They pass through Lakewood, a station on the Central Railroad of New Jersey. They first demand wine for the officers and beer for the men. Angered to find an American town does not contain large quantities of either, they pillage and burn the post office and most of the hotels and stores. Then they demand $1,000,000 from the residents. One feeble old woman tries to conceal $20 which she has been hoarding in her desk drawer; she is taken out and hanged (to save a

[1]J. S. P. Tatlock, *Why America Fights Germany,* War Information Series no. 15, Cantonment Edition (U.S. Committee on Public Information, March 1918), pp. 9–10.

cartridge). Some of the teachers in two district schools meet a fate which makes them envy her. The Catholic priest and Methodist minister are thrown into a pig-sty, while the German soldiers look on and laugh. Some of the officers quarter themselves in a handsome house on the edge of the town, insult the ladies of the family, and destroy and defile the contents of the house.

By this time some of the soldiers have managed to get drunk; one of them discharges his gun accidentally, the cry goes up that the residents are firing on the troops, and then hell breaks loose. Robbery, murder, and outrage run riot. Fifty leading citizens are lined up against the First National Bank Building, and shot. Most of the town and the beautiful pinewoods are burned, and then the troops move on to treat New Brunswick in the same way—if they get there.

This is not just a snappy story. It is not fancy. The general plan of campaign against America has been announced repeatedly by German military men. *And every horrible detail is just what the German troops have done in Belgium and France.*

2. Wilson Unveils His Fourteen Points (1918)

3. Roosevelt Blunts Wilson's Points (1918)

President Wilson's war-aims speeches were lofty and eloquent, but rather vague and long-winded. An American journalist in Russia suggested that he compress his views into crisp, placardlike paragraphs. This he did in his famed Fourteen Points address to Congress on January 8, 1918. By promising independence (self-determination) to minority groups under enemy rule, and by raising up hopes everywhere for a better tomorrow, the Fourteen Points undermined the foe's will to resist while simultaneously inspiring the Allies. George Creel's propaganda machine broadcast the Points in leaflet form throughout the world, while Allied rockets and shells showered them over enemy lines. German desertions multiplied. Form some judgment as to whether Wilson's aims were completely clear and consistent. Determine which ones would be most likely to weaken the resistance of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The frustrated Colonel Roosevelt fulminated against the Fourteen Points in the Kansas City Star. *Given that before 1917 he had been anti-Wilson, pro-tariff, anti-German, pro-Ally, and internationalist-minded, what are the most important inconsistencies in his position?*

Wilson's Points

I. Open convenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

[Wilson finally meant *secret* negotia-

Roosevelt's Complaints

The President has recently waged war on Haiti and San Domingo, and rendered democracy within these two small former republics not merely unsafe, but non-existent. He has kept all that he has done in the matter absolutely secret. If he means what he says,

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 65th Cong., 2d sess. (January 8, 1918), p. 691.

[3] Kansas City *Star,* October 30, 1918. By permission of the Kansas City *Star.* The full text may also be found in Ralph Stout, ed., *Roosevelt in the Kansas City "Star"* (1921), pp. 241–242, 243–246.

Wilson's Points

tions but *public* commitments. He had earlier laid himself open to criticism by landing the marines in Haiti and Santo Domingo in 1915 and 1916 to restore order.]

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action [of the League of Nations] for the enforcement of international covenants.

[Big-navy Britain, fearing to blunt her blockade weapon, refused to accept this point.]

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace, and associating themselves [in the League of Nations] for its maintenance.

[This meant, although not too clearly put, that the United States could still maintain tariffs but could not discriminate among fellow members of the League of Nations. Any commercial favors granted to one fellow member would automatically be extended to all.]

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

[This meant a force no larger than necessary to control domestic disorders and prevent foreign invasion.]

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all [wartime] colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that, in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with

Roosevelt's Complaints

he will at once announce what open convenant of peace he has openly arrived at with these two little republics, which he has deprived of their right of self-determination.

It makes no distinction between freeing the seas from murder, like that continually practiced by Germany, and freeing them from blockade of contraband merchandise, which is the practice of a right universally enjoyed by belligerents, and at this moment practiced by the United States. Either this proposal is meaningless, or it is a mischievous concession to Germany.

The third point promises free trade among all the nations, unless the words are designedly used to conceal President Wilson's true meaning. This would deny to our country the right to make a tariff to protect its citizens, and especially its workingmen, against Germany or China or any other country. Apparently this is desired on the ground that the incidental domestic disaster to this country will prevent other countries from feeling hostile to us. The supposition is foolish. England practiced free trade and yet Germany hated England particularly. . . .

Either this is language deliberately used to deceive, or else it means that we are to scrap our army and navy, and prevent riot by means of a national constabulary, like the state constabulary of New York or Pennsylvania.

Unless the language is deliberately used to deceive, this means that we are to restore to our brutal enemy the colonies taken by our allies while they were defending us from this enemy. The proposition is probably meaningless. If it is not, it is monstrous.

Wilson's Points

the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

[German colonies captured by Britain and Japan might be returned, if this course seemed "equitable."]

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory [inhabited by Russians], and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations, under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind. . . .

[Wilson had in mind having the German invader evacuate Russian territory, and helping the Russian Poles and other non-Russian nationalities to achieve self-determination. He would also lend a helping hand to the new Bolshevik government.]

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

[Germany, disregarding a neutrality treaty of 1839, had struck through Belgium at France in 1914. The war-minded Roosevelt at first approved this act as one of military necessity, but he soon changed his views. The word "re-

Roosevelt's Complaints

Point VI deals with Russia. It probably means nothing, but if it means anything, it provides that America shall share on equal terms with other nations, including Germany, Austria, and Turkey [the Central Powers], in giving Russia assistance. The whole proposition would not be particularly out of place in a college sophomore's exercise in rhetoric.

Point VII deals with Belgium and is entirely proper and commonplace.

Wilson's Points	Roosevelt's Complaints
stored" in Point VII implied that the Germans would be assessed an indemnity for the damage they had done.]	
VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all. [Wilson intended that Alsace-Lorraine, seized by Prussia [Germany] in 1871, should be returned to France.]	Point VIII deals with Alsace-Lorraine and is couched in language which betrays Mr. Wilson's besetting sin—his inability to speak in a straightforward manner. He may mean that Alsace and Lorraine must be restored to France, in which case he is right. He may mean that a plebiscite must be held, in which case he is playing Germany's evil game.
IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality. [Wilson would extend "self-determination" to nearby Italian peoples not under the Italian flag.]	Point IX deals with Italy, and is right.
X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development. [This point raised difficulties because of the quarreling minorities of the "succession states" that rose from the ruins of Austria-Hungary.]	Point X deals with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and is so foolish that even President Wilson has abandoned it. [Wilson later stressed independence rather than local autonomy.]
XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into. [This point was also invalidated by	Point XI proposes that we, together with other nations, including apparently Germany, Austria, and Hungary, shall guarantee justice in the Balkan Peninsula. As this would also guarantee our being from time to time engaged in war over matters in which we had no interest whatever, it is worth while inquiring whether President Wilson proposes that we wage these wars with the national constabulary to which he desired to reduce our armed forces.

Wilson's Points

the "succession states," including Yugoslavia, which embraced Serbia.]

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

[Wilson's ideal was self-determination for the Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, and other non-Turks in the Turkish empire, much of whose land became mandates of France and Britain under the League of Nations.]

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

[Poland was to be restored from the territory of Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, despite injustices to German and other minorities.]

XIV. A general association [League] of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right, we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the

Roosevelt's Complaints

Point XII proposes to perpetuate the infamy of Turkish rule in Europe, and as a sop to the conscience of humanity proposes to give the subject races autonomy, a slippery word which in a case like this is useful only for rhetorical purposes.

Point XIII proposes an independent Poland, which is right; and then proposes that we guarantee its integrity in the event of future war, which is preposterous unless we intend to become a military nation more fit for overseas warfare than Germany is at present.

In its essence Mr. Wilson's proposition for a League of Nations seems to be akin to the Holy Alliance of the nations of Europe a century ago, which worked such mischief that the Monroe Doctrine was called into being especially to combat it. If it is designed to do away with nationalism, it will work nothing but mischief. If it is devised in sane fashion as an addition to nationalism and as an addition to preparing our own strength

Wilson's Points

Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

Roosevelt's Complaints

for our own defense, it may do a small amount of good. But it will certainly accomplish nothing if more than a moderate amount is attempted, and probably the best first step would be to make the existing league of the Allies a going concern.

D. The Face of War

1. General Pershing Defines American Fighting Tactics (1917–1918)

Generals, it has often been said, have a habit of fighting the previous war—a maxim to which jut-jawed General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force, was no exception. Pershing had studied Civil War tactics at West Point in the late nineteenth century, and saw no reason why they should not be applied in France in the twentieth century. He expressed criticism bordering on contempt for the French and British fascination with fixed, entrenched warfare. Pershing insisted, therefore, that U.S. troops be trained in battle techniques different from those offered to European troops. This approach contributed to appallingly high U.S. casualty rates when the "doughboys" eventually entered combat. How does Pershing here defend his tactical preferences? What factors might have motivated him to adopt them?

The most important question that confronted us in the preparation of our forces of citizen soldiery for efficient service was training. Except for the Spanish-American War, nearly twenty years before, actual combat experience of the Regular Army had been limited to the independent action of minor commands in the Philippines and to two expeditions into Mexico, each with forces smaller than a modern American division. The World War involved the handling of masses where even a division was relatively a small unit. It was one thing to call one or two million men to the colors, and quite another thing to transform them into an organized, instructed army capable of meeting and holding its own in the battle against the best trained force in Europe with three years of actual war experience to its credit.

Few people can realize what a stupendous undertaking it was to teach these vast numbers their various duties when such a large percentage of them were ignorant of practically everything pertaining to the business of the soldier in war. First of all, most of the officer personnel available had little or no military experience, and had to be trained in the manifold duties of commanders. They had to learn the interior economy of their units—messing, housing, clothing, and, in general, caring for their men—as

[1]John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1931), vol. 1, pp. 150–154; vol. 2, p. 358.

well as methods of instruction and the art of leading them in battle. This great task was, of course, under the direction of the War Department. . . .

The British methods of teaching trench warfare appealed to me very strongly. They taught their men to be aggressive and undertook to perfect them in hand-to-hand fighting with bayonet, grenade and dagger. A certain amount of this kind of training was necessary to prepare the troops for trench warfare. Moreover it served to stimulate their morale by giving them confidence in their own personal prowess. Through the kindness of Sir Douglas Haig, we were fortunate early in our experience to have assigned to us Lieutenant General R. H. K. Butler and other officers of the British Army in addition to French officers to assist in this individual training. Later, several French and British officers also came to lecture at a number of our schools.

We found difficulty, however, in using these Allied instructors, in that the French and, to a large extent, the British, had practically settled down to the conviction that developments since 1914 had changed the principles of warfare. Both held that new conditions imposed by trench fighting had rendered previous conceptions of training more or less obsolete and that preparation for open warfare was no longer necessary. . . .

If the French doctrine had prevailed our instruction would have been limited to a brief period of training for trench fighting. A new army brought up entirely on such principles would have been seriously handicapped without the protection of the trenches. It would probably have lacked the aggressiveness to break through the enemy's lines and the knowledge of how to carry on thereafter. It was my opinion that the victory could not be won by the costly process of attrition, but it must be won by driving the enemy out into the open and engaging him in a war of movement. Instruction in this kind of warfare was based upon individual and group initiative, resourcefulness and tactical judgment, which were also of great advantage in trench warfare. Therefore, we took decided issue with the Allies and, without neglecting thorough preparation for trench fighting, undertook to train mainly for open combat, with the object from the start of vigorously forcing the offensive. . . .

For the purpose of impressing our own doctrine upon officers, a training program was issued which laid great stress on open warfare methods and offensive action. The following is a pertinent extract from my instructions on this point:

> The above methods to be employed must remain and become distinctly our own. All instruction must contemplate the assumption of a vigorous offensive. This purpose will be emphasized in every phase of training until it becomes a settled habit of thought.

Intimately connected with the question of training for open warfare was the matter of rifle practice. The earliest of my cablegrams on this subject was in August, in which it was urged that thorough instruction in rifle practice should be carried on at home because of the difficulty of giving it in France:

> Study here shows value and desirability of retaining our existing small arms target practice course. In view of great difficulty in securing ranges in France due to density of the population and cultivation recommend as far as practicable the complete course be given in the United States before troops embark. Special emphasis should be placed on rapid fire.

The armies on the Western Front in the recent battles that I had witnessed had all but given up the use of the rifle. Machine guns, grenades, Stokes mortars, and one-

pounders had become the main reliance of the average Allied soldier. These were all valuable weapons for specific purposes but they could not replace the combination of an efficient soldier and his rifle. Numerous instances were reported in the Allied armies of men chasing an individual enemy throwing grenades at him instead of using the rifle. Such was the effect of association that continuous effort was necessary to counteract this tendency among our own officers and men and inspire them with confidence in the efficacy of rifle fire. . . .

My view was that the rifle and bayonet still remained the essential weapons of the infantry, and my cables, stressing the fact that the basic principles of warfare had not changed, were sent in an endeavor to influence the courses of training at home. Unfortunately, however, no fixed policy of instruction in the various arms, under a single authority, was ever carried out there. Unresponsive to my advice, the inclination was to accept the views of French specialists and to limit training to the narrow field of trench warfare. Therefore, in large measure, the fundamentals so thoroughly taught at West Point for a century were more or less neglected. The responsibility for the failure at home to take positive action on my recommendations in such matters must fall upon the War Department General Staff.

There were other causes . . . that led to confusion and irregularity in training to such an extent that we were often compelled during the last stages of the war to send men into battle with little knowledge of warfare and sometimes with no rifle practice at all. . . .

[On September 5, 1918, Pershing issued the following instructions to his army, then preparing for its first major battle at St. Mihiel.]

Combat Instructions (Extract)

From a tactical point of view, the method of combat in trench warfare presents a marked contrast to that employed in open warfare, and the attempt by assaulting infantry to use trench warfare methods in an open warfare combat will be successful only at great cost. Trench warfare is marked by uniform formations, the regulation of space and time by higher commands down to the smallest details . . . fixed distances and intervals between units and individuals . . . little initiative. . . . Open warfare is marked by . . . irregularity of formations, comparatively little regulation of space and time by higher commanders, the greatest possible use of the infantry's own fire power to enable it to get forward, variable distances and intervals between units and individuals . . . brief orders and the greatest possible use of individual initiative by all troops engaged in the action. . . . The infantry commander must oppose machine guns by fire from his rifles, his automatics and his rifle grenades and must close with their crews under cover of this fire and of ground beyond their flanks. . . . The success of every unit from the platoon to the division must be exploited to the fullest extent. Where strong resistance is encountered, reënforcements must not be thrown in to make a frontal attack at this point, but must be pushed through gaps created by successful units, to attack these strong points in the flank or rear.

2. A "Doughboy" Describes the Fighting Front (1918)

Of the 2 million young American men who served in the American Expeditionary Force, about half saw combat. Many of these troops had been raised on heroic stories about grandfathers and uncles who had fought in the Civil War, and they

[2] From the diary of Eugene Kennedy. Courtesy of Eugene Kennedy Collection, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.

expected the war in France to provide the same kind of opportunities for glory that their forebears had found at Antietam and Shiloh, Bull Run and Fredericksburg. For the most part, they were bitterly disappointed when they discovered that modern warfare was a decidedly unheroic, dirty, impersonal, and bloody business. The following passages, taken from the battlefield diary of a thirty-one-year-old draftee from upstate New York who was assigned to an engineering company, vividly convey one soldier's reactions to his baptism of fire. What aspects of combat did he find most remarkable? How does his description of warfare fit with General Pershing's expectations about the role of the individual rifleman and the tactics of mobility and "open warfare"?

Thursday, September 12, 1918. Hiked through dark woods. No lights allowed, guided by holding on the pack of the man ahead. Stumbled through underbrush for about half mile into an open field where we waited in soaking rain until about 10:00 P.M. We then started on our hike to the St. Mihiel front, arriving on the crest of a hill at 1:00 A.M. I saw a sight which I shall never forget. It was the zero hour and in one instant the entire front as far as the eye could reach in either direction was a sheet of flame, while the heavy artillery made the earth quake. The barrage was so intense that for a time we could not make out whether the Americans or Germans were putting it over. After timing the interval between flash and report we knew that the heaviest artillery was less than a mile away and consequently it was ours. We waded through pools and mud across open lots into a woods on a hill and had to pitch tents in mud. Blankets all wet and we are soaked to the skin. Have carried full pack from 10:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M., without a rest. . . . Despite the cannonading I slept until 8:00 A.M. and awoke to find every discharge of 14-inch artillery shaking our tent like a leaf. Remarkable how we could sleep. No breakfast. . . . The doughboys had gone over the top at 5:00 A.M. and the French were shelling the back areas toward Metz. . . . Firing is incessant, so is rain. See an air battle just before turning in.

Friday, September 13, 1918. Called at 3:00 A.M. Struck tents and started to hike at 5:00 A.M. with full packs and a pick. Put on gas mask at alert position and hiked about five miles to St. Jean, where we unslung full packs and went on about four miles further with short packs and picks. Passed several batteries and saw many dead horses who gave out at start of push. Our doughboys are still shoving and "Jerry" is dropping so many shells on road into no man's land that we stayed back in field and made no effort to repair shell-torn road. Plenty of German prisoners being brought back. . . . Guns booming all the time.

Saturday, September 14, 1918. Hiked up to same road again with rifle, belt, helmet, gas-mask, and pick. . . . First time under shell fire. Major Judge's horse killed. Gibbs has a finger knocked off each hand [by a sniper's bullet] while burying some of our men killed in opening drive. Clothing, bandages, equipment of all sorts, dead horses and every kind of debris strewn all over. . . .

Tuesday, September 17, 1918. Rolled packs and hiked with them up to road. Worked near town that is reduced to heap of stone. Trenches are 20 feet deep and in some places 15 feet across. The wire entanglement is beyond description. Several traps left by Germans. Man in our division had his arm blown off picking up a crucifix.

[Along with thousands of other doughboys, Kennedy was soon shifted from the St. Mihiel engagement to the major American battleground a few miles to the north, in

the Argonne forest between the Meuse and Aire Rivers. Here he describes his role in this, the largest U.S. action of the war.]

Thursday, October 17, 1918. Struck tents at 8:00 A.M. and moved about four miles to Chatel. Pitched tents on a side hill so steep that we had to cut steps to ascend. Worked like hell to shovel out a spot to pitch tent on. Just across the valley in front of us about two hundred yards distant, there had occurred an explosion due to a mine planted by the "Bosche" [Germans] and set with a time fuse. It had blown two men (French), two horses, and the wagon into fragments. . . . Arriving on the scene we found Quinn ransacking the wagon. It was full of grub. We each loaded a burlap bag with cans of condensed milk, peas, lobster, salmon, and bread. I started back . . . when suddenly another mine exploded, the biggest I ever saw. Rocks and dirt flew sky high. Quinn was hit in the knee and had to go to hospital. . . . At 6:00 P.M. each of our four platoons left camp in units to go up front and throw three foot and one artillery bridge across the Aire River. On way to river we were heavily shelled and gassed. . . . We put a bridge across 75-foot span. . . . Third platoon men had to get into water and swim or stand in water to their necks. The toughest job we had so far.

Friday, October 18, 1918. Bright but cool. Men of third platoon who swam river are drying their clothes. . . . Waiting for night to work under cover of darkness. Started up front at 6:00 P.M. . . . Worked one half hour when "Jerry" shelled us so strong that we had to leave job. We could hear snipers' bullets sing past us and had to make our way back carefully along railroad track bank dodging shells every few steps. Gas so thick that masks had to be kept on, adding to the burden of carrying a rifle, pick, shovel, and hand saw. Had to run from one dug-out to another until it let up somewhat, when we made a break for road and hiked to camp about 3 kilometers, gas masks on most of the way, shells bursting both sides of road.

Monday, October 21, 1918. Fragment from shell struck mess-kit on my back. . . . Equipment, both American and German, thrown everywhere, especially Hun helmets and belts of machine gunners. . . . Went scouting . . . for narrow-gauge rails to replace the ones "Jerry" spoiled before evacuating. Negro engineers working on railroad same as at St. Mihiel, that's all they are good for. . . .

Friday, November 1, 1918. Started out at 4:00 A.M. The drive is on. Fritz is coming back at us. Machine guns cracking, flares and Verry lights, artillery from both sides. A real war and we are walking right into the zone, ducking shells all the way. The artillery is nerve racking and we don't know from which angle "Jerry" will fire next. Halted behind shelter of railroad track just outside of Grand Pre after being forced back off main road by shell fire. Trees splintered like toothpicks. Machine gunners on top of railroad bank. . . . "Jerry" drove Ewell and me into a two-by-four shell hole, snipers' bullets close.

Sunday, November 3, 1918. Many dead Germans along the road. One heap on a manure pile. . . . Devastation everywhere. Our barrage has rooted up the entire territory like a ploughed field. Dead horses galore, many of them have a hind quarter cut off—the Huns need food. Dead men here and there. The sight I enjoy better than a dead German is to see heaps of them. Rain again. Couldn't keep rain out of our faces and it was pouring hard. Got up at midnight and drove stakes to secure shelter-half over us, pulled our wet blankets out of mud and made the bed all over again. Slept like a log with all my equipment in the open. One hundred forty-two planes sighted in evening.

Sunday, November 10, 1918. First day off in over two months. . . . Took a bath and we were issued new underwear but the cooties [lice] got there first. . . . The papers show a picture of the Kaiser entitled "William the Lost," and stating that he had abdicated. Had a good dinner. Rumor at night that armistice was signed. Some fellows discharged their arms in the courtyard, but most of us were too well pleased with dry bunk to get up.

E. The Issue of Article X

1. The Text of Article X (1919)

Wilson regarded the League of Nations as the backbone of the Treaty of Versailles, and Article X of the League Covenant, which he had partly authored, as the heart of the League. He envisaged the members of the League constituting a kind of police force to prevent aggression. What weaknesses are contained in the wording of this article?

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

[All member nations were represented in the Assembly of the League of Nations; only the great powers (originally Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) were represented in the Council. The same general scheme was adopted by the United Nations in 1945.]

2. Editor Harvey Belittles Article X (1919)

The journalist George Harvey, who had launched a Wilson-for-President boom as early as 1906, ultimately became a venomous Wilson-hater. Founding Harvey's Weekly *in 1918 as a vehicle for his barbed irony, he consistently jeered at "The Fourteen Commandments." In this excerpt, is he right in his view that Article X is completely toothless?*

If Article X of the League Covenant means what Mr. Wilson says it means, then it means nothing. If it means nothing, then its proper destination is the wastebasket. It should be stricken out *in toto* as so much sheer surplusage.

The first sentence of the Article provides that "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territory and existing political independence of all members of the League." The second sentence provides that the League Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation involved in the first sentence shall be fulfilled.

Mr. Wilson's interpretation of this second sentence, as presented in his message

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[1] *Senate Executive Documents,* 67th Cong., 4th sess. (1923), vol. 8, no. 348, p. 3339.

[2] *Harvey's Weekly,* August 9, 1919, pp. 6–7. This short-lived journal was published between 1918 and 1921.

transmitting the Franco-American alliance treaty,* is that after the League Council's advice has been duly given, the League members will do precisely as they please about following it. In the first sentence, the members of the League solemnly agree to respect and protect each other as against external aggression. In the second sentence—according to Mr. Wilson's interpretation—a League member will act upon the League Council's advice in a given aggression case "only if its own judgment justifies such action." In other words, the second sentence of the Article completely cancels the first sentece, leaving zero as the remaining total.

Mr. Hughes [Republican nominee in 1916] said of Article X that it was an "illusory engagement." Mr. Wilson goes Mr. Hughes one better. He says, in substance, that it is no engagement at all, illusory or otherwise. The League Council may advise until it is black in the face, and the League members may go serenely on their respective ways without giving the slightest heed to this advice. And both League members and League Council will equally have done their full duty under Article X.

If Article X be interpreted to mean anything, that meaning necessarily is that we engage to send our armed forces wherever and whenever a super-government of foreigners sitting in Switzerland orders us to send them. If it be interpreted as Mr. Wilson interprets it, the foreign supergovernment's powers extend only to the giving of advice which we agree to heed or ignore as our judgment dictates. One interpretation is an insult to our self-respect as a nation. The other reduces the whole of Article X to a vacuum.

The way to treat Article X is to strike it out.

3. Wilson Testifies for Article X (1919)

The already ominous mood of the Senate had grown uglier when Wilson conspicuously snubbed that body in framing the peace. The Republican majority was led by the aristocratic Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, who was also chairman of the potent Committee on Foreign Relations. He was determined to Republicanize and Americanize the pact by adding reservations that would adequately safeguard U.S. interests. To avert such a watering down, Wilson met with the entire Foreign Relations Committee at the White House on August 19, 1919, and underwent about three and a half hours of grilling. Much of the discussion revolved about Article X. How persuasive is Wilson's defense?

Article X is in no respect of doubtful meaning, when read in the light of the Covenant as a whole. The Council of the League can only "advise upon" the means by which the obligations of that great article are to be given effect to. Unless the United States is a party to the policy or action in question, her own affirmative vote in the Council is necessary before any advice can be given, for a unanimous vote of the Council is required. If she is a party, the trouble is hers anyhow. And the unanimous vote of the Council is only advice in any case. Each Government is free to reject it if it pleases.

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*This alliance, signed by Wilson at Paris, was designed to defend France against future German aggression. The Senate pigeonholed it.

[3] *Senate Documents,* no. 76, 66th Cong., 1st sess. (August 19, 1919), vol. 13, pp. 6, 19.

Nothing could have been made more clear to the [Paris] conference than the right of our Congress under our Constitution to exercise its independent judgment in all matters of peace and war. No attempt was made to question or limit that right.

The United States will, indeed, undertake under Article X to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League," and that engagement constitutes a very grave and solemn moral obligation. But it is a moral, not a legal, obligation, and leaves our Congress absolutely free to put its own interpretation upon it in all cases that call for action. It is binding in conscience only, not in law.

Article X seems to me to constitute the very backbone of the whole Covenant. Without it the League would be hardly more than an influential debating society. . . .

Senator [Warren G.] Harding. Right there, Mr. President, if there is nothing more than a moral obligation on the part of any member of the League, what avail Articles X and XI?

The President. Why, Senator, it is surprising that the question should be asked. If we undertake an obligation we are bound in the most solemn way to carry it out. . . . There is a national good conscience in such a matter. . . .

When I speak of a legal obligation, I mean one that specifically binds you to do a particular thing under certain sanctions. That is a legal obligation. Now a moral obligation is of course superior to a legal obligation, and, if I may say so, has a greater binding force. . . .

[Never too respectful of the "bungalow-minded" members of the Senate, Wilson remarked several days later that Senator Harding, destined to be his successor, "had a disturbingly dull mind, and that it seemed impossible to get any explanation to lodge in it."]

4. The Lodge-Hitchcock Reservations (1919)

Wilson finally agreed to accept mildly interpretative Senate reservations that the other powers would not have to approve. He balked, however, at the more restrictive terms of the fourteen Lodge reservations. These were made a part of the resolution of ratification, and would require the assent of three of the four other major powers (Britain, France, Italy, Japan). To Wilson, such a course was unmanly and humiliating; besides, he detested Senator Lodge. He insisted that the Republican Lodge reservations, notably the one on Article X, devitalized the entire treaty. In the following, on the left, appears the Lodge reservation to Article X, which Wilson resentfully rejected. On the right appears the Democratic interpretative reservation, which Senator Hitchcock (the Senate minority leader) had drafted after consulting Wilson. This version Wilson was willing to accept. What are the main differences between the two versions? Are those differences substantial enough to justify Wilson's refusal to accept the Lodge reservation?

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[4]Quoted in T. A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), pp. 388, 393–394. The Hitchcock reservation follows almost verbatim a reservation that Wilson had himself secretly drafted in September, 1919, and on which Hitchcock had based his. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

Lodge Reservation to Article X (November, 1919)

The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

Hitchcock Reservation to Article X (November, 1919)

That the advice mentioned in Article X of the covenant of the League which the Council may give to the member nations as to the employment of their naval and military forces is merely advice which each member nation is free to accept or reject according to the conscience and judgment of its then existing Government, and in the United States this advice can only be accepted by action of the Congress at the time in being, Congress alone under the Constitution of the United States having the power to declare war.

F. The Defeat of the Treaty

1. Mrs. Wilson as Assistant President (1919)

Rather than knuckle under to Lodge, a weary Wilson spurned the advice of doctors and embarked on a spectacular speechmaking appeal to the country. He journeyed as far west as the Pacific Coast and, on the return trip, collapsed after delivering an emotional speech at Pueblo, Colorado. Shortly thereafter he suffered a stroke that paralyzed the left side of his body and left him bedridden for many weeks. He did not meet with his cabinet for more than seven months. Here his devoted wife tells how the government was run. Should Wilson have resigned? Were the interests of Wilson as an individual put above those of the country? To what extent was Mrs. Wilson actually president of the United States?

Once my husband was out of immediate danger, the burning question was how Mr. Wilson might best serve the country, preserve his own life, and, if possible, recover. Many people, among them some I had counted as friends, have written of my overwhelming ambition to act as President; of my exclusion of all advice, and so forth. I am trying here to write as though I had taken the oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—so help me God.

I asked the doctors to be frank with me; that I must know what the outcome would probably be, so as to be honest with the people. They all said that, as the brain

[1] Edith B. Wilson, *My Memoir* (1939), pp. 288–290. Copyright 1938, 1939 by Edith Bolling Wilson; reprinted by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

was as clear as ever, with the progress made in the past few days there was every reason to think recovery possible. Dr. Dercum told me of the history of Pasteur, who had been stricken exactly in this way, but who recovered and did his most brilliant intellectual work afterwards. He sent me a copy of a remarkable book, *The Life of Pasteur*.

But recovery could not be hoped for, they said, unless the President were released from every disturbing problem during these days of Nature's effort to repair the damage done.

"How can that be," I asked the doctors, "when everything that comes to an Executive is a problem? How can I protect him from problems when the country looks to the President as the leader?"

Dr. Dercum leaned towards me and said: "Madam, it is a grave situation, but I think you can solve it. Have everything come to you: weigh the importance of each matter, and see if it is possible by consultations with the respective heads of the Departments to solve them without the guidance of your husband. In this way you can save him a great deal. But always keep in mind that every time you take him a new anxiety or problem to excite him, you are turning a knife in an open wound. His nerves are crying out for rest, and any excitement is torture to him."

"Then," I said, "had he better not resign, let Mr. [Vice-President] Marshall succeed to the Presidency, and he himself get that complete rest that is so vital to his life?"

"No," the Doctor said, "not if you feel equal to what I suggested. For Mr. Wilson to resign would have a bad effect on the country, and a serious effect on our patient. He has staked his life and made his promise to the world to do all in his power to get the Treaty ratified and make the League of Nations complete. If he resigns, the greatest incentive to recovery is gone; and as his mind is clear as crystal, he can still do more with even a maimed body than anyone else. He has the utmost confidence in you. Dr. Grayson [Wilson's personal physician] tells me he has always discussed public affairs with you; so you will not come to them uninformed."

So began my stewardship. I studied every paper, sent from the different Secretaries or Senators, and tried to digest and present in tabloid form the things that, despite my vigilance, had to go to the President. I, myself, never made a single decision regarding the disposition of public affairs. The only decision that was mine was what was important and what was not, and the *very* important decision of when to present matters to my husband.

He asked thousands of questions, and insisted upon knowing everything, particularly about the Treaty. He would dictate notes to me to send to Senator Hitchcock, who was leading the fight for the Treaty in the Senate. Or he would tell me what Senators to send for, and what suggestions he had to make to them. These directions I made notes of, so in transmitting his views, I should make no mistake; and I would read them to him before going to the interviews.

This method of handling interviews was another suggestion of the doctors. It is always an excitement for one who is ill to see people. The physicians said that if I could convey the messages of Cabinet members and others to the President, he would escape the nervous drain audiences with these officials would entail. Even the necessary little courteous personal conversations that go with an official interview would consume the President's strength.

These instructions from the medical men were far from easy to carry out. Picture

the situation when my husband was stricken: his tour a success; public sentiment which had been worked upon incessantly by the enemies of the League once more responding to Mr. Wilson's logic; the initiative again in the hands of friends of the Treaty; Mr. Hitckcock and the other pro-Treaty Senators eager to push their advantage. And then—the President laid low, ruled out of the fight which he would have continued though he knew it would cost him his life.

Upon all sides I was literally besieged by those who "must" see the President. But I carried out the directions of the doctors—and my heart was in it. Woodrow Wilson was first my beloved husband whose life I was trying to save, fighting with my back to the wall—after that he was the President of the United States.

2. The Aborted Lodge Compromise (1919)

Colonel House, Wilson's onetime intimate adviser, had likewise fallen ill and was confined to his bed in New York. He turned to Stephen Bonsal, a distinguished newspaper correspondent who had been attached to the U.S. peace mission in Paris. Bonsal was instructed to go to Washington, confer with Lodge, and ascertain the senator's minimum terms for compromise. The meeting took place late in October 1919, and on November 16 Bonsal recorded the following account of the conference. In what respects does this account qualify the traditional concept of Lodge as a vindictive and uncompromising former Harvard student who was locking horns with the former professor from Princeton?

The Senator and I went over the [League] Covenant, Article by Article. Here are some of the details. In our final session there was an official copy of the Treaty on the library table, also one of the so-called Lodge Reservations before the Senate but, so far as I can remember, we did not once refer to them. It was on the printed copy of the Covenant that I brought with me that the Senator made the changes and inserted the interlineations which, if accepted, he thought would smooth the way to ratification.

The changes ran to about forty words, the "inserts" to about fifty. It seemed to me they were more concerned with verbiage than with the object and the intent of the instrument. In my judgment, they were complementary to, rather than limiting, any substantial purpose of the Covenant. In this they differed sharply from the Reservations Lodge had introduced into the Senate and which are now blocking the path to ratification.

The Senator, frankly and repeatedly, stated that his interest, or, as he put it several times, his anxiety, centered around Article X, which the President often refers to as the "heart of the Covenant," and his suggestion, indeed his demand, was to the effect that none of the obligations or comitments incurred under this provision should be undertaken without the approval of the Senate and the concurrence of the House.

When Lodge had finished what he had to say, I expressed my pleasure at the helpful collaboration of the chairman of the Committee, and with reason, I think. What he asked for now was decidedly milder than the reservations before the Senate, but

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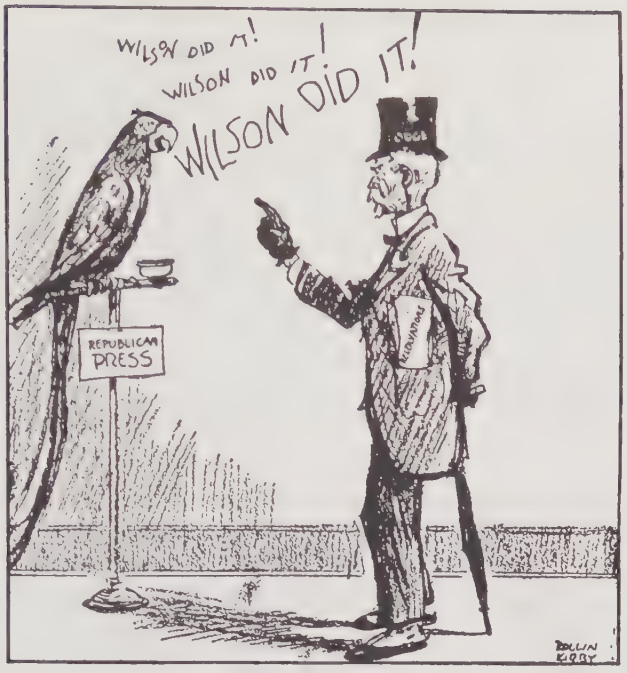
[2]Excerpt from *Unfinished Business* by Stephen Bonsal. Copyright 1944 by Stephen Bonsal. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday and Company, Inc.



Teaching Him What to Say
Democratic cartoon stressing Lodge's partisan obstructionism. The Republicans emphasized Wilson's uncompromising stubbornness. (New York World, 1920)

there was, I ventured to point out, one drawback to any change, even if merely of verbiage, because, in this case, the document would have to be referred back to all the co-signers of the Covenant, and this might open the gates to other changes and would certainly result in delay.

I also ventured to say that the clarification of Article X which he urged was implicit in the Article itself. I argued "it goes without saying," for a variety of obvious reasons, that the sanction of the Senate and the approval of the House, which alone can furnish the money, would have to be forthcoming before aggressive or even defensive action against an aggressor nation could be undertaken.

"If it goes without saying," commented the Senator somewhat tartly, "there is no harm in saying it—and much advantage."

Good-naturedly the Senator now chaffed me about the expression I had used, "it goes without saying," which he thought was a "barbarism." He then went on to express his opinion of the language in which the world charter was drawn, and it was a poor one.

"As an English production it does not rank high." Then, more in chaff than in earnest, he said: "It might get by at Princeton but certainly not at Harvard."

[With high hopes, Colonel House dispatched the new Lodge concessions to the White House. There was no reply, no acknowledgment. Perhaps Mrs. Wilson thought the memorandum unimportant—or too important. Wilson might be upset and suffer a relapse. Or Wilson may have decided merely to treat Lodge's proffered hand with the contempt that he felt for the senator. Rebuffed and perhaps humiliated, Lodge now fought even more adamantly for his Fourteen Reservations.]

3. Wilson Defeats Lodge's Reservations (1919)

The debate in the Senate ended in November 1919, and Lodge was ready for a vote on the Treaty of Versailles with his Fourteen Reservations attached. In general, these reaffirmed the United States' traditional or constitutional safeguards. But Wilson believed that if the odious Lodge reservations were voted down, the treaty would then be approved without "crippling" reservations. Yet the Democrats, now a minority, could not muster a simple majority, much less the two-thirds vote needed to approve a treaty. The naturally stubborn Wilson, shielded from disagreeable realities by his anxious wife, believed that the great body of public opinion was behind him and would prevail. He evidently had not been told, or would not believe, that public opinion was shifting around in favor of reservations. When the Democratic Senator Hitchcock suggested compromise, Wilson sternly replied, "Let Lodge compromise." Mrs. Wilson again tells the story. How does she describe the president's basic position?

All this time the fight for the reservations to the Covenant of the League was being pressed in the Senate. Deprived of Executive leadership because of the illness of my husband, friends of the Treaty were on the defensive. The ground gained on the Western tour had been gradually lost until things were worse than when he started. Friends, including such a valued and persuasive friend as Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, begged Mr. Wilson to accept a compromise, saying "half a loaf is better than no bread." I cannot be unsympathetic with them, for in a moment of weakness I did the same. In my anxiety for the one I loved best in the world, the long-drawn-out fight was eating into my very soul, and I felt nothing mattered but to get the Treaty ratified, even with those reservations.

On November 19th the Senate was to vote on the reservations. Senator Hitchcock came to tell me that unless the Administration forces accepted them, the Treaty would be beaten—the struggle having narrowed down to a personal fight against the President by Lodge and his supporters. In desperation I went to my husband. "For my sake," I said, "won't you accept these reservations and get this awful thing settled?"

He turned his head on the pillow and stretching out his hand to take mine answered in a voice I shall never forget: "Little girl, don't you desert me; that I cannot stand. Can't you see that I have no moral right to accept any change in a paper I have signed without giving to every other signatory, even the Germans, the right to do the same thing? It is not I that will not accept; it is the Nation's honor that is at stake."

His eyes looked luminous as he spoke, and I knew that he was right. He went on quietly: "Better a thousand times to go down fighting than to dip your colours to dishonorable compromise."

I felt like one of his betrayers to have ever doubted. Rejoining Senator Hitchcock outside, I told him that for the first time I had seen the thing clearly and I would never ask my husband again to do what would be manifestly dishonorable. When I went back to the President's room, he dictated a letter to Senator Hitchcock, saying: "In my opinion the resolution in that form [embodying the reservations] does not provide for

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[3] Edith B. Wilson, *My Memoir* (1939), pp. 296–297. Copyright 1938, 1939 by Edith Bolling Wilson; reprinted by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

ratification but rather for nullification of the Treaty. . . . I trust that all true friends of the Treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution."

That same day the Senate voted. The Administration forces, voting against ratification *with* the Lodge reservations, defeated it. The vote was then on the ratification of the Treaty without reservations—the Treaty as Mr. Wilson had brought it from France. The result was defeat.

When the word came from the Capitol, I felt I could not bear it and that the shock might be serious for my husband. I went to his bedside and told him the fatal news. For a few moments he was silent, and then he said: "All the more reason I must get well and try again to bring this country to a sense of its great opportunity and greater responsibility."

4. Lodge Blames Wilson (1919)

The crucial vote had come in the Senate on November 19, 1919, when the treaty with the Lodge reservations commanded only 39 yeas to 55 nays. The bulk of the Democrats, heeding Wilson's plea, voted against it. The vote for the treaty without any reservations was 38 yeas to 53 nays. The bulk of the Republicans voted against it. Lodge wrote in bitterness as follows to his friend, former Secretary of State Root. Was he correct in his assessment of the blame?

If Wilson had not written his letter to the Democratic caucus, calling on them to kill the treaty rather than accept the reservations, the treaty would have been ratified on the 19th of November. There would have been enough Democrats voting with us to have done it. It was killed by Wilson. He has been the marplot from the beginning. All the delays and all the troubles have been made by him. . . . We have worked for more than two months over those reservations, and they represent an amount of labor and modification and concession that it would take me a long time to explain to you. He can have the treaty ratified at any moment if he will accept the reservations, and if he declines to do so we are not in the least afraid to meet him at the polls on that issue.

[A shocked public forced the Senate to reconsider the treaty, which now emerged with fifteen revamped Lodge reservations tacked on. Wilson, refusing to budge an inch from his previous position, sent another stern letter to the Democrats in the Senate urging them to vote down the odious package. Lodge, no less stubborn, made it clear that the Senate would have to gag down the treaty with his reservations or there would be no treaty. Faced with naked realities, twenty-one Democrats deserted Wilson and supported ratification. The final vote, on March 19, 1920, was 49 yeas to 35 nays, or 7 votes short of the necessary two-thirds. A total of 23 loyal Democrats voted "nay." Senator Ashurst of Arizona, a "disloyal" Democrat, declared bitterly, "As a friend of the President, as one who has loyally followed him, I solemnly declare to him this morning: If you want to kill your own child because the Senate straightens out its crooked limbs, you must take the responsibility and accept the verdict of history" (Congressional Record, *66th Cong., 2d sess. (March 19, 1920), p. 4164).]*

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[4]J. A. Garraty, *Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), p. 379. By permission of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Thought Provokers

1. To what extent were Wilson's own policies to blame for the United States' entry into the war? Could—or should—the confrontation with Germany have been avoided?
2. Why was there more antienemy hysteria in the United States in 1917–1918 than during World War II, when the nation was in the graver danger? Why did conscientious objectors fare so badly? Why did the government mount such a vigorous propaganda effort?
3. What were Wilson's purposes in announcing the Fourteen Points? Why did the announcement come so late in the war (in January 1918, nine months after U.S. entry)?
4. Were the doughboys well prepared for the war they found in France? What was most surprising about the conditions they encountered?
5. Would the world have been different if the United States had accepted Article X and signed the Treaty of Versailles? In the last analysis, who was more responsible for keeping the United States out of the League of Nations, Wilson or Lodge?

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American Life in the Roaring Twenties

You are all a lost generation.
Attributed by Ernest Hemingway to Gertrude Stein, 1926

Prologue: Disappointed at the results of their intervention in the European war, Americans turned inward in the postwar decade. They repudiated all things allegedly "foreign," including radical political ideas and, especially, immigrants. The witch-hunting, frenzied "red scare" that rocked the country in the immediate postwar months was capped by the arrest and eventual execution of the Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. A revived Ku Klux Klan vented its hatred on Catholic and Jewish newcomers, as well as on blacks. Three centuries of virtually unrestricted immigration to the United States came to a halt with the passage of the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924. The prohibition "experiment" divided "wets" from "drys." In religion, fundamentalists warred against modernists, most famously in the Scopes "monkey trial" in Tennessee. "Flappers" flamboyantly flaunted the new freedom of young women, one of whose champions was Margaret Sanger, pioneer of the birth-control movement. Meanwhile, a high-mass-consumption economy began to flower fully, typified by the booming automobile industry and by the emergence of advertising and the huge entertainment industries of radio and the movies. A literary renaissance blossomed, led by F. Scott Fitzgerald, William Faulkner, Sherwood Anderson, Eugene O'Neill, Sinclair Lewis, and Ernest Hemingway. Many of these writers sharply criticized the materialist culture of the decade, symbolized by rampant speculation on the stock market, which crashed in 1929.

A. The Revival of Antiforeignism

1. William A. White Condemns Deportations (1922)

Russian Bolshevism inspired a wave of hysteria, which swept the United States after World War I and continued into 1920–1921. Strikes, bomb explosions, and other acts of violence were branded the work of alien "reds," scores of whom were rounded up and deported. In 1919 a total of 249 undesirables were loaded onto a ship known as the Soviet ark and bundled off to the Russian "paradise." Guy Empey, who applauded

[1] Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette*, January 8, 1920. By permission of the Emporia *Gazette*.

the "deportation delirium," wrote: "My motto for the Reds is S.O.S.—ship or shoot. I believe we should place them all on a ship of stone, with sails of lead, and that their first stopping place should be hell." By early 1920 newspaper editor William Allen White was calling for sanity. In this excerpt, does he call for absolute freedom of speech? What does he think is the greatest harm done by the indiscriminate persecution of "radicals"?

The Attorney General seems to be seeing red. He is rounding up every manner of radical in the country; every man who hopes for a better world is in danger of deportation by the Attorney General. The whole business is un-American. There are certain rules fundamental which should govern in the treason cases.

First, it should be agreed that a man should believe what he chooses.

Second, it should be agreed that when he preaches violence he is disturbing the peace and should be put in jail. Whether he preaches violence in politics, business, or religion, whether he advocates murder and arson and pillage for gain or for political ends, he is violating the common law and should be squelched—jailed until he is willing to quit advocating force in a democracy.

Third, he should be allowed to say what he pleases so long as he advocates legal constitutional methods of procedure. Just because a man does not believe this government is good is no reason why he should be deported.

Abraham Lincoln did not believe this government was all right seventy-five years ago. He advocated changes, but he advocated constitutional means, and he had a war with those who advocated force to maintain the government as it was.

Ten years ago [Theodore] Roosevelt advocated great changes in our American life—in our Constitution, in our social and economic life. Most of the changes he advocated have been made, but they were made in the regular legal way. He preached no force. And if a man desires to preach any doctrine under the shining sun, and to advocate the realization of his vision by lawful, orderly, constitutional means—let him alone. If he is Socialist, anarchist, or Mormon, and merely preaches his creed and does not preach violence, he can do no harm. For the folly of his doctrine will be its answer.

The deporation business is going to make martyrs of a lot of idiots whose cause is not worth it.

2. Vanzetti Condemns Judge Thayer (1927)

The most notorious case associated with the red scare involved Nicola Sacco, a shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler. They were convicted of the 1920 murder of a paymaster and his guard at South Braintree, Massachusetts. When arrested, both men were carrying revolvers and both told numerous lies. Moreover, they were both aliens (Italians), atheists, conscientious objectors ("draft dodgers"), and radicals. Their conviction by a jury in the anti-red atmosphere of the time, despite serious flaws in the evidence, raised grave doubts about the fairness of the trial and the

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[2] *The Sacco-Vanzetti Case; Transcript of the Record of the Trial . . . and Subsequent Proceedings, 1920–27* (5 vols.) (New York, 1928–1929), pp. 4898–4899, 4904.

presiding judge, Webster Thayer. Many critics believed that the accused had been found guilty of radicalism rather than murder—that they were martyrs in the "class struggle." Numerous demonstrations in their favor were staged by radical groups in foreign countries. After six years of fruitless appeal, the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti was upheld, and they were condemned to death in the electric chair. Vanzetti's defiant words to Judge Thayer upon being sentenced are classic. Why, in his view, was he being executed?

You see, it is seven years that we are in jail. What we have suffered during these seven years no human tongue can say; and yet you see me before you, not trembling, you see me looking you in your eyes straight, not blushing, nor changing color, not ashamed or in fear.

Eugene Debs [the Socialist] say that not even a dog—something like that—not even a dog that kill the chickens would have been found guilty by American jury with the evidence that the Commonwealth have produced against us. I say that not even a leprous dog would have his appeal refused two times by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts—not even a leprous dog. . . .

We have proved that there could not have been another Judge on the face of the earth more prejudiced and more cruel than you [Thayer] have been against us. We have proven that. Still they refuse the new trial. We know, and you know in your heart, that you have been against us from the very beginning, before you see us. Before you see us you already know that we were radicals, that we were underdogs, that we were the enemy of the institution that you can believe in good faith in their goodness—I don't want to condemn that—and that it was easy on the time of the first trial to get a verdict of guiltiness.

We know that you have spoke yourself and have spoke your hostility against us, and your despisement against us with friends of yours on the trian, at the University Club of Boston, on the Golf Club of Worcester, Massachusetts. I am sure that if the people who know all what you say against us would have the civil courage to take the stand, maybe your Honor—I am sorry to say this because you are an old man, and I have an old father—but maybe you would be beside us in good justice at this time. . . .

This is what I say: I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. But my conviction is that I have suffered for things that I am guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already.

[A later investigation, using ballistic tests and other evidence, concluded that Vanzetti probably was innocent, but that Sacco may have been guilty. See Francis Russell, "Sacco Guilty, Vanzetti Innocent?" in American Heritage 13 *(June 1962): 5–9, 107–111; also the same author's* Tragedy in Dedham *(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962)].*

3. Lippmann Pleads for Sacco and Vanzetti (1927)

Four days before the execution, which was scheduled for August 23, 1927, the militant New York World *ran a full-page editorial, written by its chief editorial writer, pundit Walter Lippmann, pleading for a stay of execution. On what grounds did Lippmann base his appeal?*

We recognize perfectly well that no government can with self-respect yield to the clamor of ignorance and sentimentality and partisanship. We realize perfectly well how much more difficult it is for the Governor to commute these sentences in the face of organized threats and of sporadic outrages. It will take greatness of mind and heart for the Governor and his Council to choose the wiser course. . . .

If Governor Fuller commutes these sentences, the Communists and Anarchists will shout that they coerced him. They will make the most of it for a day, a week, a month. The extremists on the other side will call him a weakling, and sneer. They will make the most of it for a day, a week, a month. But in the meantime moderate and disinterested opinion, which is never very talkative, will mobilize behind him and will recognize that he did a wise and a brave thing. . . .

Therefore we plead with the Governor to see this matter in the light, not of to-day and to-morrow, but of years to come. We plead with him to stay the execution because it will defeat the only purpose for which the death penalty can be exacted. We plead with him to remember that, however certain he may be in his own mind that the two men are guilty, no such certainty exists in the minds of his fellow-citizens. . . .

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is clouded and obscure. It is full of doubt. The fairness of the trial raises doubt. The evidence raises doubt. The inadequate review of the evidence raises doubt. The Governor's inquiry has not appeased these doubts. The report of his Advisory Committee has not settled these doubts. Everywhere there is doubt so deep, so pervasive, so unsettling, that it cannot be denied and it cannot be ignored. No man, we submit, should be put to death where so much doubt exists.

The real solution of this case would be a new trial before a new judge under new conditions. Fervently we hope that the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts will decide that under the law such a new trial can be held. But if it does not, then to the Governor, to his Council, and to the friends of justice in Massachusetts we make this plea:

Stay the execution. Wait. The honor of an American Commonwealth is in your hands. Listen, and do not put an irrevocable end upon a case that is so full of doubt. It is human to err, and it is possible in the sight of God that the whole truth is not yet known. [Emphasis in original.]

[As the condemned men were being prepared for execution, mobs stoned U.S. embassies in European and South American capitals, while aroused workers went on strike in Italy, France, and the United States. As Sacco was strapped to the electric chair, he cried out in Italian, "Long live anarchy!" Some five months earlier a reporter for the New York World *had visited Vanzetti in his cell and recorded the following remarks by the prisoner, which were published in the* World *on May 13, 1927, and which have become famous:*

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[3] New York *World,* August 19, 1927. A longer extract appears in R. P. Weeks, ed., *Commonwealth vs. Sacco and Vanzetti* (1958), pp. 240–246.

"What have you got to do with it!"

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case *This celebrated case excited strong political passions. In this brutally critical cartoon, the fates of Sacco and Vanzetti are attributed to the lingering legacy of intolerance that allegedly derived from the Massachusetts Puritan heritage. (Culver Pictures)*

"If it had been for these thing, I might have live out my life, talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for joostice, for man's onderstanding of man, as now we do by an accident.

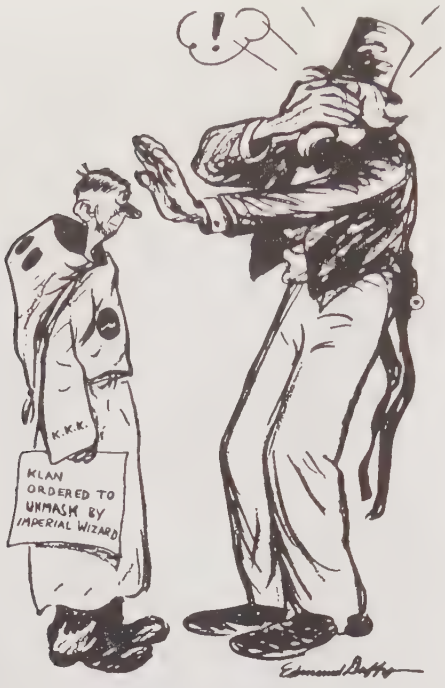
"Our word—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belong to us—that agony is our triumph!"]

B. The Reconstituted Ku Klux Klan

1. Tar-Bucket Terror in Texas (1921)

The hysterical atmosphere of the red scare was also partly responsible for the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. The bed sheets, hoods, and lashes were old, but the principles, aside from hatred of blacks, were new. The revamped Klan was antiforeign, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, and anticommunist. It professed to uphold

[1] Houston *Chronicle*, quoted in *Literary Digest 70* (August 27, 1921): 12.



"Put It on Again!"
The highest type of citizen did not wear bed sheets. (Baltimore Sun, 1928)

Christianity, the Bible, prohibition, clean movies, the law, the Constitution, the public schools, the home, the marriage vows. It undertook to persuade unchaste people, especially women, to mend their ways by giving them a dose of the lash and a coat of tar and feathers. The press reported in 1921 that a black bellboy had been branded on the forehead with the letters KKK, that in Florida an Episcopal archdeacon had been whipped, tarred, and feathered; and that there had been forty-three tar-bucket parties in Texas in six months. The Houston Chronicle *here addresses a protest to the Klan members. Does it register any sympathy for the Klan? What does it see as the Klan's greatest outrages?*

Boys, you'd better disband. You'd better take your sheets, your banners, your masks, your regalia, and make one fine bonfire.

Without pausing to argue over the objects you have in mind, it is sufficient to say that your methods are hopelessly wrong. Every tradition of social progress is against them. They are opposed to every principle on which this Government is founded. They are out of keeping with civilized life.

You seem to forget that the chief advantage of democracy is to let in the daylight, to prevent secret punishment, to insure a fair hearing for every person, to make impossible that kind of tyranny which can only flourish in the dark.

The newspapers of last Sunday were disgraced with the account of four illegal, unnecessary, and wholly ineffectual outrages. Without assuming that your organization was directly responsible for any or all of them, it was, in large measure, indirectly responsible. Your organization has made the thought of secretly organized violence fashionable.

It matters not who can get into your organization or who is kept out; any group of men can ape your disguise, your methods, and your practices. If outrages occur for which you are not accountable—and they will—you have no way of clearing yourselves, except by throwing off your disguise and invoking that publicity you have sought to deny. Your role of masked violence, of purification by stealth, of reform by terrorism is an impossible one. Your position is such that you must accept responsibility for every offense which smacks of disguised tyranny. . . .

Who was responsible for the Tenaha case, where a woman was stripped naked and then covered with tar and feathers? Has there ever been any crime committed in this state so horrible or one that brought such shame on Texas? Is there any member of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas so pure and holy that he can condemn even the vilest woman to such disgrace and torture? Masked men did it, and the world was told in press dispatches that they were the hooded Klansmen of Texas.

If that outrage was done by Ku Klux Klansmen, then every decent man who was inveigled into the order should resign immediately. If it was not the work of the real order, its members should disband because of this one act, if for no other reason.

The Ku Klux Klan, as recently rejuvenated, serves no useful purpose. On the other hand, it makes room for innumerable abuses. The community—meaning the whole nation—is against it, and the community will grow more resolutely against it as time goes on. Those who brought it into being, no matter what their intentions, would better bring about its dissolution before the storm breaks.

2. A Methodist Editor Clears the Klan (1923)

The brutal excesses of the Ku Klux Klan (or its imitators) brought it into disrepute, and by the mid-1920s it was rapidly disintegrating. For several years, however, with its hundreds of thousands of members, it remained a potent political force. The Reverend Bob Shuler (Methodist), editor of Shuler's Magazine *and the Fudamentalist pastor of a large Los Angeles church, published the following advertisement in the Eugene (Oregon)* Register. *What biases formed the basis of his pro-Klan views? Is vigilantism ever justified? How valid is the author's comparison of the Klan with the Knights of Columbus?*

This editor has repeatedly affirmed privately and publicly that he is not a member of the Ku Klux or any other secret organization. But when it comes to secret societies, he sees no difference absolutely between the Ku Klux and many others, the Knights of Columbus,* for instance. The Knights of Columbus has an oath, just as binding, or more so, than the Ku Klux oath. Moreover, the Knights of Columbus' oath is not one-half so American as the Ku Klux. If you charge that the Ku Klux has put over mobs, I answer that the Knights of Columbus has put over two mobs to where any other secret organization on earth has ever put over one.

This editor has been favored recently by being permitted to look over documentary evidence as to the tenets, principles, and aims of the Ku Klux Klan. He finds that

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[2]Eugene *Register,* quoted in *Literary Digest 76* (January 20, 1923): 18–19. By permission of the Eugene *Register.*

*An American Roman Catholic society for men, founded in 1882.

this organization stands with positive emphasis for Americanism as opposed to foreign idealism; for the principles of the Christian religion as opposed to Roman Catholicism and infidelity; for the American public schools and for the placing of the Holy Bible in the schoolrooms of this nation; for the enforcement of the laws upon the statute books and for a wholesome respect for the Constitution of the United States; for the maintenance of virtue among American women, sobriety and honor among American men, and for the eradication of all agencies and influences that would threaten the character of our children. So the principles of the Klan are not so damnable as pictured, it would seem.

This organization is opposing the most cunning, deceitful, and persistent enemy that Americanism and Protestant Christianity have ever had—the Jesuits. Speaking of "invisible empires," of forces that creep through the night and do their dirty work under cover, influences that are set going in the secret places of darkness, the Jesuits are the finished product. They have burned, killed, defamed, blackmailed, and ruined their enemies by the hundreds. History reeks with it. Though I disagree with the logic of the Klan, the members of that organization declare that they can only fight such a foe by using his own fire.

As to the charge that the Ku Klux Klan has functioned in mob violence in their efforts to correct conditions, I have this to say: I am convinced that most of the mobs reported have not been ordered and directed by the Klan as an organization. I am moreover convinced that many of them have been put over by forces opposed to the Klan and for the purpose of seeking to place the guilt for mob rule upon the Klan. The most of these mobs have been, according to investigation, not Ku Klux mobs at all, but gatherings of indignant citizens, bent on correcting conditions that the officers of the law refused to correct. The way to cause the Ku Klux to retire from the field is for the officers of the law to take that field and occupy it.

The Ku Klux has the same right to exist so long as it obeys the law that any other organization has. We have not heard of any investigation of the Knights of Columbus, although their un-American oaths are historic and their mob activities have been repeatedly published and heralded from platforms far and near.

C. The Wets Versus the Drys

1. A German Observes Bootlegging (1928)

Before the end of World War I most of the states had decreed the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Nationwide prohibition, authorized by the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, resulted largely from the spirit of self-sacrifice aroused by the war. A militant majority was thus able to force its will upon a large and vocal minority, especially in the big cities, where the foreign-born population was accustomed to the regular consumption of alcohol. The "Sea Devil" Felix von Luckner, a German naval hero who had destroyed some $25 million worth of Allied commerce with his raider the Seeadler (Sea Eagle) *during World War I, visited the United States as a lecturer*

[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers. *This Was America,* edited by Oscar Handlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press). Copyright 1949 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, copyright © 1977 by Oscar Handlin.

and recorded his curious experiences with alcohol. What did he see as the good and bad features of prohibition? What conditions made enforcement peculiarly difficult?

My first experience with the ways of prohibition came while we were being entertained by friends in New York. It was bitterly cold. My wife and I rode in the rumble seat of the car, while the American and his wife, bundled in furs, sat in front. Having wrapped my companion in pillows and blankets so thoroughly that only her nose showed, I came across another cushion that seemed to hang uselessly on the side. "Well," I thought, "this is a fine pillow; since everyone else is so warm and cozy, I might as well do something for my own comfort. This certainly does no one any good hanging on the wall." Sitting on it, I gradually noticed a dampness in the neighborhood that soon mounted to a veritable flood. The odor of fine brandy told me I had burst my host's peculiar liquor flask.

In time, I learned that not everything in America was what it seemed to be. I discovered, for instance, that a spare tire could be filled with substances other than air, that one must not look deeply into certain binoculars, and that the Teddy Bears that suddenly acquired tremendous popularity among the ladies very often had hollow metal stomachs.

"But," it might be asked, "where do all these people get the liquor?" Very simple. Prohibition has created a new, a universally respected, a well-beloved, and a very profitable occupation, that of the bootlegger who takes care of the importation of the forbidden liquor. Everyone knows this, even the powers of government. But this profession is beloved because it is essential, and it is respected because its pursuit is clothed with an element of danger and with a sporting risk. . . .

Yet it is undeniable that prohibition has in some respects been signally successful. The filthy saloons, the gin mills which formerly flourished on every corner and in which the laborer once drank off half his wages, have disappeared. Now he can instead buy his own car, and ride off for a weekend or a few days with his wife and children in the country or at the sea. But, on the other hand, a great deal of poison and methyl alcohol has taken the place of the good old pure whiskey. The number of crimes and misdemeanors that originated in drunkenness has declined. But by contrast, a large part of the population has become accustomed to disregard and to violate the law without thinking. The worst is that, precisely as a consequence of the law, the taste for alcohol has spread ever more widely among the youth. The sporting attraction of the forbidden and the dangerous leads to violations. My observations have convinced me that many fewer would drink were it not illegal.

2. La Guardia Pillories Prohibition (1926)

Wholesale violations of the prohibition law became so notorious that in 1926 a Senate judiciary subcommittee held extended hearings. It uncovered shocking conditions. Stubby, turbulent, fiery Fiorello ("The Little Flower") La Guardia, then a congressman from New York and later to be the controversial reform mayor of New York City, expressed characteristically vigorous views. Which of his statistics seem least sus-

[2] *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Sixty-ninth Congress, First Session* (April 5–24, 1926), *on . . . Bills to Amend the National Prohibition Act,* vol. 1, 649–651.

The National Gesture
Every official seemingly had his hand out for a bribe. (Judge, c. 1930, in Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, 1962)

ceptible of proof? Which of his arguments would probably carry the most weight with the average taxpayer?

It is impossible to tell whether prohibition is a good thing or a bad thing. It has never been enforced in this country.

There may not be as much liquor in quantity consumed to-day as there was before prohibition, but there is just as much alcohol.

At least 1,000,000 quarts of liquor is consumed each day in the United States. In my opinion such an enormous traffic in liquor could not be carried on without the knowledge, if not the connivance, of the officials entrusted with the enforcement of the law.

I am for temperance; that is why I am for modification.

I believe that the percentage of whisky drinkers in the United States now is greater than in any other country of the world. Prohibition is responsible for that. . . .

At least $1,000,000,000 a year is lost to the National Government and the several states and counties in excise taxes. The liquor traffic is going on just the same. This amount goes into the pockets of bootleggers and into the pockets of the public officials in the shape of graft. . . .

I will concede that the saloon was odious, but now we have delicatessen stores, pool rooms, drug stores, millinery shops, private parlors, and 57 other varieties of speakeasies selling liquor and flourishing.

I have heard of $2,000 a year prohibition agents who run their own cars with liveried chauffeurs.

It is common talk in my part of the country that from $7.50 to $12 a case is paid in graft from the time the liquor leaves the 12-mile limit until it reaches the ultimate consumer. There seems to be a varying market price for this service created by the degree of vigilance or the degree of greed of the public officials in charge.

It is my calculation that at least $1,000,000 a day is paid in graft and corruption to Federal, state, and local officers. Such a condition is not only intolerable, but it is demoralizing and dangerous to organized government. . . .

The Prohibition Enforcement Unit has entirely broken down. It is discredited; it has become a joke. Liquor is sold in every large city. . . .

Only a few days ago I charged on the floor of the House that 350 cases of liquor of a seizure of 1,500 made by Federal officials and stored in the Federal building at Indianapolis, Ind., had been removed. The Department of Justice, under date of April 9, 1926, confirmed my charge. The Attorney General admits that since this liquor was in the possession of the Federal authorities in the Federal building at Indianapolis, 330 cases are missing. If bootleggers can enter Federal buildings to get liquor, the rest can be easily imagined. . . .

I have been in public office for a great many years. I have had the opportunity to observe first the making of the present prohibition laws as a member of Congress, and later as president of the Board of Aldermen of the largest city in this country its attempted enforcement. In order to enforce prohibition in New York City I estimated at the time would require a police force of 250,000 men and a force of 200,000 men to police the police.

3. The WCTU Upholds Prohibition (1926)

Before the same Senate judiciary subcommittee, and from the same metropolitan area as La Guardia, appeared Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). A member of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), a Ph.D. from the University of Wooster, and a Presbyterian, she had run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate on the Prohibition ticket in 1920. What values underlay her insistence on enforcing unpopular laws, despite widespread flouting?

You have listened to testimony of shocking conditions due to corruption of officials, and lack of enforcement, some of which suggested no remedy except a surrender to those who violate the law, while the propaganda of all these organizations is encouraging continued violation. Permit me to show another side of the picture, and propose that instead of lowering our standards we urge that the law be strengthened, and in that way notice be served on law violators that America expects her laws to be enforced and to be obeyed. . . .

Enforcement has never had a fair trial. Political patronage, leakage through the permit system, connivance at the violation of law, and spread of the propaganda that it is not obligatory to obey a law unless you believe in it, and to the effect that the responsibility for the enforcement of law rested with the officers alone, when it should be shared by the individual citizen, have materially hindered the work of

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[3] *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Sixty-ninth Congress, First Session* (April 5–24, 1926), *on . . . Bills to Amend the National Prohibition Act, vol. 1, pp. 1068–1071.*

ARE NOT THE WOMEN HALF THE NATION?

A Pro-Suffrage Cartoon
The century-old campaign for women's suffrage was finally crowned with success when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920. (Carrie Chapman Catt Papers/Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College)

enforcement—all this with the result that the United States has not derived from prohibition what it would have derived had all the people observed the law and had there been hearty cooperation of the press and the people. . . .

It is not easy to get at the facts about the effect of prohibition on health, morals, and economic [life] because they are interwoven with other causes, and partial statistics may be misleading. But the elimination of a preventable cause of poverty, crime, tuberculosis, the diseases of middle life, unhappy homes, and financial depression brings results insofar as the law is observed and enforced. . . .

The closing of the open saloon with its doors swinging both ways, an ever-present invitation for all to drink—men, women, and boys—is an outstanding fact, and no one wants it to return. It has resulted in better national health, children are born under better conditions, homes are better, and the mother is delivered from the fear of a drunken husband. There is better food. Savings-banks deposits have increased, and many a man has a bank account to-day who had none in the days of the saloon.

The increase in home owning is another evidence that money wasted in drink is now used for the benefit of the family. Improved living conditions are noticeable in our former slum districts. The Bowery and Hell's Kitchen are transformed.

Safety-first campaigns on railroads and in the presence of the increasing number of automobiles are greatly strengthened by prohibition.

The prohibition law is not the only law that is violated. Traffic laws, anti-smuggling

laws, as well as the Volstead [prohibition] Act, are held in contempt. It is the spirit of the age.

Life-insurance companies have long known that drinkers were poor risks, but they recognize the fact that prohibition has removed a preventable cause of great financial loss to them.

The wonderful advances in mechanics in the application of electricity and in transportation demand brains free from the fumes of alcohol, hence law enforcement and law observance contribute to this progress. . . .

Your attention has been called to the failures. We claim these have been the result of lax enforcement. The machinery of enforcement should be strengthened.

[The federal enforcement machinery finally broke down, and the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed in 1933. Prohibition had done much good but at a staggering cost. In addition to the evils already noted, gangsterism was flourishing and the courts and jails were clogged. With repeal, the control of liquor went back to state and local governments.]

D. The Automobile Age Dawns

1. Henry Ford Discusses Manufacturing and Marketing (1922)

Henry Ford had little formal schooling, but he became the United States' most famous industrial genius. Beginning as a machine-shop apprentice and traveling repair man for a farm-machinery company, he built his first motorcar in 1896 and organized the Ford Motor Company seven years later. Its growth was phenomenal, as was the impact of the automobile on American life. Ford's manufacturing techniques, philosophy of labor relations, and marketing ideas were widely imitated. In the following excerpt from his autobiography, he discusses the early days of his industrial career. Which of his ideas were most innovative? Which seem most attractive today? Which seem most outdated?

In 1909 I announced one morning, without any previous warning, that in the future we were going to build only one model, that the model was going to be "Model T," and that the chassis would be exactly the same for all cars, and I remarked:

"Any customer can have a car painted any colour that he wants so long as it is black."

I cannot say that any one agreed with me. . . . A motor car was still regarded as something in the way of a luxury. The manufacturers did a good deal to spread this idea. Some clever persons invented the name "pleasure car" and the advertising emphasized the pleasure features. The sales people had ground for their objection and particularly when I made the following announcement:

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[1]Henry Ford, in collaboration with Samuel Crowther, *My Life and Work* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1922), passim.

> I will build a motor car for the great multitude. It will be large enough for the family but small enough for the individual to run and care for. It will be constructed of the best materials, by the best men to be hired, after the simplest designs that modern engineering can devise. But it will be so low in price that no man making a good salary will be unable to own one—and enjoy with his family the blessing of hours of pleasure in God's great open spaces. . . .

The more economical methods of production did not begin all at once. They began gradually—just as we began gradually to make our own parts. "Model T" was the first motor that we made ourselves. The great economies began in assembling and then extended to other sections so that, while to-day we have skilled mechanics in plenty, they do not produce automobiles—they make it easy for others to produce them. Our skilled men are the tool makers, the experimental workmen, the machinists, and the pattern makers. They are as good as any men in the world—so good, indeed, that they should not be wasted in doing that which the machines they contrive can do better. The rank and file of men come to us unskilled; they learn their jobs within a few hours or a few days. If they do not learn within that time they will never be of any use to us. These men are, many of them, foreigners, and all that is required before they are taken on is that they should be potentially able to do enough work to pay the overhead charges on the floor space they occupy. They do not have to be able-bodied men. We have jobs that require great physical strength—although they are rapidly lessening; we have other jobs that require no strength whatsoever—jobs which, as far as strength is concerned, might be attended to by a child of three. . . .

A Ford car contains about five thousand parts—that is counting screws, nuts, and all. Some of the parts are fairly bulky and others are almost the size of watch parts. In our first assembling we simply started to put a car together at a spot on the floor and workmen brought to it the parts as they were needed in exactly the same way that one builds a house. When we started to make parts it was natural to create a single department of the factory to make that part, but usually one workman performed all of the operations necessary on a small part. The rapid press of production made it necessary to devise plans of production that would avoid having the workers falling over one another. The undirected worker spends more of his time walking about for materials and tools than he does in working; he gets small pay because pedestrianism is not a highly paid line.

The first step forward in assembly came when we began taking the work to the men instead of the men to the work. We now have two general principles in all operations—that a man shall never have to take more than one step, if possibly it can be avoided, and that no man need ever stoop over.

The principles of assembly are these:

1. Place the tools and the men in the sequence of the operation so that each component part shall travel the least possible distance while in the process of finishing.
2. Use work slides or some other form of carrier so that when a workman completes his operation, he drops the part always in the same place—which place must always be the most convenient place to his hand—and if possible have gravity carry the part to the next workman for his operation.

3. Use sliding assembling lines by which the parts to be assembled are delivered at convenient distances.

The net result of the application of these principles is the reduction of the necessity for thought on the part of the worker and the reduction of his movements to a minimum. He does as nearly as possibly only one thing with only one movement.

The assembling of the chassis is, from the point of view of the nonmechanical mind, our most interesting and perhaps best known operation, and at one time it was an exceedingly important operation. We now [1922] ship out the parts for assembly at the point of distribution.

Along about April 1, 1913, we first tried the experiment of an assembly line. We tried it on assembling the fly-wheel magneto. We try everything in a little way first—we will rip out anything once we discover a better way, but we have to know absolutely that the new way is going to be better than the old before we do anything drastic.

I believe that this was the first moving line ever installed. The idea came in a general way from the overhead trolley that the Chicago packers use in dressing beef. We had previously assembled the fly-wheel magneto in the usual method. With one workman doing a complete job he could turn out from thirty-five to forty pieces in a nine-hour day, or about twenty minutes to an assembly. What he did alone was then spread into twenty-nine operations; that cut down the assembly time to thirteen minutes, ten seconds. Then we raised the height of the line eight inches—this was in 1914—and cut the time to seven minutes. Further experimenting with the speed that the work should move at cut the time down to five minutes. In short, the result is this: by the aid of scientific study one man is now able to do somewhat more than four did only a comparatively few years ago. That line established the efficiency of the method and we now use it everywhere. The assembling of the motor, formerly done by one man, is now divided into eighty-four operations—those men do the work that three times their number formerly did. In a short time we tried out the plan on the chassis.

About the best we had done in stationary chassis assembly was an average of twelve hours and twenty-eight minutes per chassis. We tried the experiment of drawing the chassis with a rope and windlass down a line two hundred fifty feet long. Six assemblers travelled with the chassis and picked up the parts from piles placed along the line. This rough experiment reduced the time to five hours fifty minutes per chassis. In the early part of 1914 we elevated the assembly line. We had adopted the policy of "man-high" work; we had one line twenty-six and three quarter inches and another twenty-four and one half inches from the floor—to suit squads of different heights. The waist-high arrangement and a further subdivision of work so that each man had fewer movements cut down the labour time per chassis to one hour thirty-three minutes. Only the chassis was then assembled in the line. The body was placed on in "John R. Street"—the famous street that runs through our Highland Park factories. Now the line assembles the whole car.

It must not be imagined, however, that all this worked out as quickly as it sounds. The speed of the moving work had to be carefully tried out; in the fly-wheel magneto we first had a speed of sixty inches per minute. That was too fast. Then we tried

eighteen inches per minute. That was too slow. Finally we settled on forty-four inches per minute. The idea is that a man must not be hurried in his work—he must have every second necessary but not a single unnecessary second. We have worked out speeds for each assembly, for the success of the chassis assembly caused us gradually to overhaul our entire method of manufacturing and to put all assembling in mechanically driven lines. The chassis assembling line, for instance, goes at a pace of six feet per minute; the front axle assembly line goes at one hundred eighty-nine inches per minute. In the chassis assembling are forty-five separate operations or stations. The first men fasten four mudguard brackets in the chassis frame; the motor arrives on the tenth operation and so on in detail. Some men do only one or two small operations, others do more. The man who places a part does not fasten it—the part may not be fully in place until after several operations later. The man who puts in a bolt does not put on the nut; the man who puts on the nut does not tighten it. On operation number thirty-four the budding motor gets its gasoline; it has previously received lubrication; on operation number forty-four the radiator is filled with water, and on operation number forty-five the car drives out onto John R. Street. . . .

Our policy is to reduce the price, extend the operations, and improve the article. You will notice that the reduction of price comes first. We have never considered any costs as fixed. Therefore we first reduce the price to a point where we believe more sales will result. Then we go ahead and try to make the price. We do not bother about the costs. The new price forces the costs down. . . .

The payment of high wages fortunately contributes to the low costs because the men become steadily more efficient on accont of being relieved of outside worries. The payment of five dollars a day for an eight-hour day was one of the finest cost-cutting moves we ever made, and the six-dollar day wage is cheaper than the five. How far this will go, we do not know.

We have always made a profit at the prices we have fixed and, just as we have no idea how high wages will go, we also have no idea how low prices will go, but there is no particular use in bothering on that point. The tractor, for instance, was first sold for $750, then at $850, then at $625, and the other day we cut it 37 per cent to $395. . . .

The standardization that effects large economies for the consumer results in profits of such gross magnitude to the producer that he can scarcely know what to do with his money. But his effort must be sincere, painstaking, and fearless. Cutting out a half-a-dozen models is not standardizing. It may be, and usually is, only the limiting of business, for if one is selling on the ordinary basis of profit—that is, on the basis of taking as much money away from the consumer as he will give up—then surely the consumer ought to have a wide range of choice.

Standardization, then, is the final stage of the process. We start with [the] consumer, work back through the design, and finally arrive at manufacturing. The manufacturing becomes a means to the end of service.

It is important to bear this order in mind. As yet, the order is not thoroughly understood. The price relation is not understood. The notion persists that prices ought to be kept up. On the contrary, good business—large consumption—depends on their going down.

And here is another point. The service must be the best you can give. It is considered good manufacturing practice, and not bad ethics, occasionally to change designs so that old models will become obsolete and new ones will have to be bought

either because repair parts for the old cannot be had, or because the new model offers a new sales argument which can be used to persuade a consumer to scrap what he has and buy something new. We have been told that this is good business, that it is clever business, that the object of business ought to be to get people to buy frequently and that it is bad business to try to make anything that will last forever, because when once a man is sold he will not buy again.

Our principle of business is precisely to the contrary. We cannot conceive how to serve the consumer unless we make for him something that, as far as we can provide, will last forever. We want to construct some kind of a machine that will last forever. It does not please us to have a buyer's car wear out or become obsolete. We want the man who buys one of our products never to have to buy another. We never make an improvement that renders any previous model obsolete. The parts of a specific model are not only interchangeable with all other cars of that model, but they are interchangeable with similar parts on all the cars that we have turned out. You can take a car of ten years ago and, buying to-day's parts, make it with very little expense into a car of to-day. Having these objectives the costs always come down under pressure. And since we have the firm policy of steady price reduction, there is always pressure. Sometimes it is just harder! . . .

Now as to saturation. We are continually asked:

"When will you get to the point of overproduction? When will there be more cars than people to use them?"

We believe it is possible some day to reach the point where all goods are produced so cheaply and in such quantities that overproduction will be a reality. But as far as we are concerned, we do not look forward to that condition with fear—we look forward to it with great satisfaction. Nothing could be more splendid than a world in which everybody has all that he wants. Our fear is that this condition will be too long postponed. As to our own products, that condition is very far away. We do not know how many motor cars a family will desire to use of the particular kind that we make. We know that, as the price has come down, the farmer, who at first used one car (and it must be remembered that it is not so very long ago that the farm market for motor cars was absolutely unknown—the limit of sales was at that time fixed by all the wise statistical sharps at somewhere near the number of millionaires in the country) now often uses two, and also he buys a truck. Perhaps, instead of sending workmen out to scattered jobs in a single car, it will be cheaper to send each worker out in a car of his own. That is happening with salesmen. The public finds its own consumptive needs with unerring accuracy, and since we no longer make motor cars or tractors, but merely the parts which when assembled become motor cars and tractors, the facilities as now provided would hardly be sufficient to provide replacements for ten million cars. And it would be quite the same with any business. We do not have to bother about overproduction for some years to come, provided the prices are right. It is the refusal of people to buy on account of price that really stimulates real business. Then if we want to do business we have to get the prices down without hurting the quality. Thus price reduction forces us to learn improved and less wasteful methods of production. One big part of the discovery of what is "normal" in industry depends on managerial genius discovering better ways of doing things. If a man reduces his selling price to a point where he is making no profit or incurring a loss, then he simply is forced to discover how to make as good an article by a better method—making his

new method produce the profit, and not producing a profit out of reduced wages or increased prices to the public. . . .

2. Labor Policies at the Ford Motor Company (1916)

By the 1920s the automobile industry, though barely two decades old, was the nation's largest. More than one and a half million cars rolled off Ford's assembly lines in 1923, and in the Detroit area alone Ford, who had employed barely three hundred persons just two decades earlier, had some twenty-four thousand people on his payroll. Always a dedicated if eccentric idealist, Ford tried to deal with his employees in innovative ways. His boldest and most controversial stroke came in 1914, when he reduced the work day to eight hours and raised a day's pay to the then-unheard-of sum (for manufacturing workers) of five dollars. In the following article by Ford's first personnel manager, what motives are offered for this apparently benevolent, enlightened policy? Was it entirely benevolent? How would workers today greet a comparable policy?

It was along in 1912 that we began to realize something of the relative value of men, mechanism and material in the threefold phase of manufacturing, so to speak, and we confess that up to this time we had believed that mechanism and material were of the larger importance and that somehow or other the human element or our men were taken care of automatically and needed little or no consideration.

During that year there were a number of things that happened that made their impression upon the minds of the executives of the company.

I recall a drop hammer operation that had gone along for a number of years at an even output, when somehow, the standard dropped off. The hammer was in good condition, the man who had operated the machine for years was on the job, but the finished output failed to appear in the old proportions that we were looking for and had the right to expect.

A superficial analysis of things brought no light, but a little talk with the operator revealed a condition of things entirely outside of business, that was responsible for our depleted production. Sickness, indebtedness, and fear and worry over things that related entirely to the home, had crept in and had put a satisfactory human unit entirely out of harmony with the things that were necessary for production.

This is the type of incident that played an important part in the conclusions that we reached.

Our first step was to reduce our working day from ten to nine hours and to give our men an increase of about 15 per cent for nine hours over what they had received for ten.

Following this we instituted a plan for grading employes according to skill, with the idea of eliminating, as far as possible, petty discrimination, misfits, and those unsatisfactory conditions which obtain now and then, possibly through the more aggressive making their worth felt and known than men of more retiring dispositions

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[2]John R. Lee, "The So-Called Profit Sharing System in the Ford Plant," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 65* (May 1916): 299–305, 308.

are wont to do, or to prevent the favoritism of a foreman for an employe, overstepping the bounds of merit or consistency in any case. . . .

Moreover, we laid down a rule whereby a foreman might eliminate a man from his particular department but could not discharge him from the employ of the company. . . .

It may be startling for some of you to know that in the last six months there has been but one man discharged from the Ford organization.

. . . Suffice it to say that the good things and the substantial increases that came to the company through their efforts in the directions indicated gave rise to a further consideration of the human element which has resulted in our so-called profit sharing plan.

Now, I should like to impress upon you the fact that this profit sharing work was in no sense instituted as a spasmodic thing, was not designed or conceived for the sake of business expedient or advertising. We were perfectly satisfied with what each man was giving us, as far as daily return was concerned. We did not seek to advertise the car nor the company through this plan, but rather we felt that we owed it to our men at that time to give them all the help we consistently could to better their financial and their moral status, and to insure, as far as we could, a life worth while, and not merely a bare living.

It was established some time prior to this work that a man who comes out of a home well balanced, who has no fear for the necessities of life for those he is taking care of, who is not in constant dread of losing his position for reasons beyond his control, is the most powerful economic factor that we can use in the shape of a human being.

The profit sharing plan of the Ford Motor Company gives unto every man who can use it within limitations which I shall state, in addition to his wage, a certain amount, according to his worth and what his skill and ability merit for him, to have and to use according to his individual needs for his health and happiness in youth and in old age.

Now, over against each of the eight rates of wage we have set a profit sharing rate, and the lowest total daily income that a worker receives under the profit sharing plan is $5 a day.

This $5 a day, or 62½ cents an hour, is not the lowest minimum wage of the Ford worker; 34 cents is the minimum hourly wage and 28½ cents the minimum share of profits, totaling 62½ cents, which makes a total daily income of $5.

There are three groups under which each employe is considered for profit sharing—these, practically, are all the rules and regulations in connection with the work.

1. All married men living with and taking good care of their families.
2. All single men, over twenty-two, of proven thrifty habits.
3. Men, under twenty-two years of age, and women, who are the sole support of some next of kin or blood relative.

It was clearly foreseen that $5 a day in the hands of some men would work a tremendous handicap along the paths of rectitude and right living and would make of them a menace to society in general and so it was established at start that no man was to receive the money who could not use it advisedly and conservatively; also, that where a man seemed to qualify under the plan and later developed weaknesses, that it

was within the province of the company to take away his share of the profits until such time as he could rehabilitate himself; nor was any man urged against his own judgment, likes or dislikes, to change his mode of living and to qualify under that plan if he did not willingly so elect.

The company organized a band of thirty men who were chosen because of their peculiar fitness for the work to act as investigators. The whole work was put into effect and supervised by the employes of the company—no outside talent or assistance was asked. We have worked out the whole scheme with Ford men.

This band of thirty men was commissioned to see each individual employe and to report as to whether, in their judgment, a man was eligible for a share in the profits. These reports were in turn reviewed by a committee and each case passed upon individually.

As a result of this work our employes were grouped as follows:

First Group. Those who were firmly established in the ways of thrift and who would carry out the spirit of the plan themselves were catalogued as one group.

Second Group. Those who had never had a chance but were willing to grasp the opportunity in the way every man should, were catalogued in the second group.

Third Group. Those who had qualified but we were in doubt about as to their strength of character to continue in the direction they had started in, were placed in the third group.

Fourth Group. And the men who did not or could not qualify were put into a fourth group.

The first group of men were never bothered except when we desired information for annual or semi-annual reports or something of that kind.

The second group were looked up as often as in the judgment of the investigation department, so called, we could help them or strengthen their purpose by kindly suggestion.

The third group were dealt with in much the same fashion, although some detailed plans had to be laid for them.

The fourth group were very carefully and thoroughly studied in the hope that we might bring them, with the others, to a realization of what we were trying to accomplish, and to modifications, changes and sometimes complete revamping of their lives and habits, in order that they might receive what the company wanted to give them.

During the first six months 69 per cent of our force qualified. At the end of the first year about 87 per cent were on a profit sharing basis, and at the present time about 90 per cent are receiving the benefits under this plan. . . .

The profits are paid to each employe with his wages in his pay envelope every two weeks. He is not influenced or coerced to spend his money for any one especial thing. The policy of the company is not to sell its men anything or influence them to buy anything—with the exception of Ford cars.

Our legal department has been enlarged so that men may come for counsel and suggestion as to ways and means for employing professional help.

As a part and parcel of the legal department also, we have a committee that makes appraisals of property for employes. A man who has picked out a home and gotten a price upon it, may submit the facts to our legal department, and without charge get from them an idea as to the worth of the property in connection with the price asked,

also a general report as to the worth of the house, from the standpoint of construction, finishing and equipment.

We are also doing, in connection with the investigation work, something that is of great benefit both to the men and to the company.

Every morning there is turned over from the time department to our investigation staff a list of the absentees of the day previous, which is carefully looked up. If a man is in trouble he gets help; if a man has been wasting his time and himself, he is reminded of the fact quite forcibly, and is made to feel that to hold his position he must realize the necessity of cooperation.

This little scheme, which is merely eternal vigilance, has cut the number of our daily absentees from 10 per cent to less than one-half of 1 per cent, exclusive of the times when epidemics of grippe, cold, and other human ills prevail, and then it is increased by just the proportion that our men bear to the number afflicted.

It has been no easy task to add to the number of men we originally had, twenty more of the same type and calibre to act as investigators as our forces grew.

Two years ago we were employing some thirteen thousand men; today we have some twenty-four thousand, but we have gained rather than lost in the kind of men and in the spirit and energy shown, as far as this force is concerned.

At the present time we have divided the whole number so that those especially gifted in cases of domestic infelicity might tackle jobs of this type; those who have evidenced unusual skill in handling men with criminal records, are detailed to such cases, and so on.

As you probably know, of necessity rather than choice, a large part of our working force is made up of non-English-speaking men.

It was utterly impossible to reach these men with an explanation of our work through the medium of interpreters, and besides, we found a mercenary unwillingness, if you please, on the part of sophisticated fellow countrymen to aid us in helping this great army of men, which comprised 50 to 60 per cent of the entire number of Ford employes. . . .

We sought out Dr. Roberts—he came to Detroit, and there was organized the plan for giving all non-English-speaking employes a good basic knowledge of the English language through this system.

At the present time we have enrolled in our shop some 1,500, who are taught by volunteer teachers,—foremen, sub-foremen and graduates of the school, who receive in six or eight months, not a lot of grammar or mathematics, or geography, but the ground work of the English language, which enables them to read, write, speak and understand our tongue.

In our motor department there has been a gradual voluntary increase of production (the general layout and operations being practically the same as before with the same number of men), of from 6,125 motors in a 9-hour day to 7,200 in an 8-hour day.

The assembly of radiator cores, for example, has jumped so that a unit of men, previously putting together 750 in nine hours, now assemble 1,300 in eight, and a single group in the fender department heretofore making 38 fenders in nine hours are today producing 50 in eight.

In the making of gasoline tanks, 1,200 for 60 men is the output in eight hours versus 800 by 65 in nine hours.

Many of the methods and schemes used in our factory which have lately helped us

so much in cutting out waste motion and lost time, are the direct results of the new spirit in the men and come to us from the rank and file of our employes.

We are finding additional capacity that is willing and always available if justly recognized and amply rewarded.

We used to hire from 40 to 60 per cent of our force each month to maintain it. In the year 1913 between 50,000 and 60,000 people passed through our employment office. In the year 1915 we employed about 7,000, of which number only 2,000 can be used in contrast with the 50,000 mentioned, because the 5,000 were for new jobs and for the enlargement of forces.

As I have previously stated, our daily absentees have decreased from 10 per cent to less than one-half of 1 per cent.

E. New Goals for Women

1. Margaret Sanger Campaigns for Birth Control (1920)

Few feminists could rival Margaret Sanger's energy, daring, and genius for organization and publicity. Prosecuted in 1914 for publishing a radical journal, The Woman Rebel, *she fled to England, where she made the acquaintance of the noted sexual theorist, Havelock Ellis. She returned to the United States in 1915, and launched herself on a lifelong crusade for birth control. Despite being arrested several more times in subsequent years, she persevered in founding the American Birth Control League (later Planned Parenthood) in 1921. For the next decade and more, Sanger tirelessly championed her cause. What arguments does she emphasize here in favor of contraception? What was her view of women? of men? of the relation between the sexes? Critics sometimes accused her of drinking too deeply from the well of racism and nativism that seemed to overflow in the 1920s. Do the remarks that follow offer any evidence in support of such a charge?*

The most far-reaching social development of modern times is the revolt of woman against sex servitude. The most important force in the remaking of the world is a free motherhood. Beside this force, the elaborate international programmes of modern statesmen are weak and superficial. . . .

Only in recent years has woman's position as the gentler and weaker half of the human family been emphatically and generally questioned. Men assumed that this was woman's place; woman herself accepted it. It seldom occurred to anyone to ask whether she would go on occupying it forever. . . .

Caught in this "vicious circle," woman has, through her reproductive ability,

[1] Margaret Sanger, *Woman and the New Race* (New York: Brentano's, 1920), passim. Reprinted by permission of the estate of Margaret Sanger.

Birth-Control Propaganda
Margaret Sanger championed birth control as a means of liberating women from the burdens and dangers of unwanted pregnancies. (Margaret Sanger Papers/ Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College)

founded and perpetuated the tyrannies of the Earth. Whether it was the tyranny of a monarchy, an oligarchy or a republic, the one indispensable factor of its existence was, as it is now, hordes of human beings—human beings so plentiful as to be cheap, and so cheap that ignorance was their natural lot. . . .

The creators of over-population are the women, who, while wringing their hands over each fresh horror, submit anew to their task of producing the multitudes who will bring about the *next* tragedy of civilization.

While unknowingly laying the foundations of tyrannies and providing the human tinder for racial conflagrations, woman was also unknowingly creating slums, filling asylums with insane, and institutions with other defectives. She was replenishing the ranks of the prostitutes, furnishing grist for the criminal courts and inmates for prisons. Had she planned deliberately to achieve this tragic total of human waste and misery, she could hardly have done it more effectively. . . .

It is true that, obeying the inner urge of their natures, *some* women revolted. They went even to the extreme of infanticide and abortion. Usually their revolts were not general enough. They fought as individuals, not as a mass. . . .

To-day, however, woman is rising in fundamental revolt. Even her efforts at mere reform are, as we shall see later, steps in that direction. Underneath each of them is the feminine urge to complete freedom. Millions of women are asserting their right to voluntary motherhood. They are determined to decide for themselves whether they shall become mothers, under what conditions and when. This is the fundamental revolt referred to. It is for woman the key to the temple of liberty.

Even as birth control is the means by which woman attains basic freedom, so it is the means by which she must and will uproot the evil she has wrought through her submission. . . .

Two chief obstacles hinder the discharge of this tremendous obligation. The first and the lesser is the legal barrier. Dark-Age laws would still deny to her the knowledge of her reproductive nature. Such knowledge is indispensable to intelligent motherhood and she must achieve it, despite absurd statutes and equally absurd moral canons.

The second and more serious barrier is her own ignorance of the extent and effect of her submission. Until she knows the evil her subjection has wrought to herself, to her progeny and to the world at large, she cannot wipe out that evil. . . .

What effect will the practice of birth control have upon women's moral development? . . . It will break her bonds. It will free her to understand the cravings and soul needs of herself and other women. It will enable her to develop her love nature separate from and independent of her maternal nature.

It goes without saying that the woman whose children are desired and are of such number that she can not only give them adequate care but keep herself mentally and spiritually alive, as well as physically fit, can discharge her duties to her children much better than the overworked, broken and querulous mother of a large, unwanted family. . . .

To achieve this she must have a knowledge of birth control. She must also assert and maintain her right to refuse the marital embrace except when urged by her inner nature. . . .

What can we expect of offspring that are the result of "accidents"—who are brought into being undesired and in fear? What can we hope for from a morality that surrounds each physical union, for the woman, with an atmosphere of submission and shame? What can we say for a morality that leaves the husband at liberty to communicate to his wife a venereal disease?

Subversion of the sex urge to ulterior purposes has dragged it to the level of the gutter. Recognition of its true nature and purpose must lift the race to spiritual freedom. Out of our growing knowledge we are evolving new and saner ideas of life in general. Out of our increasing sex knowledge we shall evolve new ideals of sex. These ideals will spring from the innermost needs of women. They will serve these needs and express them. They will be the foundation of a moral code that will tend to make fruitful the impulse which is the source, the soul and the crowning glory of our sexual natures.

When mother have raised the standards of sex ideals and purged the human mind of its unclean conception of sex, the fountain of the race will have been cleansed. Mothers will bring forth, in purity and in joy, a race that is morally and spiritually free. . . .

Birth control itself, often denounced as a violation of natural law, is nothing more or less than the facilitation of the process of weeding out the unfit, of preventing the birth of defectives or of those who will become defectives. So, in compliance with nature's working plan, we must permit womanhood its full development before we can expect of it efficient motherhood. If we are to make racial progress, this development of womanhood must precede motherhood in every individual woman. Then and then only can the mother cease to be an incubator and be a mother indeed. Then only can she transmit to her sons and daughters the qualities which make strong individuals and, collectively, a strong race. . . .

2. The Lynds Discover Changes in the Middle-American Home (1929)

In 1924 the sociologists Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd arrived in Muncie, Indiana, with a team of researchers. They spent the next eighteen months studying the pattern and texture of life in Muncie, and in 1929 they published the results of their research in Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture. Middletown *has ever since been recognized as a classic work of American scholarship, perhaps the most detailed, thoughtful portrait ever drawn of life in an American community. The Lynds described the changes in the lives of ordinary, "average" people since the 1890s. Their research revealed that the pace of change was faster among "business class" people than among the "working class." (One of the most striking changes they found was that the traditional prohibition on discussing sexual matters, including birth control, was weakening. Among the more prosperous segments of Middletown's population, most women by 1924 not only discussed birth control but practiced it. The practice was much less widespread among the poorer elements of the populace.) In the following selection about housework, what are the major differences between the lives of women in the 1890s and the 1920s? How did the lives of women in the two social classes differ? What were the effects on family life of the emergence of a high-mass-consumption economy in the 1920s?*

At no point can one approach the home life of Middletown without becoming aware of the shift taking place in the traditional activities of male and female. This is especially marked in the complex of activities known as "housework," which have always been almost exclusively performed by the wife, with more or less help from her daughters. In the growing number of working class families in which the wife helps to earn the family living, the husband is beginning to share directly in housework. Even in families of the business class the manual activities of the wife in making a home are being more and more replaced by goods and services produced or performed by other agencies in return for a money price, thus throwing ever greater emphasis upon the money-getting activities of the husband. . . .

The rhythm of the day's activities varies according to whether a family is of the working or business class, most of the former starting the day at six or earlier and the latter somewhat later. . . .

Dorothy Dix catches the traditional situation in her remark, "Marriage brings a woman a life sentence of hard labor in her home. Her work is the most monotonous in the world and she has no escape from it." Many working class housewives, struggling to commute this sentence for their daughters if not for themselves, voiced in some form the wish of one mother, "I've always wanted my girls to do something other than housework; I don't want *them* to be house drudges like me!" And both groups are being borne along on the wave of material changes toward a somewhat lighter sentence to household servitude. Of the ninety-one working class wives who

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[2]Excerpts from *Middletown,* pp. 167–173, by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd are reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.; copyright 1929 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., renewed 1957 by Robert S. and Helen M Lynd.

gave data on the amount of time their mothers spent on housework as compared with themselves, sixty-six (nearly three-fourths) said that their mothers spent more time, ten approximately the same, and fifteen less time. Of the thirty-seven wives of the business group interviewed who gave similar data, seventeen said that their mothers spent more time, eight about the same, and twelve less time.

The fact that the difference between the women of this business group and their mothers is less marked than that between the working class women and their mothers is traceable in part to the decrease in the amount of paid help in the homes of the business class. It is apparently about half as frequent for Middletown housewives to hire full-time servant girls to do their housework today as in 1890. The thirty-nine wives of the business group answering on this point reported almost precisely half as many full-time servants as their mothers in 1890, and this ratio is supported by Federal Census figures; thirteen of the thirty-nine have full-time servants, only two of them more than one. But if the women of the business class have fewer servants than their mothers, they are still markedly more served than the working class. One hundred and twelve out of 118 working class women had no paid help at all during the year preceding the inteview, while only four of the thirty-nine women of the business group interviewed had had no help; one of the former group and twenty-five of the latter group had the equivalent of one or more days a week. Both groups of housewives have been affected by the reduction in the number of "old maid" sisters and daughters performing the same duties as domestic servants but without receiving a fixed compensation. Prominent among the factors involved in this diminution of full-time servants are the increased opportunities for women to get a living in other kinds of work; the greater cost of a "hired girl," ten to fifteen dollars a week as against three dollars in 1890; and increased attention to child-rearing, making mothers more careful about the kind of servants they employ. "Every one has the same problem today," said one thoughtful mother. "It is easy to get good girls by the hour but very difficult to get any one good to stay all the time. Then, too, the best type of girl, with whom I feel safe to leave the children, wants to eat with the family." The result is a fortification of the tendency to spend time on the children and transfer other things to service agencies outside the home. A common substitute for a full-time servant today is the woman who "comes in" one or two days a week. A single day's labor of this sort today costs approximately what the housewife's mother paid for a week's work.

Smaller houses, easier to "keep up," labor-saving devices, canned goods, baker's bread, less heavy meals, and ready-made clothing are among the places where the lack of servants is being compensated for and time saved today. Working class housewives repeatedly speak, also, of the use of running water, the shift from wood to coal fires, and the use of linoleum on floors as time-savers. Wives of the business class stress certain non-material changes as well. "I am not as particular as my mother," said many of these housewives, or "I sometimes leave my supper dishes until morning, which my mother would never have thought of doing. She used to do a much more elaborate fall and spring cleaning, which lasted a week or two. I consider time for reading and clubs and my children more important than such careful housework and I just don't do it." These women, on the other hand, mention numerous factors making their work harder than their mothers'. "The constant soot and cinders in this soft-coal city and the hard, alkaline water make up for all you save by new conveniences." A number feel that while the actual physical labor of housework is less and one is less

particular about many details, rising standards in other respects use up the saved time. "People are more particular about diet today. They care more about having things nicely served and dressing for dinner. So many things our mothers didn't know about we feel that we ought to do for our children."

Most important among these various factors affecting women's work is the increased use of labor-saving devices. Just as the advent of the Owens machine in one of Middletown's largest plants has unseated a glass-blowing process that had come down largely unchanged from the days of the early Egyptians, so in the homes of Middletown certain primitive hand skills have been shifted overnight to modern machines. The oil lamp, the gas flare, the broom, the pump, the water bucket, the washboard, the flatiron, the cook stove, all only slightly modified forms of some of man's most primitive tools, dominated Middletown housework in the nineties. In 1924, as noted above, all but 1 per cent. of Middletown's houses were wired for electricity. Between March, 1920, and February, 1924, there was an average increase of 25 per cent. in the K.W.H. [kilowatt hours] of current used by each local family. How this additional current is being used may be inferred from the following record of sales of electrical appliances by five local electrical shops, a prominent drug store, and the local electric power company for the only items it sells, irons and toasters, over the six-month period from May first to October thirty-first, 1923: curlers sold, 1,173; irons, 1,114; vacuum cleaners, 709; toasters, 463; washing machines, 371; heaters, 114; heating pads, 18; electric refrigerators, 11; electric ranges, 3; electric ironers. 1. The manager of the local electric power company estimates that nearly 90 per cent. of Middletown homes have electric irons.

It is in part by compelling advertising couched in terms of certain of women's greatest values that use of these material tools is being so widely diffused:

"Isn't Bobby more important than his clothes?" demands an advertisement of the "Power Laundries" in a Middletown paper.

The advertisement of an electrical company reads:

> This is the test of a successful mother—she puts first things first. She does not give to sweeping the time that belongs to her children. . . . Men are judged successful according to their power to delegate work. Similarly the wise woman delegates to electricity all that electricity can do. She cannot delegate the one task more important. Human lives are in her keeping; their future is molded by her hands and heart.

Another laundry advertisement beckons:

> Time for sale! Will you buy? Where can you buy back a single yesterday? Nowehere, of course. Yet, right in your city, you can purchase tomorrows. Time for youth and beauty! Time for club work, for church and community activities. Time for books and plays and concerts. Time for home and children. . . .

Thought Provokers

1. Why did antiforeignism flare up so viciously in the postwar years? Could the United States have continued indefinitely to allow unlimited immigration? Were Sacco and Vanzetti villains or scapegoats?

2. What was the relation of the revived Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s to the original Klan of Reconstruction days? Why does the United States periodically spawn violent vigilante-style movements?
3. Was Prohibition a typically American "experiment"? Under what circumstances does the government have a right to regulate personal behavior, such as drinking alcoholic beverages or using narcotic drugs?
4. In what ways was automobile manufacturing the characteristic industry of the early-twentieth-century United States? How would American life have been different if the internal combustion engine (and hence the automobile) had never been developed?
5. In what ways was the urbanized economic order of the 1920s a new frontier for women? How did the spreading practice of birth control reflect changes in the values and styles of family life?

37

The Politics of Boom and Bust, 1920–1932

The country is in the midst of an era of prosperity more extensive and of peace more permanent than it has ever before experienced.

President Calvin Collidge, 1928

Prologue: In 1920 Warren G. Harding, campaigning on a promise to return to "normalcy" in the nation's war-strained affairs, won the presidency by a landslide vote. As president, Harding soon turned his back on the United States' recent comrades-in-arms, and made a separate peace with recent enemies. But he responded to pressures from League of Nations advocates and called the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament (1921–1922). There the United States secured agreement on limited naval disarmament by making what proved to be costly concessions in the Pacific. Harding was spared the worst embarrassments of his scandal-ridden administration by his death in 1923. Puritanical and tight-lipped Calvin Coolidge succeeded him. Coolidge tried to force the now-unpopular Allies to pay a substantial part of their war debt to the United States, thus aggravating postwar international economic dislocations. Onetime Progressive Herbert Hoover defeated earthy New York Democrat Al Smith for the presidency in 1928, but his administration was almost immediately engulfed by the steepest and deepest economic downturn in U.S. history.

A. Harding and the Washington Conference

1. Harding Hates His Job (c. 1922)

The Old Guard Republicans nominated President Harding largely because he was a second-rater whom they could easily manage. The times, one of them said, did not demand "first-raters." Harding, according to Alice Roosevelt, "was not a bad man. He was just a slob." In beyond his depth, Harding privately moaned that the job was too big for him. William Allen White, the peppery Kansas journalist, visited the White House and talked with the president's secretary, Jud Welliver, an old friend, who (as White remembered it) burst out with the following monologue. What does he identify as Harding's most serious disqualifications for the presidency?

[1]W. A. White, *Autobiography* (1946), p. 616. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

"Lord, Lord, man! You can't know what the President is going through. You see he doesn't understand it; he just doesn't know a thousand things that he ought to know. And he realizes his ignorance, and he is afraid. He has no idea where to turn.

"Not long ago, when the first big tax bill came up, you remember there were two theories of taxation combating for the administration's support. He would listen for an hour to one side, become convinced; and then the other side would get him and overwhelm him with its contentions. Some good friend would walk into the White House all cocked and primed with facts and figures to support one side, and another man who he thought perhaps ought to know would reach him with a counter argument which would brush his friend's theory aside.

"I remember he came in here late one afternoon after a long conference, in which both sides appeared, talked at each other, wrangled over him. He was weary and confused and heartsick, for the man really wants to do the right and honest thing. But I tell you, he doesn't know. That afternoon he stood at my desk and looked at me for a moment and began talking out loud:

"'Jud,' he cried, 'you have a college education, haven't you? I don't know what to do or where to turn in this taxation matter. Somewhere there must be a book that tells all about it, where I could go to straighten it out in my mind. But I don't know where the book is, and maybe I couldn't read it if I found it! And there must be a man in the country somewhere who could weigh both sides and know the truth. Probably he is in some college or other. But I don't know where to find him. I don't know who he is, and I don't know how to get him. My God, but this is a hell of a place for a man like me to be!'"

2. Hearst Blasts Disarmament at Washington (1922)

The infant League of Nations was designed in part to bring about disarmament. But with the powerful United States not a cooperating member, a feverish naval race was clattering forward. Rich Uncle Sam, though still slightly behind Britain, could outstrip all others. The U.S. taxpayers balked, however, and a popular clamor forced Harding to summon a multipower conference at Washington for arms limitation. After prolonged wrangling, the conferees agreed that certain capital ships of the major powers—the United States, Britain, Japan, France, Italy—were to be scrapped and the remainder pegged at a tonnage ratio of 5–5–3–1.7–1.7. The sensitive Japanese were induced to accept an inferior ratio after receiving pledges from the United States and Britain not to fortify further their Far Eastern bases, including the Philippines and Guam. The surrender of potential (but expensive) naval supremacy by "Uncle Sap" aroused much criticism in the United States. The influential Hearst newspapers, traditionally anti-Japanese and anti-British, protested vehemently, as follows. In what ways does this selection reflect the mood of the age, as revealed in the preceding chapter?

Great Britain and Japan are the ones who gain in this Conference, the ones who are going home satisfied.

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[2] *Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Randolph Hearst* (1948), pp. 193–194. By permission.

England, a naval empire, and Japan, a militaristic empire, have won all the points at the expense of the Republic of France, the Republic of China, the Republic of Russia, and the United States. . . .

We have surrendered Guam and the fortifications of our island possessions, so that the American Navy would have no bases for naval operations in case war should ever be forced upon us.

We have surrendered the naval supremacy that lay within our grasp, and which would always have protected us from any attack by overseas nations. . . .

We have surrendered the adequate development of our merchant marine, and not even the battleships to be put out of commission by the decision of this Conference can be transformed into merchant vessels.

The United States, the one first-class Power of the world, in wealth, in potential strength, in strategic position and condition, has been transformed into distinctly a second-class Power by the subordinate position it has voluntarily taken with regard to England and Japan.

But worst of all is the fact that Japan, by the recognition formally accorded it in this Conference, has been made the dominant nation among the yellow nations of the world, the militaristic leader of a thousand million racial enemies of the white peoples.

Not only the people of the United States but the peoples of Europe, the white race throughout the world, will pay dearly for this act of criminal folly in times to come.

3. Japan Resents the Washington Setback (1922)

If the Japanese had won a great diplomatic victory at Washington, they were unaware of it. A Tokyo newspaper (Yorodzu) *lamented that Uncle Sam, a "hateful and haughty" "international boor," though professing to work for peace, had invited the nations to Washington, where he had "tricked them one and all." Indignant mass meetings were held at various places in Japan. The consensus of the Japanese press was that Britain had gained the most, whereas Japan had lost the most. Japan was forced to junk the formidable Anglo-Japanese military alliance, which seemed to menace the United States, and accept for the Pacific a weak four-power consultative pact (the United States, Britain, Japan, and France). "We have discarded whiskey and accepted water," moaned one Japanese diplomat. What aspect of the conference results rankled the Japanese most deeply?*

Our Navy will not have more than 60 percent of the American naval strength hereafter. We must think of some way of improving our relations with America.

Our Government and delegates have brought forth a quadruple agreement [Four Power Pact], replacing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It now becomes clear that Japan's claims will not be granted in future without a judgment by the four Powers. Although there are four nations, England is now in a state so that she cannot oppose the will of America. Any decision in a trial of the court of four Powers will be rendered as America sees fit.

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[3]Tokyo *Kokumin,* quoted in *Literary Digest 72* (January 28, 1922): 18.

Under the circumstances, no Japanese, however optimistic, will have the heart to be optimistic of Japan's future. No one will be able to deny that Japan has [had] her hands and feet cut off in Washington.

We do not advocate pessimistic views by choice. If there be any material by which we can be optimistic, we [should] like to know what it is. If Japan's position has been improved in any way by the Washington Conference, we [should] like to be informed of it. Reflecting upon Japan, which was thus reduced to a state of blockade on all sides, we cannot but deeply sigh with despair. . . .

American public opinion makes it believed that benefits have been conferred upon Japan. Japan was in a position wherein she was obliged to abandon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In place of the Alliance, a quadruple agreement was given to Japan. Thus America has saved Japan's face, American public opinion claims.

By virtue of the quadruple entente, Japan decided not to make an issue out of a race discrimination in America. Our Government and delegates are so magnanimous that they would not raise an issue out of the race discrimination which is insulting to the Japanese race. Nay, our governing classes are never magnanimous. They have never been magnanimous to our countrymen. They are magnanimous to Western peoples. Because they are afraid of Western peoples, they feign to be magnanimous. While being governed by such weak-kneed statesmen, the Japanese race cannot expect to rise above water.

B. Dunning the Debtors

1. Hoover Opposes Cancellation (1922)

During the war to make the world "safe for democracy," the United States advanced to its associates nearly $10 billion in credits (not gold). The expectation was that these sums would be repaid at 5 percent interest, although at the time there was some talk of an outright gift. The then-deserving Allies were holding back the common enemy while the United States was belatedly raising an army. When the war ended with the world definitely not "safe for democracy," disillusionment with the "imperialistic" Allies set in. Demands for repayment more than canceled out those for cancellation. Secretary of Commerce Hoover, a hardheaded businessman who shared the current disillusionment, was dead set against cancellation. He was technically right in insisting that the debts were not connected with reparations, but the Allies were counting on reparations from Germany to pay their debts to the United States. Hoover expressed his views forcefully in this 1922 speech in Toledo. How persuasive is he? What would have been the financial consequences for Americans of cancellation?

Proposals have been repeatedly made over the last three years that the loans from our government to foreign countries during the war should in part or in whole be canceled, either for moral reasons or in the interest of economic stability. Less sweep-

[1] *Excerpts from Speeches and Writings of Herbert Hoover* (Hoover-for-President Washington Committee, 1928), pp. 38–39.

Uncle Sam Becomes Uncle Shylock
The Allied debt wrangle changes attitudes. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1926)

ing proposals have been made that the payments of interest and installments, as required by Congress, should be further postponed or moderated. . . .

These loans are often spoken of as debts to our government. They are, in fact, debts owing to our taxpayers. These loans were made at the urgent request of the borrowers and under their solemn assurance of repayment. The loans were individual to each nation. They have no relation to other nations or other debts [reparations]. The American taxpayer did not participate in reparations and acquired no territory or any other benefits under the treaty, as did our debtors.

There is no question as to the moral or contractual obligation. The repudiation of these loans would undermine the whole fabric of international good faith. I do not believe any public official, either of the United States or any other country, could or should approve their cancellation. Certainly I do not. . . .

America earnestly wishes to be helpful to Europe, but economic matters require a degree of realism that will do justice to the American people, as well as be helpful to peoples abroad.

[Hoover consistently stressed the theme that if the debts were canceled, the U.S. taxpayer would have to assume the burden (which was all too true), and that the debtors should pay off their obligation with the money they were spending on armaments. The European arms race, however, was largely a product of the United States'

desertion of the Allies; and, as one journal pointed out, no city was going to dismiss its police force to meet payments on its bonded indebtedness.]

2. Baker Urges Cancellation (1926)

The Allies regarded the debts not as loans but as subsidies to comrades-in-arms. The war-ravaged French argued that they were not asking for their dead soldiers back; the United States should not ask for its dead dollars back. Washington nevertheless used economic pressure to force the debtors to sign installment-payment agreements spread over sixty-two years. No reduction of the principal sums was granted, but in all cases the interest was lowered from the expected 5 percent, with a consequent cancellation of a large part of the overall indebtedness. Americans preened themselves on their generosity, while the Allies complained bitterly about two generations of "USury" to "Uncle $am." Newton D. Baker, who had been secretary of war under Wilson and was now associated with Cleveland bankers, published the following appeal. Why does he believe that the best interests of both the U.S. bankers and the United States would have been served by an all-around cancellation?

The fact is that not a penny of this money would have been lent by us, or have been borrowed by any of our debtor nations, but for the war. Their need for it arose out of the contributions and sacrifices made by them in the war, and our willingness to supply it arose out of our belief that it was necessary, to our own interest, to sustain their military efficiency until the Armistice, and their economic stability after the Armistice, in order to prevent a collapse which would have cost us vastly more than the money which we supplied.

Nor is it very important to inquire whether, at the time of the making of these so-called loans, there was an expectation that they should be repaid. The question is not what did somebody think in 1917, but what is it wise to think now?

In the modern world, industrial nations are so integrated, by mutual investment and by trade relations, that political isolation is an illusion. . . . The overseas investments of the people of the United States now aggregate perhaps eleven billions of dollars, and we are investing annually overseas at the rate of a billion a year.

Europe to-day is, and long has been, our best customer, consuming of our total exports more than double the amount of any other continent. In a very real sense, therefore, European buying in the world markets is a decisive factor in maintaining the price of our entire home product. It is not conceivable that the rest of the world will continue to trade with us during sixty-two years in which every one of them would have its own industries burdened by crushing taxes.

Every country in the world has had the experience of a vast and hopeless debtor class, and has realized that every so often it is necessary to wipe off the slate and start afresh, as in a Scriptural year of Jubilee. This releases the energies of men, restores hope, cures political disorder, and gives life a fresh start. The analogy applies perfectly to the present international situation. The United States needs, not dollars, but a confident, prosperous, and peaceful world as a field for its industrial and commercial

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[2] *Trade Winds* (Cleveland), quoted in *Literary Digest 90* (September 18, 1926): 10.

operations. That condition cannot be brought about so long as we continue to exact payments up to the capacity of the debtors to pay.

If the foregoing observations are sound, the United States is not justified either in morals, or in a long view of its own best industrial and commercial interests, in adhering to its present policy with regard to the settlement of the inter-allied debts. The time has come when these questions, including the British settlement, ought to be reopened.

Personally, I believe that a mutual cancellation policy will be wise. Such a policy ought to relieve England, France, Italy, Belgium, and the rest of our war allies both as to their debts to us and their debts among themselves, and in turn ought to require the release of some part of the [reparations] burdens imposed upon Germany. This should be done at a round table, where a representative of the United States should be authorized to speak with authority and to demonstrate to the rest of the world that America's interest is not in dollars but in a reconstructed international order.

3. Lippmann Foresees Default (1926)

The debtors, though grumbling, kept up their payments until the early 1930s, when the Great Depression descended with devastating force. Then they all defaulted (save for "brave little Finland") and the debts were dead, except to the U.S. taxpayer and the Treasury bookkeepers. The brilliantly prophetic Walter Lippmann, then on the editorial staff of the New York World, *predicted what would happen. What were his reasons for believing that the debts would never be paid? Was he correct in distinguishing between war debts and ordinary debts? What additional events of the 1930s and 1940s made for default?*

The fundamental reason why these great international war debts cannot be regarded as ordinary debts is that they are dead. They do not represent capital invested in a living enterprise, which produces as it goes along the interest and the principal to repay the money which was loaned. An ordinary debt is productive for the debtor, but these international debts are like bills submitted to pay for the damage done on a wild party by one's grandfather. The payment seems to the debtor like a pure loss, and when it is paid by one nation to another it seems like tribute by the conquered to the conqueror. Money borrowed to build a railroad earns money to pay for itself. But money borrowed to fight a war produces nothing, and if it has to be paid it becomes a dead mortgage superimposed upon all the living credits of a nation.

The United States has engaged itself to collect for the next two generations the sum of $400,000,000 a year on a dead debt. Most of the veterans of the war will be gone. Their children born after the war, knowing no more of its reality than an American college boy knows of the Civil War, will be elderly men, their children in turn will be approaching middle age, and still the huge payments will go on. The last installments will be paid out of the earnings of the great-grandsons of the men who directed the war. Is it conceivable that for the rest of the century this thing will go on? Does anybody really think he lives in a world where such things are possible?

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[3] New York *World,* July 29, 1926.

Let us not deceive ourselves. Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Mellon [secretary of the Treasury] and Mr. [Senator] Borah and Mr. Baldwin [of Britain] and M. Briand [of France] and the other gentlemen who have made these arrangements will not bind posterity nor mortgage the future in any such fashion as this. To us the war was a great event. But already there is a generation out in the world which has almost no knowledge of it. In a few years those of us who lived through the war will seem like reminiscent old bores to young people who will have many better things to do than hash over the rights and wrongs of 1914–18. Yet here we are deluding ourselves with the preposterous idea that from now until about 1984 people and governments are going to be bothered with carrying out what to them will be perfectly meaningless settlements.

Already Mr. Mellon and Mr. [Winston] Churchill can't quite remember what the money was spent for. The next generation certainly—our own if it is wise—will say in face of the endless bother and animosity that these settlements entail: Let the past be the past, let the dead bury the dead, let us forget, let us forgive, let us have peace.

C. The Depression Descends

1. The Plague of Plenty (1932)

In his acceptance speech of 1928, delivered in the Stanford University football stadium, Hoover optimistically envisioned the day when poverty would be banished from the United States. A popular Republican slogan was "a chicken in every pot, a car in every garage." The next year the stock market collapsed and depression descended. Hoover, a "rugged individualist" who had pulled himself up by his own bootstraps, was unwilling to turn Washington into a gigantic soup kitchen for the unemployed. He struggled desperately to halt the Depression, but in general his efforts were too little and too late. To boost morale, he issued a number of cheery statements to the effect that prosperity was just around the corner. The following testimony of a newspaper editor, Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma City, was given in 1932 before a House committee. What is particularly paradoxical about the situation he describes?

During the last three months I have visited, as I have said, some twenty states of this wonderfully rich and beautiful country. Here are some of the things I heard and saw:

In the state of Washington I was told that the forest fires raging in that region all summer and fall were caused by unemployed timber workers and bankrupt farmers in an endeavor to earn a few honest dollars as firefighters. The last thing I saw on the night I left Seattle was numbers of women searching for scraps of food in the refuse piles of the principal market of that city. A number of Montana citizens told me of thousands of bushels of wheat left in the fields uncut on account of its low price that hardly paid for the harvesting. In Oregon I saw thousands of bushels of apples rotting

[1] *Unemployment in the United States. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Seventy-second Congress, First Session, on H.R. 206 . . .* (1932), pp. 98–99.

Two Chickens in Every Garage
The "Hoover Depression" brought a parody of the Republican slogan of 1928: "a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage." (Reprinted courtesy New York World-Telegram, copyright 1932.)

in the orchards. Only absolute[ly] flawless apples were still salable, at from 40 to 50 cents a box containing 200 apples. At the same time, there are millions of children who, on account of the poverty of their parents, will not eat one apple this winter.

While I was in Oregon the Portland *Oregonian* bemoaned the fact that thousands of ewes were killed by the sheep raisers because they did not bring enough in the market to pay the freight on them. And while Oregon sheep raisers fed mutton to the buzzards, I saw men picking for meat scraps in the garbage cans in the cities of New York and Chicago. I talked to one man in a restaurant in Chicago. He told me of his experience in raising sheep. He said that he had killed 3,000 sheep this fall and thrown them down the canyon, because it cost $1.10 to ship a sheep, and then he would get less than a dollar for it. He said he could not afford to feed the sheep, and he would not let them starve, so he just cut their throats and threw them down the canyon.

The roads of the West and Southwest teem with hungry hitchhikers. The camp fires of the homeless are seen along every railroad track. I saw men, women, and children walking over the hard roads. Most of them were tenant farmers who had lost their all in the late slump in wheat and cotton. Between Clarksville and Russellville, Ark., I picked up a family. The woman was hugging a dead chicken under a ragged coat. When I asked her where she had procured the fowl, first she told me she had found it dead in the road, and then added in grim humor, "They promised me a chicken in the pot, and now I got mine."

In Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana I saw untold bales of cotton rotting in the fields because the cotton pickers could not keep body and soul together on 35 cents paid for picking 100 pounds. . . .

As a result of this appalling overproduction on the one side and the staggering underconsumption on the other side, 70 per cent of the farmers of Oklahoma were unable to pay the interests on their mortgages. Last week one of the largest and oldest mortgage companies in that state went into the hands of the receiver. In that and other states we have now the interesting spectacle of farmers losing their farms by foreclosure and mortgage companies losing their recouped holdings by tax sales.

The farmers are being pauperized by the poverty of industrial populations, and the industrial populations are being pauperized by the poverty of the farmers. Neither has the money to buy the product of the other, hence we have overproduction and underconsumption at the same time and in the same country.

I have not come here to stir you in a recital of the necessity for relief for our suffering fellow citizens. However, unless something is done for them and done soon, you will have a revolution on hand. And when that revolution comes it will not come from Moscow, it will not be made by the poor Communists whom our police are heading up regularly and efficiently. When the revolution comes it will bear the label "Laid in the U.S.A." and its chief promoters will be the people of American stock.

2. Distress in the South (1932)

As the Depression deepened, "Hooverville" shantytowns sprang up and millions of footsore men sought nonexistent jobs. Some sold apples on wind-swept street corners. Hoover, in his Memoirs, *advances the improbable thesis that these people were exploited by the apple producers and that "Many persons left their jobs for the more profitable one of selling apples." Blacks—"the last hired and the first fired"—were especially hard hit, but the white sharecroppers in the South were scarcely better off. Hoover's policy was that "no one shall starve in this country," but he was criticized for being more willing to use federal funds to supply seed for farmers and feed for animals than food for human beings. Congressman George Huddleston of Alabama thus described conditions in his state before a Senate committee. What kinds of physical and psychic scars were inflicted by the conditions he describes?*

We have a great many tenant farmers there [Alabama]. We have a great many Negro farmers, and practically all of them are tenants. Their ability to survive, to eat, to have a shelter, depends upon the ability of the landlord to supply them with the necessaries of life. They have a system under which they make a contract with the landlord to cultivate his land for the next year, and in the meantime he feeds them through the winter; and at the end of the year they gather their crops and pay for their supplies and rent, if they are able to do so. Conditions in agriculture have been such for several years that the landlords have been gradually impoverished, and their farms

[2] *Unemployment Relief. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, United States Senate, Seventy-second Congress, First Session, on S. 174* . . . (1932), pp. 244–245.

The Ravages of the Depression
Workers on half-time could not make a living wage, as suggested by these semi-skeletal figures. (Historical Pictures Service)

are mortgaged to the farm-loan system and to the mortgage companies in a multitude of instances.

In a very large percentage [of cases] the landlord is now unable to finance these tenants for another year. He is unable to get the supplies. He has no security and no money with which to feed and clothe his tenants until they can make another crop. . . .

Many of these people, especially the Negro tenants, are now in the middle of a winter, practically without food and without clothes, and without anything else, and how are they going to live? Many of these local counties have no charitable organizations. They are poor people and impoverished. They have no county funds. There is no place to turn, nobody that has any money that they can turn to and ask for help.

Many white people are in the same kind of a situation. They beg around among their neighbors. The neighbors are poor and they have no means of helping them. They stray here and there.

Any thought that there has been no starvation, that no man has starved, and no man will starve, is the rankest nonsense. Men are actually starving by the thousands today, not merely in the general sections that I refer to, but throughout this country as a whole, and in my own district. I do not mean to say that they are sitting down and not getting a bite of food until they actually die, but they are living such a scrambling, precarious existence, with suffering from lack of clothing, fuel, and nourishment, until they are subject to be swept away at any time, and many are now being swept away.

The situation has possibilities of epidemics of various kinds. Its consequences will be felt many years. The children are being stunted by lack of food. Old people are having their lives cut short. The physical effects of the privations that they are forced to endure will not pass away within fifty years, and when the social and civic effects will pass away, only God knows. That is something that no man can estimate.

3. Rumbles of Revolution (1932)

Franklin Roosevelt was later acclaimed as the Messiah whose New Deal saved the United States for capitalism by averting armed revolution. He was quoted as saying that if he failed he would be not the worst but the last president of the United States. Certainly in 1932 the signs were ominous. Hundreds of midwestern farmers were picketing the highways to keep their underpriced produce from reaching market, overturning milk trucks, overpowering armed deputies, releasing prisoners from jail. With increasing millions of desperate people out of work, and with thousands defying the police, the worst might have happened. The testimony of Oscar Ameringer, the Oklahoma newspaperman, is impressive. Does it confirm that the talk of revolution was to be taken seriously?

Some time ago a cowman came into my office in Oklahoma City. He was one of these double-fisted gentlemen, with the gallon hat and all. He said, "You do not know me from Adam's ox."

I said, "No; I do not believe I know you." . . .

He said, "I came to this country without a cent, but, knowing my onions, and by tending strictly to business, I finally accumulated two sections of land and a fine herd of white-faced Hereford cattle. I was independent."

I remarked that anybody could do that if he worked hard and did not gamble and used good management.

He said, "After the war, cattle began to drop, and I was feeding them corn, and by the time I got them to Chicago the price of cattle, considering the price of corn I had fed them, was not enough to even pay my expenses. I could not pay anything."

Continuing, he said, "I mortgaged my two sections of land, and to-day I am cleaned out; by God, I am not going to stand for it."

I asked him what he was going to do about it, and he said, "We have got to have a revolution here like they had in Russia and clean them up."

I finally asked him, "Who is going to make the revolution?"

He said, "I just want to tell you I am going to be one of them, and I am going to do my share in it."

I asked what his share was and he said, "I will capture a certain fort. I know I can get in with twenty of my boys," meaning his cowboys, "because I know the inside and outside of it, and I [will] capture that with my men."

I rejoined, "Then what?"

He said, "We will have 400 machine guns, so many batteries of artillery, tractors, and munitions and rifles, and everything else needed to supply a pretty good army."

Then I asked, "What then?"

He said, "If there are enough fellows with guts in this country to do like us, we will march eastward and we will cut the East off. We will cut the East off from the West. We have got the granaries; we have the hogs, the cattle, the corn; the East has nothing but mortgages on our places. We will show them what we can do."

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[3] *Unemployment in the United States. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Seventy-second Congress, First Session, on H.R. 206* . . . (1932), pp. 100–101.

That man may be very foolish, and I think he is, but he is in dead earnest; he is a hard-shelled Baptist and a hard-shelled Democrat, not a Socialist or a Communist, but just a plain American cattleman whose ancestors went from Carolina to Tennessee, then to Arkansas, and then to Oklahoma. I have heard much of this talk from serious-minded prosperous men of other days.

As you know, talk is always a mental preparation for action. Nothing is done until people talk and talk and talk it, and they finally get the notion that they will do it.

I do not say we are going to have a revolution on hand within the next year or two, perhaps never. I hope we may not have such; but the danger is here. That is the feeling of our people—as reflected in the letters I have read. I have met these people virtually every day all over the country. There is a feeling among the masses generally that something is radically wrong. They are despairing of political action. They say the only thing you do in Washington is to take money from the pockets of the poor and put it into the pockets of the rich. They say that this Government is a conspiracy against the common people to enrich the already rich. I hear such remarks every day.

I never pass a hitchhiker without inviting him in and talking to him. Bankers even are talking about that. They are talking in irrational tones. You have more Bolshevism among the bankers to-day than the hod carriers, I think. It is a terrible situation, and I think something should be done and done immediately.

D. Hoover Clashes with Roosevelt

1. On Public Versus Private Power

a. Hoover Upholds Free Enterprise (1932)

Hoover, the wealthy conservative, instinctively shied away from anything suggesting socialism. In 1931 he emphatically vetoed the Muscle Shoals Bill, which would have put the federal government in the electric power business on the Tennessee River. (An expanded version later created the Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA] under President Roosevelt.) Hoover ringingly reaffirmed his basic position in a speech during the Hoover–Roosevelt presidential campaign of 1932. Why was he so strongly opposed to federally owned electric power? Why would he have found local community ownership more acceptable?

I have stated unceasingly that I am opposed to the Federal Government going into the power business. I have insisted upon rigid regulation. The Democratic candidate has declared that under the same conditions which may make local action of this character desirable, he is prepared to put the Federal Government into the power business. He is being actively supported by a score of Senators in this campaign, many of whose expenses are being paid by the Democratic National Committee, who are pledged to Federal Government development and operation of electrical power.

[1a] *The New York Times,* November 1, 1932 (speech at Madison Square Garden, New York, October 31, 1932).

I find in the instructions to campaign speakers issued by the Democratic National Committee that they are instructed to criticize my action in the veto of the bill which would have put the Government permanently into the operation of power at Muscle Shoals, with a capital from the Federal Treasury of over $100,000,000. In fact thirty-one Democratic Senators, being all except three, voted to override that veto.

In that bill was the flat issue of the Federal Government permanently in competitive business. I vetoed it because of principle and not because it especially applied to power business. In that veto, I stated that I was firmly opposed to the Federal Government entering into any business, the major purpose of which is competition with our citizens. . . .

From their utterances in this campaign and elsewhere it appears to me that we are justified in the conclusion that our opponents propose to put the Federal Government in the power business.

b. Roosevelt Pushes Public Power (1932)

Franklin Roosevelt, who as governor of New York had shown much concern for the Niagara–St. Lawrence River power resources, had already locked horns with the private utility magnates. As president, he later had a large hand in launching the TVA project, which also involved fertilizer, flood control, and improved navigation. He presented his views on public power as follows during the campaign of 1932. Are his arguments more convincing than Hoover's?

I therefore lay down the following principle: That where a community—a city or county or a district—is not satisfied with the service rendered or the rates charged by the private utility, it has the undeniable basic right, as one of its functions of government, one of its functions of home rule, to set up, after a fair referendum to its voters has been had, its own governmentally owned and operated service. . . .

My distinguished opponent is against giving the Federal Government, in any case, the right to operate its own power business. I favor giving the people this right where and when it is essential to protect them against inefficient service or exorbitant charges.

As an important part of this policy, the natural hydro-electric power resources belonging to the people of the United States, or the several States, shall remain forever in their possession.

To the people of ts country I have but one answer on this subject. Judge me by the enemies I have made. Judge me by the selfish purposes of these utility leaders who have talked of radicalism while they were selling watered stock to the people, and using our schools to deceive the coming generation.

My friends, my policy is as radical as American liberty. My policy is as radical as the Constitution of the United States.

I promise you this: Never shall the Federal Government part with its sovereignty or with its control over its power resources, while I am President of the United States.

[1b] *Roosevelt's Public Papers,* vol. 1, pp. 738, 741–742 (speech at Portland, Oregon, September 21, 1932).

2. On Government in Business

a. Hoover Assails Federal Intervention (1932)

Hoover's conservative nature recoiled from the prospect of government in business, especially on the scale envisaged by the TVA. Annoyed by Democratic charges that he was a complete reactionary, he struck back in a major campaign speech at Madison Square Garden. Laboriously written by himself (he was the last president to scorn ghostwriters), it was perhaps the best conceived of his campaign. "Every time the Federal Government extends its arm," he declared, "531 Senators and Congressmen become actual boards of directors of that business." What truth is there in his charge that government in business invites a species of servitude?

There is one thing I can say without any question of doubt—that is, that the spirit of liberalism is to create free men. It is not the regimentation of men. It is not the extension of bureaucracy. I have said in this city [New York] before now that you cannot extend the mastery of government over the daily life of a people without somewhere making it master of people's souls and thoughts.

Expansion of government in business means that the Government, in order to protect itself from the political consequences of its errors, is driven irresistibly, without peace, to greater and greater control of the Nation's press and platform. Free speech does not live many hours after free industry and free commerce die.

It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into Government operation of business. Every step in that direction poisons the very roots of liberalism. It poisons political equality, free speech, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to liberty but to less liberty. True liberalism is found not in striving to spread bureaucracy, but in striving to set bounds to it. . . .

Even if the Government conduct of business could give us the maximum of efficiency instead of least efficiency, it would be purchased at the cost of freedom. It would increase rather than decrease abuse and corruption, stifle initiative and invention, undermine development of leadership, cripple mental and spiritual energies of our people, extinguish equality of opportunity, and dry up the spirit of liberty and progress.

Men who are going about this country announcing that they are liberals because of their promises to extend the Government in business are not liberals; they are reactionaries of the United States.

b. Roosevelt Attacks Business in Government (1932)

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), established late in the Hoover administration, was designed primarily to bail out hard-pressed banks and other big businesses—"a bread line for bankers." Charles G. Dawes, former vice-president of the

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[2a] *The New York Times,* November 1, 1932 (speech at Madison Square Garden, New York, October 31, 1932).

[2b] *Roosevelt's Public Papers,* vol. 1, p. 748 (Commonwealth Club speech, San Francisco, September 23, 1932).

United States, hastily resigned as the head of the RFC so that his Chicago bank might secure an emergency loan of $80 million to stave off bankruptcy. The Democrats, who argued that loans to ordinary citizens were no less imperative, attacked this presumed favoritism. How well does Roosevelt, in the following campaign speech, refute the Republican philosophy of separating government and business?

Some of my friends tell me that they do not want the Government in business. With this I agree; but I wonder whether they realize the implications of the past. For while it has been American doctrine that the Government must not go into business in competition with private enterprises, still it has been traditional, particularly in Republican administrations, for business urgently to ask the Government to put at private disposal all kinds of Government assistance.

The same man who tells you that he does not want to see the Government interfere in business—and he means it, and has plenty of good reasons for saying so—is the first to go to Washington and ask the Government for a prohibitory tariff on his product. When things get just bad enough, as they did two years ago, he will go with equal speed to the United States Government and ask for a loan; and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is the outcome of it.

Each group has sought protection from the Government for its own special interests, without realizing that the function of Government must be to favor no small group at the expense of its duty to protect the rights of personal freedom and of private property of all its citizens.

3. On Balancing the Budget

a. Hoover Stresses Economy (1932)

Hoover, the Iowa orphan, was dedicated to strict economy, a sound dollar, and the balanced budget. He was alarmed by proposals in the Democratic House to unbalance the budget further by voting huge sums to provide jobs for the unemployed. One proposed public works scheme called for the construction of 2,300 new post offices. The upkeep and interest charges on these would cost $14 million a year, whereas, as he noted, "the upkeep and rent of buildings at present in use amounts to less than $3,000,000." Hoover unburdened himself as follows at a press conference. In the light of subsequent developments, did he overemphasize the effects of an unbalanced budget in relation to uneconomical public works? (Since 1932 the federal Treasury has more often than not shown an annual deficit.)

The urgent question today is the prompt balancing of the Budget. When that is accomplished, I propose to support adequate measures for relief of distress and unemployment.

In the meantime, it is essential that there should be an understanding of the character of the draft bill made public yesterday in the House of Representatives for

[3a] *The New York Times,* May 28, 1932 (Washington press conference of May 27, 1932).

this purpose. That draft bill supports some proposals we have already made in aid to unemployment, through the use of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make loans for projects which have been in abeyance and which proposal makes no drain on the taxpayer. But in addition it proposes to expend about $900,000,000 for Federal public works.

I believe the American people will grasp the economic fact that such action would require appropriations to be made to the Federal Departments, thus creating a deficit in the Budget that could only be met with more taxes and more Federal bond issues. That makes balancing of the Budget hopeless.

The country also understands that an unbalanced budget means the loss of confidence of our own people and of other nations in the credit and stability of the Government, and that the consequences are national demoralization and the loss of ten times as many jobs as would be created by this program, even if it could be physically put into action. . . .

This is not unemployment relief. It is the most gigantic pork barrel ever proposed to the American Congress. It is an unexampled raid on the public Treasury.

b. Roosevelt Stresses Humanity (1932)

The Democratic platform of 1932, which assailed Republican extravagance and deficits, had come out squarely for a balanced budget. A favorite slogan of the Democrats was "Throw the spenders out." When Roosevelt died thirteen years later, the national debt (including war costs) had risen from some $19 billion to $258 billion. During the campaign of 1932 Roosevelt expressed his views on a balanced budget as follows. In light of these views, did his later record constitute a breach of faith with the voters?

Let us have the courage to stop borrowing to meet continuing deficits. Stop the deficits! Let us have equal courage to reverse the policy of the Republican leaders and insist on a sound currency. . . .

This dilemma can be met by saving in one place what we would spend in others, or by acquiring the necessary revenue through taxation. Revenues must cover expenditures by one means or another. Any Government, like any family, can for a year spend a little more than it earns. But you and I know that a continuation of that habit means the poorhouse. . . .

The above two categorical statements are aimed at a definite balancing of the budget. At the same time, let me repeat from now to election day so that every man, woman, and child in the United States will know what I mean: If starvation and dire need on the part of any of our citizens make necessary the appropriation of additional funds which would keep the budget out of balance, I shall not hesitate to tell the American people the full truth and ask them to authorize the expenditure of that additional amount.

[3b] *Roosevelt's Public Papers,* vol. 1, pp. 662, 663, 810. (The first two paragraphs are taken from a radio address from Albany, July 30, 1932; the last paragraph is taken from a speech at Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932.) By permission of Random House.

4. On Restricted Opportunity

a. Roosevelt urges Welfare Statism (1932)

"Why change?" cried Republicans in the campaign of 1932. "Things could be worse." A slight business upturn did occur in the summer, but a sag soon followed—resulting, claimed Hoover, from fear of a Rooseveltian revolution. Roosevelt himself jeered that the "no change" argument was like saying, "Do not swap toboggans while you are sliding downhill." He set forth his own concept of change in his memorable Commonwealth Club speech in San Francisco. Was his argument regarding the overbuilding of the United States' industrial plant sound in the light of subsequent history?

A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that quality of opportunity, as we have known it, no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt.

Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people do not live on the farms or on lands, and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie, to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start.* We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people. . . .

Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations, who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. Put plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already.

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over.

Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to re-establish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

b. Hoover Calls for New Frontiers (1932)

Roosevelt's annoying vagueness prompted Hoover to refer to "a chameleon on plaid." Smarting from the New Dealish overtones of the Commonwealth Club speech,

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[4a] *Roosevelt's Public Papers,* vol. 1, pp. 750–753 (speech of September 23, 1932).

*For the safety-valve notion, see note, p. 107

[4b] *The New York Times,* November 1, 1932 (speech at Madison Square Garden, New York, October 31, 1932).

Hoover struck back in his Madison Square Garden speech. Did he interpret the United States' past and future with greater accuracy than Roosevelt did?

But I do challenge the whole idea that we have ended the advance of America, that this country has reached the zenith of its power, the height of its development. That is the counsel of despair for the future of America. That is not the spirit by which we shall emerge from this depression. That is not the spirit that made this country. If it is true, every American must abandon the road of countless progress and unlimited opportunity. I deny that the promise of American life has been fulfilled, for that means we have begun the decline and fall. No nation can cease to move forward without degeneration of spirit.

I could quote from gentlemen who have emitted this same note of pessimism in economic depressions going back for a hundred years. What Governor Roosevelt has overlooked is the fact that we are yet but on the frontiers of development of science, and of invention. I have only to remind you that discoveries in electricity, the internal-combustion engine, the radio—all of which have sprung into being since our land was settled—have in themselves represented the greatest advances in America.

This philosophy upon which the Governor of New York proposes to conduct the Presidency of the United States is the philosophy of stagnation, of despair. It is the end of hope. The destinies of this country should not be dominated by that spirit in action. It would be the end of the American system.

E. An Appraisal of Hoover

1. Hoover Defends His Record (1932)

Hoover smarted under charges that he had not fought the "Hoover depression" with every ounce of energy for the benefit of all the people. Such accusations, he asserted, were "deliberate, intolerable falsehoods." At times he put in an eighteen-hour day, remarking that his office was a "compound hell." When he spoke wearily at St. Paul during the last stages of the 1932 campaign, a man was stationed behind him ready to thrust forward an empty chair if he collapsed. In a major speech at Des Moines, Iowa, he thus refuted charges that he was a "see-nothing, do-nothing president." What is the least convincing part of this recital?

We have fought an unending war against the effect of these calamities upon our people. This is no time to recount the battles on a thousand fronts. We have fought the good fight to protect our people in a thousand cities from hunger and cold.

We have carried on an unceasing campaign to protect the Nation from that unhealing class bitterness which arises from strikes and lockouts and industrial conflict. We have accomplished this through the willing agreement of employer and labor, which placed humanity before money through the sacrifice of profits and dividends before wages.

We have defended millions from the tragic result of droughts.

[1] *The New York Times,* October 5, 1932 (speech of October 4, 1932).

We have mobilized a vast expansion of public construction to make work for the unemployed.

We [have] fought the battle to balance the Budget.

We have defended the country from being forced off the gold standard, with its crushing effect upon all who are in debt.

We have battled to provide a supply of credits to merchants and farmers and industries.

We have fought to retard falling prices.

We have struggled to save homes and farms from foreclosure of mortgages; battled to save millions of depositors and borrowers from the ruin caused by the failure of banks; fought to assure the safety of millions of policyholders from failure of their insurance companies; and fought to save commerce and employment from the failure of railways.

We have fought to secure disarmament and maintain the peace of the world; fought for stability of other countries whose failure would inevitably injure us. And, above all, we have fought to preserve the safety, the principles, and ideals of American life. We have builded the foundations of recovery. . . .

Thousands of our people in their bitter distress and losses today are saying that "things could not be worse." No person who has any remote understanding of the forces which confronted this country during these last eighteen months ever utters that remark. Had it not been for the immediate and unprecendented actions of our government, things would be infinitely worse today.

2. Roosevelt Indicts Hoover (1932)

Roosevelt did not use kid gloves in his ghostwritten campaign speeches. (The one at Topeka represented his own efforts and those of some twenty-five assistants.) Though crediting Hoover with "unremitting efforts," he assailed him for having claimed credit for prosperity while disclaiming responsibility for the Depression; for having placed the blame for the Depression on wicked foreigners instead of on shortsighted Republican economic policies; for having marked time and issued airily optimistic statements when he should have grasped the bull by the horns. At Pittsburgh, Roosevelt cried, "I do indict this Administration for wrong action, for delayed action, for lack of frankness and for lack of courage." At Columbus, Ohio, he presented the following bill of particulars. What is the unfairest part of his indictment?

Finally, when facts could no longer be ignored and excuses had to be found, Washington discovered that the depression came from abroad. In October of last year, the official policy came to us as follows: "The depression has been deepened by events from abroad which are beyond the control either of our citizens or our Government"—an excuse, note well, my friends, which the President still maintained in his acceptance speech last week.

Not for partisan purposes, but in order to set forth history aright, that excuse ought to be quietly considered. The records of the civilized Nations of the world prove two facts: first, that the economic structure of other Nations was affected by our

[2] *Roosevelt's Public Papers,* vol. 1, p. 677 (speech of August 20, 1932).

own tide of speculation, and the curtailment of our lending helped to bring on their distress; second, that the bubble burst first in the land of its origin—the United States.

The major collapse in other countries followed. It was not simultaneous with ours. Moreover, further curtailment of our loans, plus the continual stagnation in trade caused by the Grundy [Hawley Smoot] tariff, has continued the depression throughout international affairs.

So I sum up the history of the present Administration in four sentences:

First, it encouraged speculation and overproduction, through its false economic policies.

Second, it attempted to minimize the [1929 stock market] crash and misled the people as to its gravity.

Third, it erroneously charged the cause to other Nations of the world.

And finally, it refused to recognize and correct the evils at home which had brought it forth; it delayed relief; it forgot reform.

Thought Provokers

1. What lessons does the Washington disarmament conference of 1921–1922 hold for arms-control negotiators?
2. Was the United States justified in insisting on repayment of loans made to the Allies during the war? Would it have been wiser for the United States to have foregone its legal "rights" in this case?
3. What puzzled people most about the impact of the Great Depression? Who was hardest hit? Why was there not more radicalism in the Depression-era United States?
4. Hoover was a former associate of Woodrow Wilson, as was Franklin Roosevelt. In what ways might they both be considered "Wilsonians"? What were the sharpest differences between them?
5. No man in the United States had a higher reputation than Hoover in the 1920s, and none rated lower in public esteem in the early 1930s. Was this reversal of public opinion justified? Should Hoover be admired for the constancy of his beliefs, even under severe criticism?

38

The Great Depression and the New Deal

I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people.
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Accepting Nomination of Democratic National Convention, 1932

Prologue: Roosevelt boldly set up numerous New Deal agencies to provide relief, recovery, and reform. He presided over one of the most active periods of political innovation in the Republic's history. His programs forever changed the structure of U.S. social and economic life—although they never did fully defeat the devastating Great Depression. Ignored were Roosevelt's campaign pledges to reduce government expenses, balance the budget, prune the bureaucracy, maintain a sound currency, and eliminate the improper use of money in politics. But Roosevelt honored other promises, directly or indirectly, in the reciprocal tariff program, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the repeal of prohibition, the insurance of bank deposits, and the encouragement of labor unions. Critics of the New Deal cried that Roosevelt promoted class hatred by setting the poor against the rich. New Dealers retorted that they were merely putting need above greed. The voters endorsed Roosevelt so resoundingly at the polls in 1934 and 1936 that he was emboldened to unveil his scheme for "packing" the Supreme Court in 1937. Though soundly rebuffed, he won an unprecedented third-term election in 1940, with a strong assist from the crisis in Europe and a new war-born prosperity.

A. An Enigma in the White House

1. The Agreeable FDR (1949)

The smiling, wisecracking Franklin Roosevelt could occasionally be brutal when he "got his Dutch up," but ordinarily he recoiled from hurting people's feelings. Senator Huey Long complained, "I wonder if he says 'Fine!' to everybody." This trait of ultra-agreeableness led visitors to suspect a lack of candor and truthfulness. In the following account from Mrs. Roosevelt's memoirs, note particularly why the president was often misunderstood.

[1] Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember* (1949), p. 2. By permission of Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc.

The few books that have already been written about Franklin show quite plainly that everyone writes from his own point of view, and that a man like my husband, who was particularly susceptible to people, took color from whomever he was with, giving to each one something different of himself. Because he disliked being disagreeable, he made an effort to give each person who came in contact with him the feeling that he understood what his particular interest was. . . .

Often people have told me that they were misled by Franklin. Even when they have not said it in so many words, I have sometimes felt that he left them, after an interview, with the idea that he was in entire agreement with them. I would know quite well, however, that he was not, and that they would be very much surprised when later his actions were in complete contradiction to what they thought his attitude would be.

This misunderstanding not only arose from his dislike of being disagreeable, but from the interest that he always had in somebody else's point of view and his willingness to listen to it. If he thought it was well expressed and clear, he nodded his head and frequently said, "I see," or something of the sort. This did not mean that he was convinced of the truth of the arguments, or even that he entirely understood them, but only that he appreciated the way in which they were presented.

2. Coffee for the Veterans (1933)

In 1932, during Hoover's last year as president, some thirty thousand unemployed veterans had descended on Washington to obtain advance bonus payments from Congress. They occupied vacant buildings, erected makeshift camps without proper sanitation, and posed a threat to the public health and safety. A fearful Hoover, having doubled the White House guard, finally gave orders that resulted in their eviction by federal troops with bayonets, tear gas, and torches. A second, smaller bonus army came early in the Roosevelt administration, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (the first female cabinet member) describes how Roosevelt welcomed them. How do Roosevelt's political instincts compare with those of Hoover?

Like other kindhearted, liberal people, Roosevelt had been shocked by President Hoover's orders to drive veterans of World War I out of Anacostia Flats in Washington and to burn their encampment when they had marched there in protest in 1931 [1932]. He had been shocked that the President should fear his fellow citizens. His instinct had cried out that veterans in an illegal encampment in Washington, even if difficult and undesirable, must all be faced in a human and decent way. He had said little, had just shaken his head and shuddered, when the incident took place.

When the veterans came to Washington in March 1933, in a similar, if smaller, march on the capital followed by an encampment, Roosevelt drove out and showed himself, waving his hat at them. He asked Mrs. Roosevelt and Louis Howe to go. "Above all," he said to them, "be sure there is plenty of good coffee. No questions asked. Just let free coffee flow all the time. There is nothing like it to make people feel better and feel welcome."

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[2]Selection from *The Roosevelt I Knew,* pp. 111–112, by Frances Perkins. Copyright © 1946 by Frances Perkins; renewed 1974 by Susanna W. Coggeshall. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin Inc.

After the veterans in 1933 had the free coffee and a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt, they were willing to send a committee to talk with Howe. Gradually they began to go home, and relief funds were found to help them start back.

[This was the last demonstration of its kind during these years.]

3. FDR the Administrative "Artist" (1948)

The numerous and overlapping agencies of the New Deal created an atmosphere of indescribable confusion. Roosevelt was generally reputed to be a wretchedly bad administrator. Rather than face a disagreeable scene by dismissing an incompetent subordinate, he would set up a competing agency. Robert E. Sherwood, playwright and winner of three Pulitzer Prizes, served with a government agency (the Office of War Information) during World War II. He was forced to discharge one of his employees, and here he tells what happened when he reported this unpleasant incident to the president. In what sense was Roosevelt both a poor administrator and a superior one?

Roosevelt now had an expression of open amazement and said, "I can't believe it. I can't believe you had the courage to fire anybody. I thought you were a complete softy—like me."

That scrap of highly unimportant conversation can indicate why those who knew Roosevelt well could never imagine him assuming the role of dictator. He could be and was ruthless and implacable with those whom he considered guilty of disloyalty; but with those in his Administration who were inefficient or even recalcitrant or hopelessly inept, but loyal, he was "a complete softy." He wasted precious hours of time and incalculable quantities of energy and ingenuity trying to find face-saving jobs—or "kicking upstairs" methods—for incompetents who should have been thrown out unceremoniously.

Roosevelt's methods of administration—typified in his handling of the work relief organization—were, to say the least, unorthodox. They filled some practical-minded observers with apprehension and dismay, and some with disgust; they filled others with awe and wonder. I am sure that no final appraisal of them can be made for a long time to come; but there is one thing that can be said about these methods—whether they were good or bad, sensible or insane, they *worked.*

While preparing this book I interviewed Harold Smith, who was Director of the Budget from 1939 to 1946. Smith was a modest, methodical, precise man, temperamentally far removed from Roosevelt and Hopkins. But I know of no one whose judgment and integrity and downright common sense the President trusted more completely. In the course of a long conversation, Smith said to me:

"A few months ago, on the first anniversary of Roosevelt's death, a magazine asked me to write an article on Roosevelt as an administrator. I thought it over and decided I was not ready to make such an appraisal. I've been thinking about it ever since. When I worked with Roosevelt—for six years—I thought, as did many others, that he was a very erratic administrator. But now, when I look back, I can really begin

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[3] From *Roosevelt and Hopkins,* pp. 72–73, by Robert E. Sherwood. Copyright 1948 by Robert E. Sherwood. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

to see the size of his programs. They were by far the largest and most complex programs that any President ever put through. People like me who had the responsibility of watching the pennies could only see the five or six or seven per cent of the programs that went wrong, through inefficient organization or direction. But now I can see in perspective the ninety-three or -four or -five per cent that went right—including the winning of the biggest war in history—because of unbelievably skillful organization and direction. And if I were to write that article now, I think I'd say that Roosevelt must have been one of the greatest geniuses as an administrator that ever lived. What we couldn't appreciate at the time was the fact that he was a real *artist* in government."

That word "artist" was happily chosen, for it suggests the quality of Roosevelt's extraordinary creative imagination. I think that he would have resented the application of the word as implying that he was an impractical dreamer; he loved to represent himself as a prestidigitator who could amaze and amuse the audience by "pulling another rabbit out of a hat." But he was an artist and no canvas was too big for him.

B. Plowing the Surpluses Under

1. The Planned-Scarcity Scandal (1934)

The surest way to raise the prices of farm produce to a profit-making level was to reduce the mountainous surpluses. Under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 ("Triple A"), 6 million pigs were slaughtered and one-fourth of the cotton acreage (already planted) was plowed under. The proverbially stubborn mules, trained to walk between rows of cotton, balked at trampling on them. Critics of the New Deal sneered that the mules had more sense than the New Dealers. Norman Thomas—ex-Presbyterian clergyman, orator, author, editor, and six times Socialist candidate for the presidency (1928–1948)—here vents his indignation. What alternatives were there, given the existing economic and social framework?

Poverty and insecurity are, alas, old stories for men. It remained for this generation, and particularly this generation of Americans, to invent a new and most bitter type of poverty. Pearl Buck's moving description of famine in a Chinese village is the kind of thing which, with minor changes, could have been written about agricultural villages over and over again in almost all parts of the world ever since the dim dawn of history. It remained for us to invent "bread lines knee-deep in wheat."

Other generations have been poor because they could not produce enough. We are told that we are poor because we have produced too much.

For thousands of years man had to accept the inevitability of scarcity. Society would have had the poor always with it, no matter how just and kind might have been its institutions, for the simple reason that man had not learned to harness the powers

[1] From *The Choice before Us* by Norman Thomas, pp. 5–7. Originally published by Macmillan Publishing Company, 1934; reprinted by AMS Press, Inc., 1970.

of nature to help him wrest an abundant living from the earth. It was on the basis of inevitable scarcity that the Greek philosophers tried to justify chattel slavery.

Today, as everybody admits, the machine is our slave. We depend not upon the energy of men but upon the energy of electricity to give us at once abundance and leisure. And still in a nation like our own, blessed by every gift man's skill and nature's abundance can bestow, millions of children go hungry. Their fathers vainly seek work that does not exist. They and their families are crowded together in shacks and slums and hovels while the builders of skyscrapers are idle.

No satirist ever penned such an indictment of a cruel and lunatic order of society as was written by the author of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in America who saw no way to restore a partial prosperity to farmers except to produce an artificial scarcity by paying agricultural producers from the proceeds of a tax on consumers to destroy the abundance of foodstuffs which men had struggled thousands upon thousands of years to be able to create.

And this, be it remembered, in the midst of a cold and hungry world. The more sincerely one believes that such legislation was an emergency necessity, the more terrible is the indictment of the civilization which brought it about.

2. Wallace Puts People above Pigs (1935)

Henry A. Wallace, a Republican convert to the New Deal, served as Roosevelt's first secretary of agriculture. An Iowan who had edited a farm journal and made a fortune in the hybrid-seed business, Wallace was destined to have a controversial career as vice-president under Roosevelt and as presidential candidate on the Communist-backed Progressive ticket of 1948. Capable administrator, prolific author, and dynamic orator, Wallace was also a starry-eyed idealist who later proposed a quart of milk for all people. In this spirited radio defense of his New Deal policies, why does he claim that the producers of pig iron were more blameworthy than the New Dealers? In what way did the policy of planned scarcity actually save food from destruction?

People are still interested in the six million pigs that were killed in September of 1933. In letters I have received following these radio talks, the pigs are mentioned more often than any one thing except potatoes. One letter says:

"It just makes me sick all over when I think how the government has killed millions and millions of little pigs, and how that has raised pork prices until today we poor people cannot even look at a piece of bacon." . . .

So six million little pigs were killed in September of 1933. They were turned into one hundred million pounds of pork. That pork was distributed for relief. It went to feed the hungry. Some very small pigs could not be handled as meat by the packers. These were turned into grease and tankage for fertilizer.

If those six million pigs had grown up they would have been marketed in January, February, and March of 1934. They probably would have brought around $2.50 a hundredweight. Instead of that the price of hogs at that time averaged [a profitable] $3.60. . . .

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[2]From *Democracy Reborn,* pp. 103–106, by Henry A. Wallace; copyright 1944, 1972 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Strange to say, I find myself in strong sympathy with the attitude of many folks who held up their hands in horror about the killing of little pigs. I will go further than most of them in condemning scarcity economics. We want an economy of abundance, but it must be balanced abundance of those things we really want.

The pig-iron reduction control of the big steel companies in 1933 was in principle one thousand times as damnable as the pig-reduction campaign of 1933. Pig-iron production in 1932 was about twenty percent of that in 1929. Pig production in 1933 in pounds was ninety-seven percent of that of 1929. In 1934 pig-iron production was about forty-five percent of that of 1929. Pig production in 1934, the drought year, was eighty percent of that of 1929.

In other words, farmers cut pig production three percent when steel companies cut pig-iron production eighty percent. That sort of industrial reduction program plowed millions of workers out into the streets. It is because of that industrial reduction program that we have to spend billions for relief to keep the plowed-out workers from starvation. I hope industry in future reduction programs will not find it desirable to plow millions of workers out of their jobs. People are more important than pigs. . . .

My attention has been called to a statement by a minister out in the Corn Belt before the district conference of his faith. Concerning the actions of the New Deal he says: ". . . some of them are downright sinful as the destruction of foodstuffs in the face of present want."

I have been used to statements of this sort by partisans, demagogues, politicians, and even newspaper columnists. To men of this sort I pay no attention, because I know that their interest in a cause makes it impossible for them to distinguish truth from falsehood. But when a minister of the gospel makes a statement, we expect it to be the truth.

Just what food does he think this administration has destroyed? We would like to know the specific instances. If he is merely referring to acreage control which enabled us to keep out of use in 1935 some thirty million of the fifty million acres which have produced in the past for markets in foreign countries, I would say, "Yes, we are guilty of acreage control and, depending on variations in weather, we shall continue to be until foreign purchasing power is restored by the breaking down of tariff and quota barriers."

We have not destroyed foodstuffs. We do not contemplate destroying them. However, foodstuffs *were* destroyed back in 1932 by farmers who found it profitable to burn their corn for fuel rather than to sell it for ten cents a bushel (which amounted to $3.33 a ton). It was cheaper for many farmers in the northwest Corn Belt to burn food for fuel at those pitiful prices than to burn coal.

People who believe that we ordered the destruction of food are merely the victims of their prejudices and the misinformation that has been fed to them by interested persons. What we actually did was to stop the destruction of foodstuffs by making it worth while for farmers to sell them rather than to destroy them.

Agricultural Adjustment of the past two years has been a million times as warranted as the industrial reduction policy of the past five years. Why does not the minister attack the industrial reduction which was made possible by corporate and tariff laws? It was this reduction by industry that created the *unemployment* and destroyed the farmers' markets.

C. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

1. Norris Plays Down Electric Power (1933)

George W. Norris, for thirty years U.S. senator from Nebraska, shone as one of the foremost liberals and reformers of his generation. He opposed war with Germany in 1917, fought the Treaty of Versailles, and authored the anti–lame duck (Twentieth) Amendment. Best known as "the father of the TVA," he fought tirelessly for this revolutionary high-dam project. (His fellow Republicans, finally fed up with his New Deal liberalism, read him out of the party in 1936.) The power companies attacked the TVA as primarily an effort to put the government in the electric power business. Norris replied that power was always secondary to navigation and flood control. He declared that the power trust, which favored a large number of obstructing small dams, "had no fundamental objection to making the Tennessee River navigable, but in pursuance of its own interest it preferred an unnavigable river to any interference with its monopolistic control of the generation and sale of electric power." In the final stages of the debate on the TVA bill, Norris spoke as follows. Why could electric power not have been the primary consideration in all instances?

We are confronted here, however, with the Government undertaking in the Tennessee Valley a great project, what we might call "a reclamation project." We are going to try to control the flow of the streams, particularly of the Tennessee River. We are going to try to control the floods. We are going to try to make the great stream navigable. We are going to reforest some of the land. We are going to put to better use some of the so-called "marginal lands." We are going to develop power. The development of power is only one of a large list of things we are going to try to do. They are all interlocked. In many of these improvements every one of these things will enter as a component part.

As to Dam No. 2,* which we own down there now, nobody that I know of has ever said how much of that dam should be allocated to navigation and how much to power. Most people think of it as a power dam only. They do not realize that if that dam had not been built, some similar improvement would have had to be constructed in order to make the Tennessee River navigable. A great lake has been constructed there over a portion of the river which at times in the year is just a rippling stream running over the rocks. . . .

Other dams—smaller dams, without any power—could have been built. Dam No. 3,** some twelve or fourteen miles above, a well-known dam provided for in the original plan, was never constructed. It strikes me . . . that no business man would construct Dam No. 3 as a power proposition. It would not pay; it would not be a good investment; but as a navigation proposition it is absolutely essential that we shall make the river navigable during portions of the year at least.

The difficulty arises because all this business is so interlocked and so interwoven that it is difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends, but when we put them

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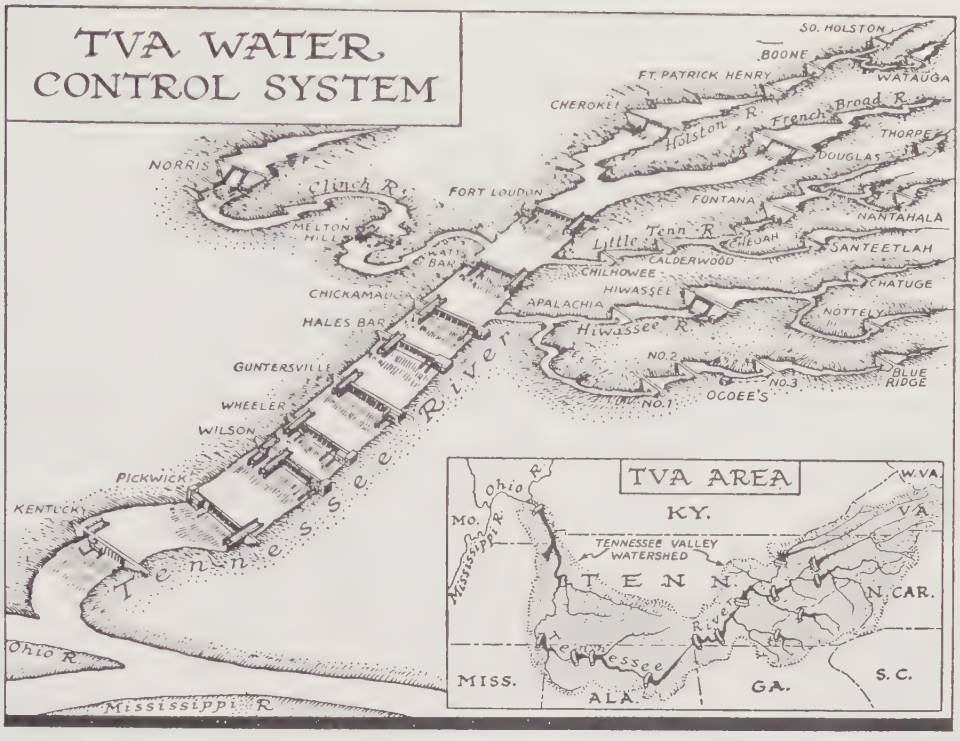
[1] *Congressional Record,* 73d Cong., 1st sess. (May 2, 1933), p. 2684.

*Today's Wilson Dam.

**Today's Wheeler Dam.



together as a whole we know what we are going to get. We are going to get a navigable stream; we are going to get flood control; we are going to get power as an incident. But while the object of this bill is to get the maximum amount of flood control, it does not say the maximum amount of power, as will be noted by anyone who will read the bill. It provides for securing the maximum amount of flood control, the maximum amount of navigation—flood control and navigation—and the maximum amount of power "not inconsistent with navigation and flood control." That, I think, is the language of the bill.

The power is really a secondary proposition. It comes about because it would be sinful to build all these dams and not develop some power. When it shall be developed, what is going to be done with it? The Government has it on its hands, and why should not the people of that great basin have the benefit of it?

2. *Willkie Exposes the Rubber Yardstick (1937)*

The aroused power companies fought the TVA all the way to the Supreme Court. They contended that expensive high dams would not check erosion, that inexpensive low dams would better serve navigation and flood control, and that the loss to individuals from floods was less than the cost of the grandiose project. Dynamic, tousle-haired, and eloquent Wendell Willkie, later an outspoken liberal and the oppo-

[2] *Atlantic Monthly 160* (August 1937): 211–214. By permission of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

nent of Roosevelt in the presidential campaign of 1940, complained as follows in 1937 as president of the competing Commonwealth and Southern power corporation. (In 1939 it sold its Tennessee Electric Power Company to the TVA for some $78 million.) How fair or unfair was the so-called yardstick?

Like England's once famous military formation, the British Square, the TVA has had four fronts to present to the public, and it uses the front most suitable to the group which it is addressing. Before the courts it claims that it is not really a power enterprise, but primarily a *conservation* activity: it is a project to prevent floods, promote navigation on the Tennessee River, and check soil erosion in the great Tennessee Valley. Only before a more sympathetic audience is it frankly an instrument for the electrification of America. . . .

The TVA has therefore appeared to be on the side of the angels in the controversy between it and the utilities. But the conservation programme of the TVA is only a masquerade. It has no functional connection with the power programme of the Authority, and the amount spent on it is only an insignificant portion of the Authority's total expenditures. Other departments of government, both state and national, are charged with the duty of caring for soil erosion and are doing such work effectively without the building of dams and power facilities. . . .

The American people, therefore, are paying more than half a billion dollars for eleven dams, chiefly designed to supply power to one area. But this power, as will shortly be demonstrated, is to be supplied to this area at *less than cost*. In other words, the TVA will operate annually at a deficit, and these annual deficits must, of course, be paid for out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

The sponsors of the TVA maintained at the beginning that this vast programme was not designed to create a competitive power system, but to set up a yardstick by which the rates of the private companies could be judged. The yardstick idea was undoubtedly attractive, since, after all, the average consumer did not understand much about electric rates and had no way of personally checking their relative highness or lowness.

Unfortunately, the yardstick is rubber from the first inch to the last.

From the generation of power at the beginning to its distribution to the ultimate consumer at the end, the TVA enjoys privileges and exemptions which are denied to the private utility, which conceal the true cost of TVA power, and the cost of which comes out of the pockets of you and me as taxpayers. These can be best illustrated by a direct comparison between the TVA and the Tennessee Electric Power Company, one of the typical companies in the Commonwealth and Southern System operating in that area.

The first advantage given to the TVA is exemption from practically all taxes. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1936, the TVA paid only $45,347 in taxes. The Tennessee Electric Power Company (with approximately the same capital investment) paid $2,339,284 in taxes. Here is a difference in this item alone of $2,293, 937.

Let us turn to the item of depreciation. This is an expense, a cost of operation, just as much as labor and fuel. This cost to the Tennessee Company, fixed and determined by the Tennessee Railroad and Public Utilities Commission, amounts to $1,260,000 per year. The books of the TVA, however, carry no item for depreciation.

The same is true with respect to interest charges. The Tennessee Company prop-

erties were built only in part with borrowed capital. During the twelve months ended June 30, 1936, this company paid interest and preferred dividends amounting to $4,299,022. On the other hand, the property of the TVA is built entirely with borrowed capital. The United States Government is paying interest and will continue to pay interest on such borrowings. The TVA books, however, show no item to cover this interest. It got its property from the Federal Government, which in turn, of course, collected its money from the taxpayer. . . .

Since the TVA is apparently selling its power at less than cost, it should say so. If the people who live in New York City, for example, are to pay part of the electric bill of people who live in Corinth, Mississippi, the people in New York should know about it. Perhaps they will not object. On more than one occasion the American people as a whole have contributed, through taxes, to a development designed to serve only a limited area. Often that is socially desirable. But if we are to pay part of the electric light bills of the Tennessee Valley, the TVA should honestly tell us so.

Also, if the TVA is attempting to force the utilities into public ownership, it should employ means that will neither deceive nor injure the public and will not jeopardize the interests of utility investors. It should announce its intention and proceed, by condemnation proceedings duly instituted in the courts of the land, to take over utility properties with fair compensation to the owners. This is both the honest and the humane method of action. Also, it gives the people a fair chance to protest if they don't like the change; or if they are still skeptical of political management of a major industry. . . .

3. Displaced Tennesseans (1935)

Architects of the New Deal also designed the TVA to provide employment and to raise the living standards of an impoverished area. Electric lights and appliances were incredibly scarce. Before the valley bottoms were turned into lakes by the high dams, federal agents had to buy out the owners. More than one doughty Tennessean threatened to "shoot them TVA fellers." Form conclusions from this contemporary account as to the need for a TVA. Do the social gains justify the cost?

. . . On Cedar Creek lives Isabel Brantley.

"I was born in this house and so was my pappy before me, and here I've lived and here I'll die, even if I have to bolt the door and let the flood come—but there hain't a-goin' to be no flood!"

This was her greeting to the TVA appraiser, prepared to offer twelve hundred dollars for her log cabin and eroded acres. In the end she was won over by the generosity of TVA's laborers, who offered to move the house in their spare time, without cost to her, to a site below the dam. Persuaded but not softened, she declared, "You got to find me a place with a spring or a well. I don't want none of this newfangled pipe water runnin' into my house."

Such is the sales resistance encountered by Government agents.

When Ezra Hill saw the plans for the home which was to replace his old one in the

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[3] Drew and Leon Pearson, "The Tennessee Valley Experiment," *Harper's Magazine 170* (May 1935): 707. Reprinted by permission of the estate of Drew Pearson.

flood area, he pointed to the place on the print showing the circles and ovals of bathroom fixtures. "What's all this? . . . I won't have it! I guess a privy is still good enough for me."

[The TVA brought improvement but not paradise; the per capita income of the region remained well below the national average. But the demands of both the government and the people grew so rapidly that by 1962 the TVA had supplementary steam plants capable of producing more than twice the amount of electricity generated by water power.]

D. Little Steel Versus the CIO

1. Tom Girdler Girds for Battle (1937)

The New Dealers, with their strong appeal to the low-waged voter, encouraged the unionization of labor, notably through the Wagner Act of 1935. "Big steel" (including the U.S. Steel Corporation) reluctantly accepted unionization by the CIO (Committee for Industrial Organization). "Little steel," led by the tough-fisted but mild-appearing Tom Girdler, who became a hero to conservatives, struck back. At his Republic Steel Company's plant in Chicago on Memorial Day 1937, the police fired upon and killed ten strikers, while wounding many others. Several additional lives were lost in Ohio cities. Girdler, before a Senate committee, here justifies his opposition. Are the tactics of the CIO defensible (if correctly reported)? Are the accusations regarding communism convincing?

First of all let me make it clear that the fundamental issue in this strike is not one involving wages, hours, or working conditions in Republic [Steel Company] plants. This is not a strike in the sense that a large body of our employees quit work because of grievances against the company. What has happened is that an invading army descended upon our plants and forced many of our employees from their jobs.

Fully 23,000 of our employees have remained at work throughout the strike despite threats and violence, and many additional thousands have been kept from work against their will.

The basic issue of this strike is the right of American citizens to work, free from molestation, violence, coercion, and intimidation by a labor organization whose apparent policy is either to rule or to ruin American industry. . . .

The difficulties in the present dispute arise from the fact that the company will not enter into a contract, oral or written, with an irresponsible party; and the C.I.O., as presently constituted, is wholly irresponsible. . . .

The irresponsibility of the C.I.O. is well established by the fact that 200 strikes and walk-outs have taken place in the plants of the General Motors Corporation since that

[1] "Delivery or Non-Delivery of Mail in Industrial Strife Areas," Senate Committee on Post Offices, *Hearings*, 75th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 207–210.

A New Deal for Labor
The emergence of the CIO gave previously nonunionized industrial workers a powerful new tool in their struggle with capital. (Historical Pictures Service)

corporation signed an agreement with the C.I.O. which called for an end of strikes during the period of the agreement. . . .

Further evidence of the irresponsible character of the C.I.O. is to be seen in the lawless and terroristic conduct of its members since the beginning of the present strike. Republic plants have been surrounded by armed crowds who call themselves pickets and who, by force and violence, have imprisoned in the plants thousands of employees who refused to heed the strike call and remained at work. These men have been prevented from returning to their families when their work is done, and other employees who want to work have been prevented from getting into the plants.

Airplanes delivering food to workers besieged in the plants have been fired upon by armed mobs about the gates. The delivery of the United States mails has been interfered with. Railroad tracks have been dynamited. Families of men who are at work in the plants in certain communities have been threatened, coerced, and stoned. Defiance of law and order has been so flagrant that in some communities law enforcement has completely collapsed.

These illegal practices have not been peculiar to the Republic strike. They have characterized C.I.O. methods since the beginning of its organization drive in many industries. They have more than confirmed the conclusion reached by this company before the present strike ever started that the C.I.O. was and is an irresponsible and dangerous force in America. . . .

We believe that the C.I.O. with its terroristic methods and Communistic technique

of picketing constitutes the most dangerous threat to the preservation of democracy in the United States. . . .

Now, let me state a few fundamental conclusions which I have reached about the C.I.O.

First. The C.I.O. has denied to free American citzens who refuse to pay tribute to it the right to work.

Second. The C.I.O. encourages and promotes violence and disregard of law. If this is done under instructions and approval of its leaders, it amounts to a confession on their part that they are deliberately adopting the methods of force and terrorism which have proved so successful for the dictators of Europe. If this is done without their approval and occurs because they cannot control their own men, it is a confession that the C.I.O. is an irresponsible party and that a contract with it would not be worth the paper upon which it is written.

Third. The C.I.O. is associated with Communism. Many of its leaders and organizers are avowed Communists. The *Daily Worker*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the United States, gives the C.I.O. its full support. Can any organization which welcomes the support of the International Communist Party still claim that it adheres to the principles of democracy?

2. Lewis Lambasts Girdler (1937)

John L. Lewis—gruff, domineering, shaggy-browed—had risen from the depths of the coal mines to the headship of the potent United Mine Workers of America. Seeking new worlds to conquer, he undertook to unionize mass-production industries through his Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO). The clash between him and Tom Girdler—both strong-minded men—became so noisy that FDR himself burst out, "A plague on both your houses." Four years later, in 1941, Girdler's "little steel" was forced to accept unionization. In this impassioned speech over a radio hookup, Lewis betrayed his anger. What was his loudest complaint? Why did he regard people like Girdler as more dangerous than communists?

Five of the corporations in the steel industry elected to resist collective bargaining and undertook to destroy the steel-workers' union. These companies filled their plants with industrial spies, assembled depots of guns and gas bombs, established barricades, controlled their communities with armed thugs, leased the police power of cities, and mobilized the military power of a state to guard them against the intrusion of collective bargaining within their plants.

During this strike eighteen steel workers were either shot to death or had their brains clubbed out by police, or armed thugs in the pay of the steel companies. . . .

The steel workers have now buried their dead, while the widows weep and watch their orphaned children become objects of public charity. The murder of these unarmed men has never been publicly rebuked by any authoritative officer of the state or federal government. Some of them, in extenuation, plead lack of jurisdiction, but murder as a crime against the moral code can always be rebuked without regard to the

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[2] *Vital Speeches 3* (September 15, 1937: 731 (speech of September 3, 1937).

niceties of legalistic jurisdiction by those who profess to be the keepers of the public conscience.

[Tom] Girdler, of Republic Steel, in the quiet of his bedchamber, doubtless shrills his psychopathic cackles as he files notches on his corporate gun and views in retrospect the ruthless work of his mercenary killers. . . .

The United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and similar groups representing industry and financial interests are rendering a disservice to the American people in their attempts to frustrate the organization of labor and in their refusal to accept collective bargaining as one of our economic institutions.

These groups are encouraging a systematic organization of vigilante groups to fight unionization under the sham pretext of local interests. They equip these vigilantes with tin hats, wooden clubs, gas masks, and lethal weapons, and train them in the arts of brutality and oppression. They bring in snoops, finks [strikebreakers], hatchet gangs, and Chowderhead Cohens to infest their plants and disturb the communities.

Fascist organizations have been launched and financed under the shabby pretext that the C.I.O. movement is Communistic. The real breeders of discontent and alien doctrines of government and philosophies subversive of good citizenship are such as these who take the law into their own hands. No tin-hat brigade of goose-stepping vigilantes or bibble-babbling mob of blackguarding and corporation-paid scoundrels will prevent the onward march of labor, or divert its purpose to play its natural and rational part in the development of the economic, political, and social life of our nation. . . .

Do those who have hatched this foolish cry of Communism in the C.I.O. fear the increased influence of labor in our democracy? Do they fear its influence will be cast on the side of shorter hours, a better system of distributed employment, better homes for the underprivileged, social security for the aged, a fairer distribution of the national income?

Certainly the workers that are being organized want a voice in the determination of these objectives of social justice.

E. The Supreme Court Fight and After

1. Ickes Defends His Chief (1937)

The ultraconservative Supreme Court had repeatedly overthrown crucial New Deal measures for economic and social reform. Roosevelt, intoxicated by his heady majorities of 1932, 1934, and 1936, concluded that in a true democracy the "horse-and-buggy" Court ought to catch up with the will of the people. Two weeks after his second inauguration, he sprang his clever Supreme Court scheme on a surprised

[1] *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes,* vol. 2, p. 80. Copyright © 1953 by Simon & Schuster, Inc., renewal © 1981 by Harold M. and Elizabeth Ickes. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, a Division of Gulf & Western Corporation.

An Imperious President
Franklin Roosevelt shocked the country and the Congress with his Court-packing proposal. (The Bettmann Archive)

Congress and nation. Among other changes, he proposed increasing the membership of the Court from nine to fifteen by appointing additional (New Deal) justices to offset those aged seventy or more who were unwilling to retire. Critics cried that this was "packing" the Court; supporters replied that this was "unpacking" the Court by offsetting reactionaries. "Honest Harold" Ickes, the acid-tongued secretary of the interior, here tells how he defended Roosevelt before an audience of Texans. Given that the Court scheme had not received mention in the Democratic platform or in Roosevelt's speeches during the recent campaign of 1936, how persuasive is Ickes's argument regarding a popular mandate?

Then I switched to a discussion of the constitutional situation, with special reference to the recent proposal of the President to change the judiciary system. I could hear a gasp go up as I disclosed my purpose to discuss this issue. A week or ten days ago the Texas State Senate, with only three or four votes opposing, had gone on record as being against the President's proposal. The House decided neither to approve nor disapprove.

I waded right into the constitutional issue with both feet. In my first sentence I asked where had the Supreme Court gotten its supposed power to pass upon the

constitutionality of acts of Congress. I read the Tenth Amendment and then I said that this power had been usurped.*

I then went on to discuss the supposed checks and balances in our tripartite Federal system, pointing out that while there were ample checks and balances with respect to the legislative and executive branches, there wasn't a single check on the judiciary except that of impeachment, which was slow and cumbersome and of doubtful efficacy when it came to a court of nine men. I remarked in passing that one could not be impeached for being too old, that that was not a crime but merely a misfortune.

I argued that the people had given the President a mandate at the last election to provide them with such social and economic legislation as is implicit in the term "New Deal." I said that he would be recreant to his trust if he didn't do all within his power to give the people what he had promised them and what they had shown so unmistakably that they wanted.

I expressed the opinion that the people wanted the benefits of the New Deal now. I pointed out that while those who are opposing the President pretend to do it on the basis that a constitutional amendment is the proper procedure, it would take all of twenty years to get such an amendment through.

With respect to an act or acts of Congress limiting the powers of the Supreme Court so as to provide, for instance, that no law could be held to be unconstitutional except on a two-thirds or three-quarters majority, I ventured to predict that any such law would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and therefore would be ineffective.

2. Dorothy Thompson Dissents (1937)

As the battle over the Supreme Court mounted, critics accused Roosevelt of perverting the Constitution by destroying the delicate checks and balances, of undermining the integrity and independence of the judiciary, and of grooming himself for dictatorship. Even many New Dealers preferred an unhurried constitutional amendment to a hurried act of Congress. Perhaps most damaging was the suggestion of "slickness," together with Roosevelt's argument, based on false information, that the aged justices were behind in their work. Dorothy Thompson, a noted and respected columnist, sounded the following clarion call. How sound is her view that the people must be protected against fickle majorities, and that haste is not necessary?

If the American people accept this last audacity of the President without letting out a yell to high heaven, they have ceased to be jealous of their liberties and are ripe for ruin.

This is the beginning of pure personal government. Do you want it? Do you like it? Look around about the world—there are plenty of examples [e.g., Hitler]—and make up your mind.

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*The Tenth Amendment reserved undelegated powers to the states, but the function of judicial review, "usurped" by the Supreme Court, is generally regarded as implicit in the views of the Founding Fathers and in the Constitution.

[2]Washington *Star,* February 10, 1937, quoted in *Congressional Digest 16* (March 1937): 96.

The Executive is already powerful by reason of his overwhelming victory in November, and will be strengthened even more if the reorganization plan for the administration, presented some weeks ago, is adopted. We have, to all intents and purposes, a one-party Congress, dominated by the President. Although nearly 40 percent of the voters repudiated the New Deal at the polls, they have less than 20 percent representation in both houses of Congress. And now the Supreme Court is to have a majority determined by the President and by a Senate which he dominates.

When that happens we will have a one-man Government. It will all be constitutional. So, he claims, is Herr Hitler.

Leave the personality and the intentions of the President out of the picture. They are not the crux of this issue. He may be as wise as Solon, lofty as Plato, and pure as Parsifal. He may have the liberties of the American people deeply at heart. But he will have a successor who may be none of these things. There have been benevolent dictatorships and benevolent tyrannies. They have even, at times in history, worked for the popular welfare. But that is not the welfare which, up to now, the American people have chosen.

And let us not be confused by the words "liberal" and "conservative" or misled into thinking that the expressed will of the majority is the essence of democracy. By that definition Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini are all great democratic leaders. The essence of democracy is the protection of minorities.

Nor has a majority of this generation the right to mortgage a majority of the next. In the Constitution of the United States are incorporated the rights of the people, rights enjoyed by every American citizen in perpetuity, which cannot be voted away by any majority, ever.

Majorities are temporary things. The Supreme Court is there to protect the fundamental law even against the momentary "will of the people." That is its function. And it is precisely because nine men can walk out and say: "You can't do that!" that our liberties are protected against the mob urge that occasionally overcomes democracies. That is why the Supreme Court has been traditionally divorced from momentary majorities. . . .

The Constitution can be changed. There are ways provided for doing so. To change it will require much deliberation, debate, time. And what is wrong with deliberation and debate and time? What is the hurry? Under what threat are we living at this instant?

This is no proposal to change the Constitution. This is no proposal to limit the powers of the Supreme Court. This is a proposal to capture the Supreme Court. . . .

If, of the six men over 70, four had been "liberals" and two "conservatives," instead of the other way around, do you think that this program would have been proposed? . . .

Don't talk of liberalism! The liberal does not believe that the end justifies the means. Long experience has taught him that the means usually determine the end. No human being can believe in the sincerity of this proposal. It is clever, in a world sick of cleverness and longing for plain talk and simple honesty. Must we begin to examine every message from the President to see whether there is a trick in it somewhere?

[Roosevelt threw all his weight behind the Supreme Court reform, but suffered his most severe political setback when he lost out on the packing feature. He underes-

timated popular reverence for the Court. But he did win certain other judicial reforms; the Supreme Court did shift to a more liberal position; and within four years he had filled seven vacancies with younger men. He lost a battle but in the end won the war. Yet he lost essential legislative support in Congress.]

3. Republicans Roast Roosevelt (1940)

The Roosevelt–Willkie presidential campaign of 1940 generated new bitterness. Roosevelt's challenge to the third-term tradition, combined with his unsuccessful attempt to pack the Supreme Court and purge certain members of Congress hostile to him, accentuated fears of dictatorship. The Democrats argued that Roosevelt had saved capitalism by averting, whatever the monetary cost and confusion, a revolutionary uprising. The Republican platform, invoking the Preamble of the Constitution, found the New Deal wanting on many counts. In the light of subsequent developments, which is the most valid accusation?

Instead of leading us into More Perfect Union, the Administration has deliberately fanned the flames of class hatred.

Instead of the Establishment of Justice the Administration has sought the subjection of the Judiciary to Executive discipline and domination.

Instead of insuring Domestic Tranquillity, the Administration has made impossible the normal friendly relation between employers and employees, and has even succeeded in alienating both the great divisions of Organized Labor.

Instead of Providing for the Common Defense, the Administration, notwithstanding the expenditure of billions of our dollars, has left the Nation unprepared to resist foreign attack.

Instead of promoting the General Welfare, the Administration has Domesticated the Deficit, Doubled the Debt, Imposed Taxes where they do the greatest economic harm, and used public money for partisan political advantage.

Instead of the Blessings of Liberty, the Administration has imposed upon us a Regime of Regimentation which has deprived the individual of his freedom and has made of America a shackled giant.

Wholly ignoring these great objectives, as solemnly declared by the people of the United States [in the Constitution], the New Deal Administration has for seven long years whirled in a turmoil of shifting, contradictory, and overlapping administrations and policies. Confusion has reigned supreme. The only steady undeviating characteristic has been the relentless expansion of the power of the Federal government over the everyday life of the farmer, the industrial worker, and the businessman. The emergency demands organization—not confusion. It demands free and intelligent cooperation—not incompetent domination. It demands a change.

The New Deal Administration has failed America.

It has failed by seducing our people to become continuously dependent upon government, thus weakening their morale and quenching the traditional American spirit.

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[3]K. H. Porter and D. B. Johnson, eds., *National Party Platforms, 1840–1956* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1961).

Thought Provokers

1. Compare and contrast the presidential leadership of Hoover and Roosevelt. Temperamentally, could Roosevelt ever have been a true dictator?
2. What probably would have happened if the federal government had refused to provide relief for the millions of unemployed, as well as for the impoverished farmers? Was planned scarcity immoral?
3. Did the social gains resulting from the TVA more than offset the blow that was directed at legitimate private enterprise? If the TVA was designed as a yardstick, what could it accurately measure? To what extent has the TVA been copied elsewhere in the United States?
4. Is the right to work without first joining a union a basic right? Why did the CIO call management fascist, and why did management call the CIO communist?
5. Why did Roosevelt's Supreme Court proposal stir up such a hornets' nest? Was Roosevelt justified in breaking his platform promises regarding economy and a balanced budget? Did the New Deal change the basic character of the American people? of the federal government?

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Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War

The epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. . . . There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1937

Prologue: The same depression that generated the New Deal at home accelerated the rise of power-hungry dictators abroad: Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese warlords. Congress tried to insulate the nation from the imminent world war by arms embargoes and other presumed safeguards. But when Hitler attacked Poland in 1939, the American people found themselves torn between two desires: they wanted to avoid involvement, but they feared for their future security if they did not get involved to the extent of bolstering the democracies. Under Roosevelt's prodding, Congress repealed the arms embargo in 1939, and the administration gradually took a series of steps that removed any pretense of neutrality. Most Americans—except the diehard isolationists—were willing to risk hostilities in an effort to help the democracies and halt the aggressors. Roosevelt took the gamble but lost when a shooting war developed with Germany in the Atlantic, and when Japan struck a devastating aerial blow at Pearl Harbor.

A. The Arms Embargo Debate

1. Senator Connally Rejects Rigidity (1935)

By the mid-1930s Hilter was on the rise in Germany and Mussolini was on the loose in Ethiopia. An apprehensive U.S. public was determined to legislate itself out of the next world war by a straitjacket neutrality law. A special Senate investigation launched in 1934 and headed by the notoriety-seeking Senator Nye had left the impression that the manufacturers of arms had dragged the United States into World War I. If Congress would only embargo munitions, the nation would (on paper) keep out of World War II. Senator Connally, the long-haired, string-tie Texan orator who headed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, showed himself unswayed by this logic in the following speech. Did the proposed neutrality legislation provide for true neutrality?

[1] *Congressional Record,* 74th Cong., 1st sess. (August 24, 1935), p. 14432.

Is it an expression of neutrality to say to two warring nations, one of which has ambitions for territorial conquest, the other unprepared, the other weak, the other trying to pursue its own destiny—is it neutral to say to those nations, "We shall give arms to neither of you," thereby insuring the triumph of the prepared nation, the covetous nation, the ambitious nation, the nation which seeks by force of arms to impose its will on a weaker and defenseless nation?

Mr. President, that is not neutrality; that is a form of unneutrality. That is a form of declaration which announces that the United States will take the side of the strong and powerful against the weak, the unprepared, and the defenseless. Why not leave that determination to the President of the United States when and if, in his conduct of our foreign relations, it becomes a sound American policy for him to take a position in a crisis of that kind?

We cannot now put the United States into an international strait jacket and thereby keep out of war. We cannot by an act of Congress put the United States into a concrete cast internationally which will fit all future occasions and solve all future problems.

2. Roosevelt Pleads for Repeal (1939)

Despite Connally's urging, the arms-embargoing Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937 made no distinction between aggressor and victim. When Hitler wantonly launched World War II in September 1939, the United States could not legally sell munitions to the unprepared democracies, even though U.S. sentiment and self-interest both cried aloud for aid to Britain and France. A worried Roosevelt summoned Congress into special session and made the following dramatic appeal. He was wrong on two counts. First, the arms embargo, as purely domestic legislation, was not a departure from long-established international law. Second, the Jeffersonian embargo and nonintercourse acts did not cause the War of 1812; they came within a few days of averting it. What does this excerpt suggest about Roosevelt's technique as a politician? What did he see as the most dangerous loophole in the existing legislation?

Beginning with the foundation of our constitutional Government in the year 1789, the American policy in respect to belligerent nations, with one notable exception, has been based on international law. . . .

The single exception was the policy adopted by this nation during the Napoleonic Wars, when, seeking to avoid involvement, we acted for some years under the so-called Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts. That policy turned out be a disastrous failure—first, because it brought our own nation close to ruin, and, second, because it was the major cause of bringing us into active participation in European wars in our own War of 1812. It is merely reciting history to recall to you that one of the results of the policy of embargo and non-intercourse was the burning in 1814 of part of this Capitol in which we are assembled.

Our next deviation by statute from the sound principles of neutrality, and peace through international law, did not come for 130 years. It was the so-called Neutrality Act of 1935—only 4 years ago—an Act continued in force by the Joint Resolution of May 1, 1937, despite grave doubts expressed as to its wisdom by many Senators and

[2] *Congressional Record,* 76th Cong., 2d sess. (September 21, 1939), pp. 10–11.

Representatives and by officials charged with the conduct of our foreign relations, including myself.

I regret that the Congress passed that Act. I regret equally that I signed that Act.

On July 14th of this year, I asked the Congress, in the cause of peace and in the interest of real American neutrality and security, to take action to change that Act.

I now ask again that such action be taken in respect to that part of the Act which is wholly inconsistent with ancient precepts of the law of nations—the [arms] embargo provisions. I ask it because they are, in my opinion, most vitally dangerous to American neutrality, American security, and American peace.

These embargo provisions, as they exist today, prevent the sale to a belligerent by an American factory of any completed implements of war, but they allow the sale of many types of uncompleted implements of war, as well as all kinds of general material and supplies. They, furthermore, allow such products of industry [e.g., copper] and agriculture [e.g., cotton] to be taken in American-flag ships to belligerent nations. There in itself—under the present law—lies definite danger to our neutrality and our peace.

3. Senator Vandenberg Fights Repeal (1939)

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan—voluble orator, long-time newspaperman, and author of books on Alexander Hamilton—was a leader of the Republican isolationists and a serious contender for the presidential nomination in 1940. Later, in 1945, he underwent a spectacular conversion to internationalism, and rose to heights of statesmanship in supporting the Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of postwar Europe. While fighting against the repeal of the arms embargo in 1939, he wrote in his diary that he deplored Roosevelt's "treacherous" and "cowardly" idea that the United States could be "half in and half out of this war." Hating Hitlerism, he felt that the honorable course would be to go in or to stay out—and he much preferred to stay out. In this speech in the Senate against the repeal of the arms embargo, what does he regard as both unneutral and unethical?

Mr. President, I believe this debate symbolically involves the most momentous decision, in the eyes of America and of the World, that the United States Senate has confronted in a generation.

In the midst of foreign war and the alarms of other wars, we are asked to depart basically from the neutrality which the American Congress has twice told the world, since 1935, would be our rule of conduct in such an event. We are particularly asked to depart from it through the repeal of existing neutrality law establishing an embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war. We are asked to depart from it in violation of our own officially asserted doctrine, during the [first] World War, that the rules of a neutral cannot be prejudicially altered in the midst of a war.

We are asked to depart from international law itself, as we ourselves have officially declared it to exist. Consciously or otherwise, but mostly consciously, we are asked to depart from it in behalf of one belligerent whom our personal sympathies largely favor, and against another belligerent whom our personal feelings largely condemn.

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[3] *Congressional Record,* 76th Cong., 2d sess. (October 4, 1939), p. 95.

In my opinion, this is the road that may lead us to war, and I will not voluntarily take it. . . .

The proponents of the change vehemently insist that their steadfast purpose, like ours, is to keep America out of the war, and their sincere assurances are presented to our people. But the motive is obvious, and the inevitable interpretation of the change, inevitably invited by the circumstances, will be that we have officially taken sides.

Somebody will be fooled—either the America which is assured that the change is wholly pacific, or the foreigners who believe it is the casting of our die. Either of these disillusionments would be intolerable. Each is ominous. Yet someone will be fooled—either those at home who expect too much, or those abroad who will get too little.

There is no such hazard, at least to our own America, in preserving neutrality in the existing law precisely as we almost unanimously notified the world was our intention as recently as 1935 and 1937. There is no such jeopardy, at least to our own America, in maintaining the arms embargo as it is. No menace, no jeopardy, to us can thus be persuasively conjured.

Therefore millions of Americans and many members of the Congress can see no reason for the change, but infinite reason to the contrary, if neutral detachment is our sole objective. I am one who deeply holds this view. If I err, I want to err on America's side.

[Despite such pleas, the arms embargo was repealed early in November 1939. The vote was 55 to 24 in the Senate, 243 to 172 in the House.]

B. The Intervention Issue

1. Lindbergh Argues for Isolation (1941)

After France fell to Hilter in 1940, the embattled British stood alone. U.S. interventionists called for a helping hand to Britain; the isolationists called for hands off. The isolationist America First group proclaimed, "We have nothing to fear from a Nazi-European victory." Boyish-faced, curly-haired Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who had narrowed the Atlantic with his historic solo flight in 1927, stressed the width of the ocean in his new role as a leading isolationist orator. After inspecting Germany's aircraft facilities in 1938, he stoutly maintained that Hitler (who decorated him) could never be conquered in the air. If Lindbergh proved so wrong in an area in which he was a specialist, form some judgment about the assessment of the U.S. strategic position that he made in this speech before a New York mass meeting in April 1941. To what extent is interventionism undemocratic, assuming that Lindbergh's figures were correct? Is his analysis of public opinion trustworthy?

We have weakened ourselves for many months, and still worse, we have divided our own people, by this dabbling in Europe's wars. While we should have been

[1] *The New York Times,* April 24, 1941, p. 12.

New Neutrality Legislation
Dual crises required drastic action. (Philadelphia Inquirer, *1939)*

concentrating on American defense, we have been forced to argue over foreign quarrels. We must turn our eyes and our faith back to our own country before it is too late. And when we do this, a different vista opens before us.

Practically every difficulty we would face in invading Europe becomes an asset to us in defending America. Our enemy, and not we, would then have the problem of transporting millions of troops across the ocean and landing them on a hostile shore. They, and not we, would have to furnish the convoys to transport guns and trucks and munitions and fuel across three thousand miles of water. Our battleships and our submarines would then be fighting close to their home bases. We would then do the bombing from the air and the torpedoing at sea. And if any part of an enemy convoy should ever pass our navy and our air force, they would still be faced with the guns of our coast artillery, and behind them the divisions of our Army.

The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world. Even in our present condition of unpreparedness no foreign power is in a position to invade us today. If we concentrate on our own defenses and build the strength that this nation should maintain, no foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores.

War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense.

No one can make us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over a hundred million people in this nation are opposed to entering the war. If the principles of democracy mean anything at all, that is reason enough for us to stay out. If we are forced into a war against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad.

The time has come when those of us who believe in an independent American destiny must band together and organize for strength. We have been led toward war by a minority of our people. This minority has power. It has influence. It has a loud voice. But it does not represent the American people. During the last several years I have traveled over this country from one end to the other. I have talked to many hundreds of men and women, and I have letters from tens of thousands more, who fell the same way as you and I.

[Public-opinion polls during these months showed contradictory desires. A strong majority of the American people wanted to stay out of war, but strong majority favored helping Britain even at the risk of war. The Lend-Lease Act of 1941 received about two-to-one support in the public-opinion polls, and more than that in congressional voting.]

2. The New York Times *Rejects Insulationism (1941)*

The New York Times *challenged Lindbergh's views in a lengthy and well-reasoned editorial that brilliantly set forth the case for intervention. What are its principal points?*

Those who tell us now that the sea is still our certain bulwark, and that the tremendous forces sweeping the Old World threaten no danger to the New, give the lie to their own words in the precautions they would have us take.

To a man they favor an enormous strengthening of our defenses. Why? Against what danger would they have us arm if none exists? To what purpose would they have us spend these almost incredible billions upon billions for ships and planes, for tanks and guns, if there is no immediate threat to the security of the United States? Why are we training the youth of the country to bear arms? Under pressure of what fear are we racing against time to double and quadruple our industrial production?

No man in his senses will say that we are arming against Canada or our Latin-American neighbors to the south, against Britain or the captive states of Europe. We are arming solely for one reason. We are arming against Hitler's Germany—a great predatory Power in alliance with Japan.

It has been said, times without number, that if Hitler cannot cross the English Channel he cannot cross three thousand miles of sea. But there is only one reason why he had not crossed the English Channel. That is because forty-five million determined Britons, in a heroic resistance, have converted their island into an armed base, from

[2] *The New York Times,* April 30, 1941. © 1941 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

which proceeds a steady stream of sea and air power. As Secretary Hull has said: "It is not the water that bars the way. It is the resolute determination of British arms. Were the control of the seas by Britain lost, the Atlantic would no longer be an obstacle—rather, it would become a broad highway for a conqueror moving westward."

That conqueror does not need to attempt at once an invasion of continental United States in order to place this country in deadly danger. We shall be in deadly danger the moment British sea power fails; the moment the eastern gates of the Atlantic are open to the aggressor; the moment we are compelled to divide our one-ocean Navy between two oceans simultaneously.

The combined Axis fleets [German, Italian, Japanese] outmatch our own: they are superior in numbers to our fleet in every category of vessel, from warships and aircraft-carriers to destroyers and submarines.* The combined Axis air strength will be much greater than our own if Hitler strikes in time—and when has he failed to strike in time? The master of Europe will have at his command shipways that can outbuild us, the resources of twenty conquered nations to furnish his materials, the oil of the Middle East to stoke his engines, the slave labor of a continent—bound by no union rules, and not working on a forty-hour week—to turn out his production.

Grant Hitler the gigantic prestige of a victory over Britain, and who can doubt that the first result, on our side of the ocean, would be the prompt appearance of imitation Nazi regimes in a half-dozen Latin-American nations, forced to be on the winning side, begging favors, clamoring for admission to the Axis? What shall we do then? Make war upon these neighbors, send armies to fight in the jungles of Central or South America; run the risk of outraging native sentiment and turning the whole continent against us? Or shall we sit tight while the area of Nazi influence draws ever closer to the Panama Canal, and a spreading checkerboard of Nazi airfields provides ports of call for German planes that may choose to bomb our cities?

But even if Hilter gave us time, what kind of "time" would we have at our disposal?

There are moral and spiritual dangers for this country as well as physical dangers in a Hitler victory. There are dangers to the mind and heart as well as to the body and the land.

Victorious in Europe, dominating Africa and Asia through his Axis partners, Hitler could not afford to permit the United States to live an untroubled and successful life, even if he wished to. We are the arch-enemy of all he stands for: the very citadel of that "pluto-democracy" which he hates and scorns. As long as liberty and freedom prevailed in the United States there would be constant risk for Hitler that our ideas and our example might infect the conquered countries which he was bending to his will. In his own interest he would be forced to harry us at every turn.

Who can doubt that our lives would be poisoned every day by challenges and insults from Nazi politicians; that Nazi agents would stir up anti-American feeling in every country they controlled; that Nazi spies would overrun us here; that Hitler would produce a continual series of lightning diplomatic strokes—alliances and "non-aggression pacts" to break our will; in short, that a continuous war of nerves, if nothing worse, would be waged against us?

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*Three foreign fleets are not necessarily equal to the sum of all their parts. There are different languages and signals, different-caliber guns and ammunition, different types of maneuvers, and so forth.

And who can doubt that, in response, we should have to turn our own nation into an armed camp, with all our traditional values of culture, education, social reform, democracy and liberty subordinated to the single, all-embracing aim of self-preservation? In this case we should indeed experience "regimentation." Every item of foreign trade, every transaction in domestic commerce, every present prerogative of labor, every civil liberty we cherish, would necessarily be regulated in the interest of defense.

3. FDR Pledges No Foreign War (1940)

During the hotly contested third-term campaign of 1940, the Republican candidate, Wendell Wilkie, harped on Roosevelt's broken promises. The president's reelection, he charged, would spell war by April 1, 1941. Smarting from this attack, Roosevelt replied as follows in a memorable Boston speech, which later came back to plague him. Inasmuch as Willkie himself later dismissed his own prediction as "a bit of campaign oratory," was Roosevelt bound by this campaign pledge, regardless of subsequent circumstances?

And while I am talking to you fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense.

[In previous speeches Roosevelt had ordinarily followed the no-war pledge with the words "except in case of attack." To blunt the force of Willkie's accusation, he now left out the qualification. When asked why he was going to do so, he replied somewhat lamely, "It's not necessary. If we're attacked, it's no longer a foreign war."]

C. The Lend-Lease Controversy

1. FDR Drops the Dollar Sign (1940)

A serious student of history, Roosevelt was determined to avoid the blunders of World War I. The postwar quarrel with the Allies over debts lingered in his memory as he groped for some means of bolstering the hard-pressed British without getting involved in a repayment wrangle. Keeping his new brainstorm under his hat until his triumphant reelection over Willkie—he might have lost if he had revealed it before then—he outlined his scheme at one of his breezy, off-the-cuff press conferences. How did he propose to eliminate the root of the debt difficulty?

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[3] *The New York Times,* October 31, 1940 (speech of October 30, 1940).

[1] *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940 Volume* (1941), pp. 606–608. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

Hands Across the Sea
FDR extends a fist to Hitler and a hand to Britain through lend-lease. (Orr in Scottish Daily Record *[Glasgow], 1941)*

It is possible—I will put it that way—for the United States to take over British [war] orders, and, because they are essentially the same kind of munitions that we use ourselves, turn them into American orders. We have got enough money to do it. And thereupon, as to such portion of them as the military events of the future determine to be right and proper for us to allow to go to the other side, either lease or sell the materials, subject to mortgage, to the people on the other side. That would be on the general theory that it may still prove true that the best defense of Great Britain is the best defense of the United States, and therefore that these materials would be more useful to the defense of the United States if they were used in Great Britain than if they were kept in storage here.

Now, what I am trying to do is to eliminate the dollar sign. That is something brand new in the thoughts of practically everybody in this room, I think—get rid of the silly, foolish old dollar sign.

Well, let me give you an illustration: Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his fire. Now, what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, "Neighbor, my garden hose cost me $15; you have got to pay me $15 for it." What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want $15—I want my garden hose back after the fire is over. All right. If it goes through the fire all right, intact, without any damage to it, he gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it. But suppose it gets smashed up—holes in it—during the fire; we don't have to have too much formality about it, but I say to him,

"I was glad to lend you that hose; I see I can't use it any more, it's all smashed up." He says, "How many feet of it were there?" I tell him, "There were 150 feet of it." He says, "All right, I will replace it." Now, if I get a nice garden hose back, I am in pretty good shape.

In other words, if you lend certain munitions and get the munitions back at the end of the war, if they are intact—haven't been hurt—you are all right. If they have been damaged or have deteriorated or have been lost completely, it seems to me you come out pretty well if you have them replaced by the fellow to whom you have lent them.

[After the United States entered the war, supplies provided by foreign countries to U.S. forces were credited to their account as reverse lend-lease. The total value of U.S. lend-lease was over $50 billion, less some $7 billion in reverse lend-lease. Some cash was involved in the final settlement of accounts.]

2. Senator Wheeler Assails Lend-Lease (1941)

Like the interventionists, Roosevelt believed that the salvation of Britain through large-scale military aid was crucial for the defense of the United States. But so strong was isolationist opposition that the proposed lend-lease act could not be entitled "An Act to Intervene in World War II for the Defense of Britain." The official title was "An Act Further to Promote the Defense of the United States." As finally passed, the new law virtually pledged the United States to the full extent of its economic resources to provide military supplies for those who were fighting aggression. Fiery Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, "a born prosecutor" who had run for vice-president on the left-wing La Follette Progressive ticket of 1924, was one of the most vehement isolationists. In the following radio speech, how prophetic is he?

The lend-lease policy, translated into legislative form, stunned a Congress and a nation wholly sympathetic to the cause of Great Britain. . . . It warranted my worst fears for the future of America, and it definitely stamps the President as war-minded.

The lend-lease-give program is the New Deal's Triple-A foreign policy; it will plow under every fourth American boy.

Never before have the American people been asked or compelled to give so bounteously and so completely of their tax dollars to any foreign nation. Never before has the Congress of the United States been asked by any President to violate international law. Never before has this Nation resorted to duplicity in the conduct of its foreign affairs. Never before has the United States given to one man the power to strip this Nation of its defenses. Never before has a Congress coldly and flatly been asked to abdicate.

If the American people want a dictatorship—if they want a totalitarian form of government and if they want war—this bill should be steamrollered through Congress, as is the wont of President Roosevelt.

Approval of this legislation means war, open and complete warfare. I, therefore,

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[2] Reprinted in *Congressional Record,* 77th Cong., 1st sess. (speech of January 12, 1941), Appendix, pp. 178–179.

ask the American people before they supinely accept it, Was the last World War worth while?

If it were, then we should lend and lease war materials. If it were, then we should lend and lease American boys. President Roosevelt has said we would be repaid by England. We will be. We will be repaid, just as England repaid her war debts of the first World War—repaid those dollars wrung from the sweat of labor and the toil of farmers with cries of "Uncle Shylock." Our boys will be returned—returned in caskets, maybe; returned with bodies maimed; returned with minds warped and twisted by sights of horrors and the scream and shriek of high-powered shells.

Considered on its merits and stripped of its emotional appeal to our sympathies, the lend-lease-give bill is both ruinous and ridiculous. . . .

It gives to one man—responsible to no one—the power to denude our shores of every warship. It gives to one individual the dictatorial power to strip the American Army of our every tank, cannon, rifle, or anti-aircraft gun. No one would deny that the lend-lease-give bill contains provisions that would enable one man to render the United States defenseless, but they will tell you, "The President would never do it." To this I say, "Why does he ask the power if he does not intend to use it?" Why not, I say, place some check on American donations to a foreign nation? . . .

I say in the kind of language used by the President—shame on those who ask the powers—and shame on those who would grant them.

[Talk of "plowing under every fourth American boy" spurred Roosevelt into declaring at his press conference of January 14, 1941, that this was "the most untruthful, the most dastardly, unpatriotic thing that has ever been said. Quote me on that. That really is the rottenest thing that has been said in public life in my generation." What measure of truth was there in Wheeler's charge?]

3. Hearst Denounces Aid to the Soviet Union (1941)

The fateful lend-lease bill became law in March 1941. Three months later Hitler treacherously attacked Stalin, his co-conspirator in the nonaggression pact of 1939. Isolationists rejoiced that the two arch-menaces would now bleed each other white and thus reduce the danger of U.S. involvement. Catholics expressed relief at the weakening of the atheistic menace of Soviet Russia. Roosevelt, however, fearful that the Russians could not stem Hitler's mechanized might, promised them lend-lease aid and ultimately delivered supplies worth $11 billion. The Hearst press here expresses distaste for "Bloody Joe" Stalin as a bedfellow. To what extent were its apprehensions justified by events?

If we are fighting totalitarianism as a foul principle and oppressive policy, why in the name of high heaven should we not desire to see the two totalitarian powers exterminate each other and destroy not only the principle but the practice of despotic government?

If we are citizens—or subjects—of a genuine democracy and if we are devoted to the ideals of democracy, and honestly desirous of preserving and perpetuating those

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[3] New York *Journal-American,* September 5, 1941.

ideals, why should we not desire to see the enemies of democracy destroy each other? . . .

Is our free country piling up deficits, bleeding its citizens white with confiscatory taxation, rushing headlong into national bankruptcy, shoveling out our wealth abroad, and shipping our war materials to alien nations to bolster up Bolshevism in Russia to spread it over all of Europe, including Britain, and to breed it and broadcast it in our own America?

We may not think that this is what we want to do, but this is exactly what we are doing with our Bolshevist alliance, and no smoke screen of fine phrases can obscure that outstanding fact.

No country which fights for Russia can claim to be honestly opposed to tyranny, since Bolshevism is the basest and bloodiest tyranny that has disgraced the supposed civilization of Europe since the time of Ivan the Terrible.

No country can truthfully claim to be crusading for democracy and the four freedoms when it is supporting a tyranny which is the most evil enemy of democracy—a tyranny where all the four freedoms have been brutally suppressed—a tyranny with no liberty, no opportunity, no morality, and no God.

D. War in the Atlantic

1. Framing the Atlantic Charter (1941)

Roosevelt finally met with Prime Minister Churchill in deepest secrecy off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941. Major items of discussion were lend-lease shipments, common defense, and the halting of Japanese aggression. Churchill later wrote that for Roosevelt—the head of a technically neutral state—to meet in this way with the prime minister of a belligerent state was "astonishing" and amounted to "warlike action." The most spectacular offspring of the conference was the unofficial Atlantic Charter, which in 1942 became the cornerstone of Allied war aims. An admixture of the old Wilson Fourteen Points (see p. 219) and the New Deal, it held out seductive hope to the victims of the dictators. What aspects of the Atlantic Charter come closest to "warlike action"?

. . . The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned [i.e., self-determination, one of Wilson's Fourteen Points; in part Points V and XII of the fourteen];

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government

[1] *Department of State Bulletin* 5 (August 14, 1941): 125–126.

under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them [cf. territorial restoration, Points VI, VII, VIII, XI of the fourteen];

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity [i.e., Point III of the fourteen];

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security [a combination of the objectives of the League of Nations and the New Deal];

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance [i.e., freedom of the seas, Point II of the fourteen];

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security [the United Nations, replacing the League of Nations], that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments [i.e., Point IV of the fourteen].

2. *The Chicago* Tribune *Is Outraged (1941)*

A highly influential mouthpiece of midwestern isolationism was the Chicago Tribune, *self-elected "The World's Greatest Newspaper." Violently anti-Roosevelt and anti-intervention, it resorted to extreme measures, including the publication of Washington's secret war plans three days before Pearl Harbor. To what extent does the* Tribune*'s editorial on the Atlantic Conference confirm Churchill's later observation that the deliberations amounted to "warlike action"?*

Mr. Roosevelt's dangerous ambition always to do what no other President ever did, and to be the man who shakes the world, led him to meet Mr. Churchill, as is now disclosed, at sea. There, he, the head of a nation which is not at war, and the head of the British empire, which is at war, signed their names to an eight-point war and peace program, as if both countries not only were fighting side by side but saw their way to victory. . . .

For Mr. Churchill the event would be, he could hope, that last step which would bring him what he has awaited as his salvation—the final delivery on Mr. Roosevelt's

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[2]Chicago *Tribune,* August 15, 1941, as quoted in *A Century of Tribune Editorials* (1947), pp. 129–130. By permission of the Chicago *Tribune.*

commitments, the delivery of the United States with all its man power into the war at all points. Mr. Churchill would appreciate that Mr. Roosevelt in the eyes of the world became his full ally. . . .

Mr. Roosevelt himself had that end in view. As head of a nation at peace he had no right to discuss war aims with the ruler of a country at war. He had no right to take a chair at such a conference. He had no regard for his constitutional duties or his oath of office when he did so. He not only likes to shatter traditions, he likes to shatter the checks and restraints which were put on his office. He is thoro[ugh]ly un-American. His ancestry is constantly emerging. He is the true descendant of that James Roosevelt, his great-grandfather, who was a Tory in New York during the Revolution and took the oath of allegiance to the British king.* . . .

He comes of a stock that has never fought for the country and he now betrays it, altho[ugh] it has repudiated his program and him with it. . . .

The American people can rest assured that Mr. Churchill was paying little attention to the rehash of the Wilsonian futilities, to the freedom of the seas and the freedom of peoples such as the [British-ruled] people of India, for instance. What he wanted to know of Mr. Roosevelt was: When are you coming across? And it is the answer to that question that concerns the American people, who have voted 4 to 1 that they are not going across at all unless their government drags them in against their will.

One phrase in the statement would have Mr. Churchill's complete approval—"after final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." To that he committed the President of the United States in circumstances as spectacular and theatrical as could be arranged. Mr. Roosevelt pledged himself to the destruction of Hitler and the Nazis. In the circumstances in which this was done Mr. Churchill would insist that it was the pledge of a government, binding upon the country.

The country repudiates it. Mr. Roosevelt had no authority and can find none for making such a pledge. He was more than outside the country. He was outside his office. The spectacle was one of two autocratic rulers, one of them determining the destiny of his country in the matter of war or peace absolutely in his own will, as if his subjects were without voice.

The country rejects that idea of its government.

3. FDR Proclaims Shoot-at-Sight (1941)

Lend-lease carried an implied commitment that the United States would guarantee delivery of arms, even though the law specifically forbade "convoying vessels by naval vessels of the United States." Roosevelt got around this restriction by setting up a system of patrols by U.S. warships working in collaboration with the British. On September 4, 1941, the U.S. destroyer Greer *in Icelandic waters trailed a German submarine for three and one-half hours while radioing its position to nearby British*

*James Roosevelt, only fifteen years old when the fighting began, was a student at Princeton from 1776 to 1780. His father, a staunch Patriot, was forced to flee New York City. There is no evidence that young James took the alleged oath; the probabilities are strong that he did not. (Information provided by Elizabeth B. Drewry, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.)

[3] *Department of State Bulletin* 5 (September 13, 1941): 193, 195, 197.

aircraft. The U-boat finally fired two torpedoes (which missed), whereupon the Greer *retaliated with depth bombs (which also missed). Seven days later, after presumably taking time to verify the facts, Roosevelt went on the radio with this sensational shoot-at-sight speech. What liberties did he take with the truth? Did the crisis justify his doing so?*

The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that, on the morning of September fourth, the United States destroyer *Greer,* proceeding in full daylight toward Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying American mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.

She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the *Greer,* followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her.

Our destroyer, at the time, was in waters which the Government of the United States has declared to be waters of self-defense—surrounding outposts of American protection in the Atlantic.

In the north, outposts have been established by us in Iceland, Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland. Through these waters there pass many ships of many flags. They bear food and other supplies to civilians; and they bear [lend-lease] matériel of war, for which the people of the United States are spending billions of dollars, and which, by Congressional action, they have declared to be essential for the defense of our own land.

The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a legitimate mission. . . .

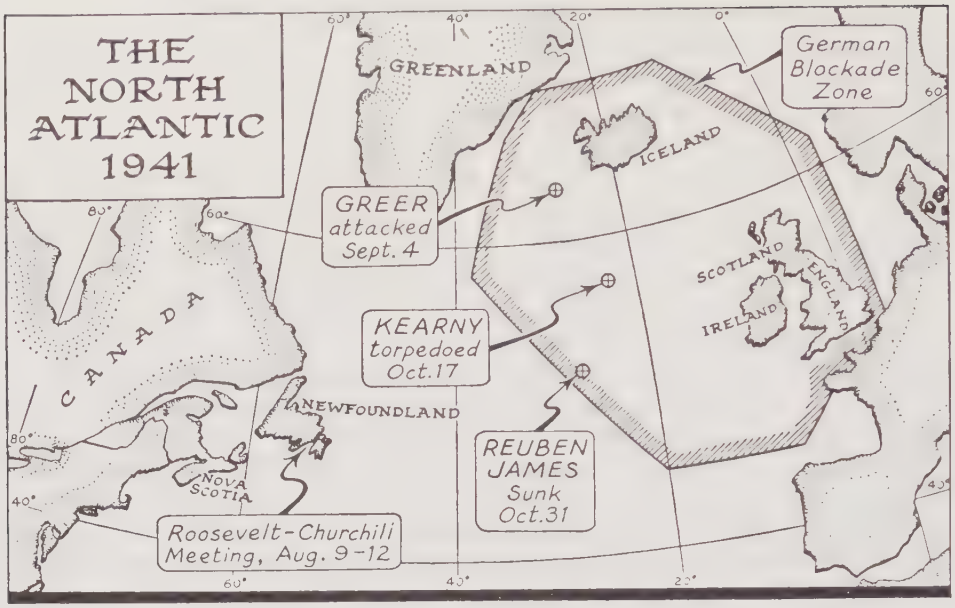
Generation after generation, America has battled for the general policy of the freedom of the seas.* That policy is a very simple one—but a basic, fundamental one. It means that no nation has the right to make the broad oceans of the world, at great distances from the actual theater of land war, unsafe for the commerce of others. . . .

It is no act of war on our part when we decide to protect the seas which are vital to American defense. The aggression in not ours. Ours is solely defense.

But let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters, the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril.

[Patrolling led to convoying by presidential edict, despite the express terms of the Lend-Lease Act, and convoying led to shooting. In October 1941 the U.S. destroyer Kearny *suffered torpedo damage and a loss of eleven lives in a battle with German submarines southwest of Iceland. Later that month the U.S. destroyer* Reuben James *was torpedoed and sunk off Iceland while on convoy duty. An undeclared shooting war with Hitler was now being waged in the Atlantic.]*

*The traditional American concept of freedom of the seas did not include the armed convoying of gift lend-lease munitions through German-proclaimed war zones to the enemies of Germany.



E. Blowup in the Pacific

1. Ickes Prepares to "Raise Hell" (1941)

New Japanese aggression in south Indochina, despite warnings from Washington, finally prompted Roosevelt to clamp down a complete embargo on shipments going to Japan when he froze all Japanese assets in the United States on July 25, 1941. Faced with the loss of critical oil supplies, the Tokyo warlords were confronted with agonizing alternatives: yielding some of the fruits of their aggression in the Far East or fighting the United States and its allies. The United States was by no means ready for war in the vast Pacific, and the administration seriously considered a three-month truce—Roosevelt favored six months. But this proposal was never formally presented to Japan. The outspoken secretary of the interior, Harold Ickes, recorded in his secret diary the story as he heard it. What does this account (November 30) reveal of the inner workings of the Washington government? Why did the truce scheme fail?

Our State Department has been negotiating for several days with Saburo Kurusu, the special envoy sent over from Japan, and with Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura. I have had a suspicion for a long time that the State Department would resume a policy of appeasement toward Japan, if it could get away with it.

Our State Department, according to a story that I have heard, had actually proposed what it called a "truce" for three months with Japan. We were to resume

[1] *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes,* vol. 3, pp. 654–655. Copyright © by Simon & Schuster, Inc., renewed © 1981 by Harold M. and Elizabeth Ickes. Reprited by permission of Simon & Schuster, a Division of Gulf & Western Corporation.

shipments of cotton and other commodities, but the most important item on the list was gasoline for "civilian" purposes. Now anyone who knows anything about Japan and about the situation there knows that there is very little, if any, civilian use of gasoline. . . . Then a strong protest came in from General Chiang Kai-shek to the effect that to do this would destroy the morale of the Chinese. It was the intention of the State Department to crowd the thing through without even giving Halifax [British ambassador] a chance to refer it to Churchill. However, the British fought for and obtained a sufficient delay to consult Churchill, and he was strongly opposed.

The strong opposition of China and Britain caused the appeasers of the State Department to pause. They went to the White House, and in the end the President refused to go through with the deal.

If it had not been for the strenuous intervention of Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek, the appeasers in the State Department, with the support of the President, would have resumed at least a partial commercial relationship with Japan, as the result of which we would have sent Japan cotton and gasoline and other commodities. . . .

If this negotiation with Japan had been consummated, I would have promptly resigned from the Cabinet with a ringing statement attacking the arrangment and raising hell generally with the State Department and its policy of appeasement. I have no doubt that the country would have reacted violently. As a matter of fact, some of the newspapers indicated that they were uneasy and printed editorials deprecating any attempt at even a partial resumption of relationship with Japan. I believe that the President would have lost the country on this issue and that hell would have been to pay generally.

Now matters are very tense indeed so far as Japan is concerned. The morning papers carry headlines announcing that Japan has solemnly declared her determination "to purge American and British influence from East Asia for the honor and pride of mankind." So it may be, after all, that there will be a clash in the Pacific.

2. Tōgō Blames the United States (1952)

Instead of appeasement, Secretary Hull presented stern terms to the two Japanese envoys in his note of November 26, 1941. Japan would have to withdraw its armed forces from China, after four years of aggression, and from Indochina as well. In return, the United States would unfreeze Japanese assets and make some other secondary concessions. Such loss of face was so abhorrent to the Japanese warlords that Hull had little hope that the terms would be accepted. The next day he told Secretary of War Stimson, "I have washed my hands of it, and it is now in the hands of you and [Secretary of the Navy] Knox—the Army and Navy." Here, the reaction of Japan is described by the then foreign minister, Tōgō Shigenori, who later died in prison while serving a twenty-year sentence as a war criminal. Where did he lay the blame for the breakdown of negotiations?

Ambassador Grew, then in Tokyo, later said that when the note of 26 November was sent, the button which set off the war had been pushed.

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[2]Tōgō Shigenori, *The Cause of Japan* (1956), pp. 186–188. Copyright © 1956 by Simon & Schuster, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster.

"Give 'Em Both Barrels"
Uncle Sam aroused by Japanese sneak attack at Pearl Harbor. (New Orleans Times-Picayune, *1941)*

On the 26th and 27th Secretary Hull held special press conferences at which he gave a full account of the Japanese-American negotiations; the American press responded by reporting almost unanimously that it was Japan's choice whether to accept the Hull Note or go to war. Later—in wartime—an American chronicler wrote that even a Monaco or a Luxemburg would have taken up arms against the United States if it had been handed such a memorandum as that which the State Department presented to the Japanese government. . . .

It is therefore no longer arguable at this time of day that the American authorities, having made all necessary preparations in the expectation that the negotiations would break down and a war ensue, delivered the Hull Note anticipating that Japan would reject it, thus compelling her to elect between total surrender and war. Indeed, remembering that the question of how to insure that Japan should fire the first shot had been in the forefront in the War Cabinet's discussions in Washington, it seems not unwarrantable to construe the note as going beyond the forcing of a choice—it is not too much to say that it was the throwing down of a challenge to Japan, or at the least constituted an ultimatum without time limit.

This we knew in Tokyo—though we could not then know of the words and acts of the high American officials which confirmed our deduction—from the drastic terms of the note and the inclusion among them of conditions never theretofore suggested. Our interpretation was confirmed by the reaction to Hull's disclosures by the American press—which played up, as if at the urging of the governmental authorities, the choice between the terms of the Hull Note and war—and by the plainly visible tightening of the encirclement of Japan.

So far as concerns my own state of mind upon receipt of the Hull Note, I can

never forget the despair which overpowered me. I had fought and worked unflaggingly until that moment; but I could feel no enthusiasm for the fight thereafter. I tried as it were to close my eyes and swallow the Hull Note whole, as the alternative to war, but it stuck in the craw. In contrast to my dejection, many of the military men were elated at the uncompromising attitude of the United States, as if to say, "Didn't we tell you so?"—they were by no means easy to be patient with.

*[The Japanese later argued that they were forced to break out of the economic encirclement resulting from Roosevelt's embargo-freezing order of July 25, 1941. This view found surprising support in 1944 from one U.S. ally, Captain Oliver Lyttleton, British minister of production. In a London speech he declared, "Japan was provoked into attacking the Americans at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history ever to say that America was forced into the war. . . . It is incorrect to say that America was ever truly neutral. . . ." The subsequent uproar in the United States forced Lyttleton hastily to soften his remarks. (*The New York Times, *June 21 and June 22, 1944.)]*

3. Hull Justifies His Stand (1948)

Isolationist Senator Vandenberg, writing in his diary just after Pearl Harbor, felt that the United States would have had to yield "relatively little" to pacify Japan, and feared that "we may have driven *her* needlessly *into hostilities through our dogmatic diplomatic attitudes. . . ." "We 'asked for it,'" he added, "and we 'got it.'" Secretary of State Hull, the soft-spoken Tennessean, here outlines three possible alternatives in his* Memoirs. *Assuming that the ultimate security of the United States required the halting of the Japanese, and knowing that the U.S. Navy was not ready for Japan, form conclusions regarding the wisdom of Hull's choice among the three possibilities. Were other courses open?*

There were three methods to meet the danger from Japan. One was by a preventive attack. But democracies do not engage in preventive attacks except with greatest difficulty. Had I suggested to the President that he go to Congress and ask for a declaration of war against Japan at some time after the invasion of southern Indo-China, he could have made a good case concerning the dangers to us inherent in Japan's course of aggression. But, remembering the fact that on August 13, 1941, only three weeks after Japan invaded southern Indo-China, the House of Representatives sustained the Selective Service Act by a majority of just one vote, it seems most unlikely that the President could have obtained a declaration.

Nor would the military and naval authorities have been ready for a preventive attack. The fact that they pleaded for more time solely to prepare our defenses in the Pacific was proof in itself that they were not prepared to take the offensive.

A preventive attack, moreover, would have run counter to our determination to pursue the course of peace to the end, with the hope, however microscopic, that even at the last hour the Japanese might have a change of heart.

The second method to meet the danger was to agree to Japan's demands. This would have given us peace—that is, until Japan, after strengthening herself through

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[3]Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from *Memoirs,* vol. 2, by Cordell Hull. Copyright 1948 by Cordell Hull. Copyright renewed.

the concessions we should have made, was ready to move again. But it would have denied all the principles of right living among nations which we had supported; it would have betrayed the countries [China, Britain] that later became our allies; and it would have given us an infamous place in history.

When we realize that Japan was ruthlessly invading peaceful countries, that the United States had pleaded with her from the beginning to cease her course of military conquest in partnership with Hitler, and that all problems in the Pacific would have practically settled themselves if Japan had adopted a policy of peace, it is evident that Japan had no right to make demands upon us. Japan negotiated as if we, too, were an aggressor, as if both countries had to balance their aggressions. Japan had no more right to make demands upon us than an individual gangster has to make demands upon his intended victim.

The third method was simply to continue discussions with Japan, to convince her that her aggressions cost her more than they were worth, to point out to her that her partnership with Hitler could be as dangerous to her as it was to the rest of the world, to lay before her proposal after proposal which in the long run would have given her in peace the prosperity her military leaders were seeking in conquest.

It was this third that we chose. Of the three, it was the only American method.

[The Tokyo warlords claimed that they had only two choices—surrender or war. Actually they had a third choice—accommodation. Loss of considerable face would have been better than loss of the war. The argument that Hull's note of November 26 provoked the Japanese into an attack is weakened by two facts. First, the naval force that attacked Pearl Harbor had left its rendezvous in Japan twenty-four hours earlier. Second, early in November the imperial conference had unanimously decided on war, provided that diplomacy had not produced a satisfactory accord by December 1.]

Thought Provokers

1. What would have happened if the United States had been truly neutral during World War II? Would the results have been to the nation's best interests?
2. Have events since 1945 given support to the view that a democratic United States could exist as a kind of fortified island?
3. Lend-lease was designed to defend the United States by helping others fight the United States' potential enemies with U.S. weapons. Was there an element of immorality in this policy? Would the United States have kept out of the war if the Lend-Lease Act had not been passed?
4. Assuming that the Atlantic Charter was a warlike step, was it justified? Roosevelt believed that a Hitler victory would be ruinous for the United States, and to combat isolationist pressures he repeatedly misrepresented facts (*Greer* case) or usurped powers (convoying). Was he justified in using such methods to arouse the American people to an awareness of their danger?
5. With regard to the diplomatic breakdown preceding Pearl Harbor, it has been said that both Japan and the United States were right if one conceded their major premises. Explain fully and form a conclusion.

40

America in World War II

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion [Pearl Harbor], the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, War Message, 1941

Prologue: The nation was plunged into war by the worst military disaster in its history—the Japanese surprise attack at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. Caught flat-footed, the United States quickly whipped itself into fighting shape. War production revived the depression-drugged economy, stimulating the growth of numerous "boom towns," many of them in the South and West. A panicky government interned some 110,000 Japanese-Americans in so-called relocation centers, and a few race riots involving blacks and Chicanos blotted the wartime record, but for the most part the United States' many racial and ethnic minorities were willing and welcome partners in the war effort. Millions of new defense-related jobs created unprecedented employment opportunities for women. As the mighty U.S. economic machine went into high gear, the tide of battle slowly began to turn. U.S. troops fought their way agonizingly up the chains of Pacific islands from New Guinea toward Japan. In Europe the hard-pressed and ever-suspicious Soviet Union, eager to have the Western allies share equally in the bloodletting, clamored ceaselessly for a second front. After frustrating postponements, the Western allies at last invaded the north French coast on D-Day, June 6, 1944. After Germany was hammered into inglorious defeat in May 1945, Japan was atom-bombed into submission in August 1945. World War II ended as the nuclear age dawned, ushered in by an ominous mushroom-shaped cloud.

A. War and American Society

1. The War Transforms the Economy (1943)

As war orders flooded the nation's factories, the decade-old blight of depression was banished, and the face of the United States was transformed. Millions of workers pulled up stakes and moved to the bustling war production centers. Older cities were bursting with war workers, many of them desperate for housing. New towns appeared almost overnight, especially in the wide-open West. The billions of dollars of war contracts financed a virtual revolution in the U.S. economy, conferring enormous

[1]Merlo J. Pusey, "Revolution at Home," *South Atlantic Quarterly 42* (July 1943): 207–219, published by Duke University Press.

Miracles of Production
America, as the "arsenal of democracy," poured forth an avalanche of war goods to sustain the Allied military effort. (Historical Pictures Service)

advantages on certain businesses and regions. In the selection that follows, which changes are deemed most beneficial, and which most harmful? What factors most shaped the decisions about where and how to spend defense dollars? Which economic effects of the war proved most lasting? Which of the author's predictions turned out to be most accurate?

While big industry, fed by government capital and war orders, is growing bigger every day, small industry is being wrecked by the withholding of priorities and materials. The problem is clearly stated by investigators for the Senate Committee on Education and Labor:

> Throughout the first two and a half years of our effort one hundred of America's largest corporations have received 75 per cent of all war contracts by dollar volume. To them has gone the bulk of new plants built at Government expense, over fourteen billions of dollars. To them are flowing in increasing numbers the workers seeking jobs in war industry. America, a land of giant corporations before the war, will emerge from this war with a larger share of its vastly expanded economy controlled by a smaller number of firms.
>
> This situation . . . has been accompanied by the destruction of one small community after another through the shutting down of its factories and the migration of its people. The face of America is already greatly changed. If we continue destroying America's small business and uprooting smaller communities, and many of our large ones as well, we shall not recognize postwar America.

. . . Certain advantages will undoubtedly accrue from this new emphasis on bigness. In the housing industry, for example, inefficient contractors operating on a shoestring are being replaced by large companies building two hundred to a thousand dwelling units at one time. To keep under the $6,000 ceiling on private homes built for war workers and at the same time make a profit, large-scale operations become imperative. Modern building methods are employed out of necessity. More important, large companies are learning that there are big opportunities in building houses which wage earners can afford to rent or buy. Here we have the nucleus of what may become a vast postwar industry capable of immeasurably improving the environment in which millions of our people live. . . .

We have built an enormous portion of our vast war plant within close range of big industries where expert management and skilled labor were at hand. Baltimore, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Hartford, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and numerous other cities find their manufacturing plants expanding at a rate that seemed impossible in peacetime. Detroit has sucked into its voracious mills enough manpower to make a new city much larger than Denver. Its satellite cities—Flint, Saginaw, Lansing, and Jackson—appear to have duplicated that feat on a smaller scale.

Of course, the lightning of war did not strike all the big cities with equal intensity. New York is suffering from a wave of unemployment because its consumer-goods industries are not readily adjustable to the making of tanks, airplanes, or ammunition. The jewelry industry in Providence is quietly starving for metal. But at near-by Hartford, where typewriters have given way to pistols and machine-tool makers are enjoying their golden age, every foot of space and every ounce of energy is at a premium. War is pushing Hartford ahead as ruthlessly as it is shoving New York behind. . . .

One exception to the general trend stands out in striking contrast. That is the sudden spurt of industrialization in the West. Great Salt Lake and Utah valleys, for example, are undergoing the most profound changes they have experienced since Brigham Young's pioneers broke their parched soil nearly a hundred years ago. Great military establishments have taken the place of quiet farms. Peaceful landscapes have given way to smoke-belching behemoths of industry. Aluminum, radio parts, coke, steel, and other strategic products are beginning to pour out of an area that has heretofore been noted chiefly for the exportation of Mormonism. . . .

Taken as a unit, the West is feeling the stimulus of war industry more keenly than either the North or the South. In 1940 the West had only 10.5 per cent of the country's population. But more than 13 per cent of the government's war-plant fund is being spent there, chiefly for permanent assets. One explanation is the pull of power. Southern California, the beneficiary of Boulder Dam power, has become a seething caldron of war industry. San Diego was until recently known as the "hottest spot" in the whole national picture of wartime dislocations. Los Angeles has eclipsed even the fantastic peacetime records of that city. The Golden State as a whole is getting more than $390,000,000 in Federal money for war plants. That gives it a sizable lead on the great industrial state of New York, and puts it far ahead of all New England in the wartime expansion of industrial capacity.

In the Northwest, Seattle is the hub of an amazing workshop for war. Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams are doing for the Northwest what Boulder Dam has done for Southern California and Nevada. Their great resources of power attract war indus-

tries as certainly as a bag of oats attracts a mule. The investment of Federal funds in war plants in the state of Washington will equal $80 per capita (1940 census). That outpouring of funds added to previous investments in power has given the Columbia River Valley and Puget Sound region great opportunity to raid neighboring states for manpower. And they are making the most of it. War has thus thrown into double-quick pace the industrial revolution that was already under way in the West.

The meaning of these social and economic upheavals is plain. "The hand that signs the war contract," as a Senate committee said recently, "is the hand that shapes the future." Metal-ribbed Nevada has acquired new government-financed plants costing the equivalent of nearly $600 for every resident. The agricultural Dakotas have no new war plants. In each case the consequences will be far-reaching. For in this nation-wide mobilization there is no chance to maintain the status quo. If strategy and geography do not thrust a community into the maelstrom of war activity, its resources will be drained into other areas where they can better serve the national interest. So the whole pattern of our economic and social life is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes, without so much as a bomb being dropped on our shores.

2. A Japanese-American Is Convicted (1943)

Fearing Japanese invasion and possible sabotage, the secretary of war in early 1942 ordered the removal of Japanese-Americans from Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington. Though later upheld by the Supreme Court, the constitutionality of the removal order was questioned at the time and has been hotly debated ever since. One young Japanese-American citizen, Gordon K. Hirabayashi, refused to register for deportation and deliberately violated an 8:00 P.M. curfew imposed on Japanese-Americans in his native city of Seattle. He was tried and convicted for both offenses, and the Supreme Court, in the decision excerpted here, upheld his conviction. What were Hirabayashi's principal reasons for deying the military orders? How does the Court justify the government's actions? Are the Court's arguments convincing? (In early 1985 a federal court in San Francisco overturned Hirabayashi's conviction of forty-three years earlier.)

Appellant asserted that the indictment should be dismissed because he was an American citizen who had never been a subject of and had never borne allegiance to the Empire of Japan, and also because the Act of March 21, 1942, was an unconstitutional delegation of Congressional power. On the trial to a jury it appeared that appellant was born in Seattle in 1918, of Japanese parents who had come from Japan to the United States, and who had never afterward returned to Japan; that he was educated in the Washington public schools and at the time of his arrest was a senior in the University of Washington; that he had never been in Japan or had any association with Japanese residing there.

The evidence showed that appellant had failed to report to the Civil Control Station on May 11 or May 12, 1942, as directed, to register for evacuation from the military area. He admitted failure to do so, and stated it had at all times been his belief that he would be waiving his rights as an American citizen by so doing. The evidence

[2] *Hirabayashi* v. *U.S.* 320 U.S. 83 (1943).

also showed that for like reason he was away from his place of residence after 8:00 P.M. on May 9, 1942. The jury returned a verdict of guilty on both counts and appellant was sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months on each, the sentences to run concurrently. . . .

Appellant does not deny that he knowingly failed to obey the curfew order as charged in the second count of the indictment, or that the order was authorized by the terms of Executive Order No. 9066, or that the challenged Act of Congress purports to punish with criminal penalties disobedience of such an order. His contentions are only that Congress unconstitutionally delegated its legislative power to the military commander by authorizing him to impose the challenged regulation, and that, even if the regulation were in other respects lawfully authorized, the Fifth Amendment prohibits the discrimination made between citizens of Japanese descent and those of other ancestry. . . .

The war power of the national government is "the power to wage war successfully." It extends to every matter and activity so related to war as substantially to affect its conduct and progress. The power is not restricted to the winning of victories in the field and the repulse of enemy forces. It embraces every phase of the national defense, including the protection of war materials and the members of the armed forces from injury and from the dangers which attend the rise, prosecution and progress of war. . . .

The actions taken must be appraised in the light of the conditions with which the President and Congress were confronted in the early months of 1942. . . .

The challenged orders were defense measures for the avowed purpose of safeguarding the military area in question, at a time of threatened air raids and invasion by the Japanese forces, from the danger of sabotage and espionage. As the curfew was made applicable to citizens residing in the area only if they were of Japanese ancestry, our inquiry must be whether in the light of all the facts and circumstances there was any substantial basis for the conclusion, in which Congress and the military commander united, that the curfew as applied was a protective measure necessary to meet the threat of sabotage and espionage which would substantially affect the war effort and which might reasonably be expected to aid a threatened enemy invasion. The alternative which appellant insists must be accepted is for the military authorities to impose the curfew on all citizens within the military area, or on none. In a case of threatened danger requiring prompt action, it is a choice between inflicting obviously needless hardship on the many, or sitting passive and unresisting in the presence of the threat. We think that constitutional government, in time of war, is not so powerless and does not compel so hard a choice if those charged with the responsibility of our national defense have reasonable ground for believing that the threat is real. . . . At a time of threatened Japanese attack upon this country, the nature of our inhabitants' attachments to the Japanese enemy was consequently a matter of grave concern. Of the 126,000 persons of Japanese descent in the United States, citizens and noncitizens, approximately 112,000 resided in California, Oregon and Washington at the time of the adoption of the military regulations. Of these approximately two-thirds are citizens because born in the United States. Not only did the great majority of such persons reside within the Pacific Coast states but they were concentrated in or near three of the large cities, Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles, all in Military Area No. 1.

There is support for the view that social, economic and political conditions which

have prevailed since the close of the last century, when the Japanese began to come to this country in substantial numbers, have intensified their solidarity and have in large measure prevented their assimilation as an integral part of the white population. In addition, large numbers of children of Japanese parentage are sent to Japanese language schools outside the regular hours of public schools in the locality. Some of these schools are generally believed to be sources of Japanese nationalistic propaganda, cultivating allegiance to Japan. Considerable numbers, estimated to be approximately 10,000, of American-born children of Japanese parentage have been sent to Japan for all or a part of their education.

Congress and the Executive, including the military commander, could have attributed special significance, in its bearing on the loyalties of persons of Japanese descent, to the maintenance of Japan by its system of dual citizenship. Children born in the United States of Japanese alien parents, and especially those children born before December 1, 1924, are under many circumstances deemed, by Japanese law, to be citizens of Japan. No official census of those whom Japan regards as having thus retained Japanese citizenship is available, but there is ground for the belief that the number is large.

The large number of resident alien Japanese, approximately one-third of all Japanese inhabitants of the country, are of mature years and occupy positions of influence in Japanese communities. The association of influential Japanese residents with Japanese Consulates has been deemed a ready means for the dissemination of propaganda and for the maintenance of the influence of the Japanese Government with the Japanese population in this country.

As a result of all these conditions affecting the life of the Japanese, both aliens and citizens, in the Pacific Coast area, there has been relatively little social intercourse between them and the white population. The restrictions, both practical and legal, affecting the privileges and opportunities afforded to persons of Japanese extraction residing in the United States, have been sources of irritation and may well have tended to increase their isolation, and in many instances their attachments to Japan and its institutions.

Viewing these data in all their aspects, Congress and the Executive could reasonably have concluded that these conditions have encouraged the continued attachment of members of this group to Japan and Japanese institutions. These are only some of the many considerations which those charged with the responsibility for the national defense could take into account in determining the nature and extent of the danger of espionage and sabotage, in the event of invasion or air raid attack. The extent of that danger could be definitely known only after the event and after it was too late to meet it. Whatever views we may entertain regarding the loyalty to this country of the citizens of Japanese ancestry, we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained. We cannot say that the war-making branches of the Government did not have ground for believing that in a critical hour such persons could not readily be isolated and separately dealt with, and constituted a menace to the national defense and safety, which demanded that prompt and adequate measures be taken to guard against it.

Appellant does not deny that, given the danger, a curfew was an appropriate measure against sabotage. It is an obvious protection against the perpetration of

sabotage most readily committed during the hours of darkness. If it was an appropriate exercise of the war power its validity is not impaired because it has restricted the citizen's liberty. Like every military control of the population of a dangerous zone in wartime, it necessarily involves some infringement of individual liberty, just as does the police establishment of fire lines during a fire, or the confinement of people to their houses during an air raid alarm—neither of which could be thought to be an infringement of constitutional right. Like them, the validity of the restraints of the curfew order depends on all the conditions which obtain at the time the curfew is imposed and which support the order imposing it.

But appellant insists that the exercise of the power is inappropriate and unconstitutional because it discriminates against citizens of Japanese ancestry, in violation of the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment contains no equal protection clause and it restrains only such discriminatory legislation by Congress as amounts to a denial of due process. . . . Congress may hit a particular danger where it is seen, without providing for others which are not so evident or so urgent. . . . Distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality. For that reason, legislative classification or discrimination based on race alone has often been held to be a denial of equal protection. . . . We may assume that these considerations would be controlling here were it not for the fact that the danger of espionage and sabotage, in time of war and of threatened invasion, calls upon the military authorities to scrutinize every relevant fact bearing on the loyalty of populations in the danger areas. Because racial discriminations are in most circumstances irrelevant and therefore prohibited, it by no means follows that, in dealing with the perils of war, Congress and the Executive are wholly precluded from taking into account those facts and circumstances which are relevant to measures for our national defense and for the successful prosecution of the war, and which may in fact place citizens of one ancestry in a different category from others. "We must never forget, that it is *a constitution* we are expounding," "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various *crises* of human affairs."* The adoption by Government, in the crisis of war and of threatened invasion, of measures for the public safety, based upon the recognition of facts and circumstances which indicate that a group of one national extraction may menace that safety more than others, is not wholly beyond the limits of the Constitution and is not to be condemned merely because in other and in most circumstances racial distinctions are irrelevant. . . .

3. A Black American Ponders the War's Meaning (1942)

Blacks had bitter memories of World War I, when they had clamored in vain to play a major role in the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Despite urgent manpower needs, blacks in 1917–1918 had been deemed unfit for combat assignments and relegated mostly to "labor battalions" in the army. At home they won only

*The quotation is from John Marshall's decision in *McCulloch* v. *Maryland* (1819). See Vol. 1, pp. 219.

[3]J. Saunders Redding, "A Negro Looks at This War," *American Mercury* 55 (November 1942): 585–592. Reprinted by permission.

limited access to war-related jobs and were the victims of several bloody race riots at war's end. In the light of this sorry record, it was an open question whether blacks would support the Allied cause in World War II. Japanese propagandists tried to exploit the United States' vexed history of race relations by claiming brotherhood with blacks as another "people of color" oppressed by white rule. On what grounds did the black author of the following essay decide to support the war? Was he being realistic? Might he have been disillusioned or pleased with the course of the civil rights movement after the war?

War had no heroic traditions for me. Wars were white folks'. All wars in historical memory. The last war, and the Spanish-American War before that, and the Civil War. I had been brought up in a way that admitted of no heroics. I think my parents were right. Life for them was a fierce, bitter, soul-searching war of spiritual and economic attrition; they fought it without heroics, but with stubborn heroism. Their heroism was screwed up to a pitch of idealism so intense that it found a safety valve in cynicism about the heroics of white folks' war. This cynicism went back at least as far as my paternal grandmother, whose fierce eyes used to lash the faces of her five grandchildren as she said, "An' he done som'pin big an' brave away down dere to Chickymorgy an' dey made a iron image of him 'cause he got his head blowed off an' his stomick blowed out fightin' to keep his slaves." I cannot convey the scorn and the cynicism she put into her picture of that hero-son of her slave-master, but I have never forgotten.

I was nearly ten when we entered the last war in 1917. The European fighting, and the sinking of the *Lusitania,* had seemed as remote, as distantly meaningless to us, as the Battle of Hastings. Then we went in and suddenly the city was flag-draped, slogan-plastered, and as riotously gay as on circus half-holidays. I remember one fine Sunday we came upon an immense new billboard with a new slogan: GIVE! TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY. My brother, who was the oldest of us, asked what making the world safe for democracy meant. My father frowned, but before he could answer, my mother broke in.

"It's just something to say, like . . ."—and then she was stuck until she hit upon one of the family's old jokes—"like 'Let's make a million dollars.' " We all laughed, but the bitter core of her meaning lay revealed, even for the youngest of us, like the stone in a halved peach. . . .

And so, since I have reached maturity and thought a man's thoughts and had a man's—a Negro man's—experiences, I have thought that I could never believe in war again. Yet I believe in this one.

There are many things about this war that I do not like, just as there are many things about "practical" Christianity that I do not like. But I believe in Christianity, and if I accept the shoddy and unfulfilling in the conduct of this war, I do it as voluntarily and as purposefully as I accept the trash in the workings of "practical" Christianity. I do not like the odor of political pandering that arises from some groups. I do not like these "race incidents" in the camps. I do not like the world's not knowing officially that there were Negro soldiers on Bataan with General Wainwright. I do not like the constant references to the Japs as "yellow bastards," "yellow bellies," and "yellow monkeys," as if color had something to do with treachery, as if color were the issue and the thing we are fighting rather than oppression, slavery, and a way of life hateful and nauseating. These and other things I do not like, yet I believe in the war. . . .

This is a war to keep men free. The struggle to broaden and lengthen the road of freedom—our own private and important war to enlarge freedom here in America—will come later. That this private, intra-American war will be carried on and won is the only real reason we Negroes have to fight. We must keep the road open. Did we not believe in a victory in that intra-American war, we could not believe in nor stomach the compulsion of this. If we could not believe in the realization of democratic freedom for ourselves, certainly no one could ask us to die for the preservation of that ideal for others. But to broaden and lengthen the road of freedom is different from preserving it. And our first duty is to keep the road of freedom open. It must be done continuously. It is the duty of the whole people to do this. Our next duty (and this, too, is the whole people's) is to broaden that road so that more people can travel it without snarling traffic. To die in these duties is to die for something. . . .

I believe in this war, finally, because I believe in the ultimate vindication of the wisdom of the brotherhood of man. This is not foggy idealism. I think that the growing manifestations of the interdependence of all men is an argument for the wisdom of brotherhood. I think that the shrunk compass of the world is an argument. I think that the talk of united nations and of planned interdependence is an argument.

More immediately, I believe in this war because I believe in America. I believe in what American professes to stand for. Nor is this, I think, whistling in the dark. There are a great many things wrong here. There are only a few men of good will. I do not lose sight of that. I know the inequalities, the outraged hopes and faith, the inbred hate; and I know that there are people who wish merely to lay these by in the closet of the national mind until the crisis is over. But it would be equally foolish for me to lose sight of the advances that are made, the barriers that are leveled, the privileges that grow. Foolish, too, to remain blind to the distinction that exists between simple race prejudice, already growing moribund under the impact of this war, and theories of racial superiority as a basic tenet of a societal system—theories that at bottom are the avowed justification for suppression, defilement and murder.

I will take this that I have here. I will take the democratic theory. The bit of road of freedom that stretches through America is worth fighting to preserve. The very fact that I, a Negro in America, can fight against the evils in America is worth fighting for. This open fighting against the wrongs one hates is the mark and the hope of democratic freedom. I do not underestimate the struggle. I know the learning that must take place, the evils that must be broken, the depths that must be climbed. But I am free to help in doing these things. I count. I am free (though only a little as yet) to pound blows at the huge body of my American world until, like a chastened mother, she gives me nurture with the rest.

4. A Woman Remembers the War (1984)

With millions of men in the armed forces and the nation's factories straining to keep them supplied, women were drawn by the millions into nontraditional jobs. For many of those women, the war represented not simply a bloody conflict of global

[4]Reprinted by permission of The Putnam Publishing Group from *The Homefront: America During World War II* by Mark Jonathan Harris, Franklin D. Mitchell and Steven J. Schechter. Copyright © by Mark Jonathan Harris, Franklin D. Mitchell and Steven J. Schechter.

Rosie the Riveter Steps Out
World War II massively disrupted traditional definitions of women's proper social role. (Historical Pictures Service)

proportions, but also an unanticipated opportunity for economic freedom and personal growth. In the following selection, one female war worker looks back on her experience in a plant in California. What does she remember most and least fondly about her wartime job? What aspects of it challenged her most? What was most fulfilling about it? What were the war's principal effects on her?

When the war started I was twenty-six, unmarried, and working as a cosmetics clerk in a drugstore in Los Angeles. I was running the whole department, handling the inventory and all that. It seemed asinine, though, to be selling lipstick when the country was at war. I felt that I was capable of doing something more than that toward the war effort.

There was also a big difference between my salary and those in defense work. I was making something like twenty-two, twenty-four dollars a week in the drugstore. You could earn a much greater amount of money for your labor in defense plants. Also it interested me. There was a certain curiosity about meeting that kind of challenge, and here was an opportunity to do that, for there were more and more openings for women.

So I went to two or three plants and took their tests. And they all told me I had

absolutely no mechanical ability. I said, "I don't believe that." So I went to another plant, A.D.E.L. I was interviewed and got the job. This particular plant made the hydraulic-valve system for the B-17. And where did they put women? In the burr room. You sat at a workbench, which was essentially like a picnic table, with a bunch of other women, and you worked grinding and sanding machine parts to make them smooth. That's what you did all day long. It was very mechanical and it was very boring. There were about thirty women in the burr room, and it was like being in a beauty shop every day. I couldn't stand the inane talk. So when they asked me if I would like to work someplace else in the shop, I said I very much would.

They started training me. I went to a blueprint class and learned how to use a micrometer and how to draw tools out of the tool crib and everything else. Then one day they said, "Okay, how would you like to go into the machine shop?"

I said, "Terrific."

And they said, "Now, Adele, it's going to be a real challenge, because you'll be the only women in the machine shop." I thought to myself, Well, that's going to be fun, all those guys and Adele in the machine shop. So the foreman took me over there. It was a big room, with a high ceiling and fluorescent lights, and it was very noisy. I walked in there, in my overalls, and suddenly all the machines stopped and every guy in the shop just turned around and looked at me. It took, I think, two weeks before anyone even talked to me. The discrimination was indescribable. They wanted to kill me.

My attitude was, "Okay, you bastards, I'm going to prove to you I can do anything you can do, and maybe better than some of you." And that's exactly the way it turned out. I used to do the rework on the pieces that the guy on the shift before me had screwed up. I finally got assigned to nothing but rework.

Later they taught me to run an automatic screwing machine. It's a big mother, and it took a lot of strength just to throw that thing into gear. They probably thought I wasn't going to be able to do it. But I was determined to succeed. As a matter of fact, I developed the most fantastic biceps from throwing that machine into gear. Even today I still have a little of that muscle left.

Anyway, eventually some of the men became very friendly, particularly the older ones, the ones in their late forties or fifties. They were journeymen tool and die makers and were so skilled that they could work anywhere at very high salaries. They were sort of fatherly, protective. They weren't threatened by me. The younger men, I think, were.

Our plant was an open shop, and the International Association of Machinists was trying to unionize the workers. I joined them and worked to try to get the union in the plant. I proselytized for the union during lunch hour, and I had a big altercation with the management over that. The employers and my lead man and foreman called me into the office and said, "We have a right to fire you."

I said, "On what basis? I work as well or better than anybody else in the shop except the journeymen."

They said, "No, not because of that. Because you're talking for the union on company property. You're not allowed to do that."

I said, "Well, that's just too bad, because I can't get off the grounds here. You won't allow us to leave the grounds during lunch hour. And you don't pay me for my lunch hour, so that time doesn't belong to you, so you can't tell me what to do." And they backed down.

I had one experience at the plant that really made me work for the union. One

day while I was burring I had an accident and ripped some cartilage out of my hand. It wasn't serious, but it looked kind of messy. They had to take me over to the industrial hospital to get my hand sutured. I came back and couldn't work for a day or two because my hand was all bandaged. It wasn't serious, but it was awkward. When I got my paycheck, I saw that they had docked me for time that I was in the industrial hospital. When I saw that I was really mad.

It's ironic that when the union finally got into the plant, they had me transferred out. They were anxious to get rid of me because after we got them in I went to a few meetings and complained about it being a Jim Crow union. So they arranged for me to have a higher rating instead of a worker's rating. This allowed me to make twenty-five cents an hour more, and I got transferred to another plant. By this time I was married. When I became pregnant I worked for about three months more, then I quit.

For me defense work was the beginning of my emancipation as a woman. For the first time in my life I found out that I could do something with my hands besides bake a pie. I found out that I had manual dexterity and the mentality to read blueprints and gauges, and to be inquisitive enough about things to develop skills other than the conventional roles that women had at that time. I had the consciousness-raising experience of being the only woman in this machine shop and having the mantle of challenge laid down by the men, which stimulated my competitiveness and forced me to prove myself. This, plus working in the union, gave me a lot of self-confidence.

B. The Blame for Pearl Harbor

1. War Warnings from Washington (1941)

The military officials in Washington had "cracked" Tokyo's secret code. They therefore knew from intercepted messages, especially after Secretary Hull's final note of November 26, that Japan was about to attack. But they could only guess where. The following war warnings were dispatched to Pacific commanders, including General MacArthur, who was caught with his planes down in the Philippines some eight hours after *the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941. The messages from Washington did not mention Hawaii, evidently because of the belief, fortified by reports of massed ship movements, that the Japanese were about to strike in Southeast Asia. The surprised U.S. commanders later complained that they had not been properly warned. Comment critically in the light of these warnings. What grounds existed for the assumption that the attack would not come at Pearl Harbor?*

[Navy Department to Pacific Commanders, November 24, 1941]

Chances of favorable outcome of negotiations with Japan very doubtful. This situation, coupled with statements of Japanese Government and movements their naval and military forces, indicates in our opinion that a surprise aggressive movement in any direction, including attack on Philippines or Guam, is a possibility. Chief

[1] *Pearl Harbor Attack; Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack,* 79th Cong. 1st sess. (1946), pt. xiv, pp. 1405, 1406.

of Staff has seen this dispatch; concurs and requests action [by the respective addresses] to inform senior Army officers their areas. Utmost secrecy necessary in order not to complicate an already tense situation or precipitate Japanese action.

[Navy Department to Asiatic and Pacific Fleets, November 27, 1941]

This dispatch is to be considered a war warning. Negotiations with Japan looking toward stabilization of conditions in the Pacific have ceased, and an aggressive move by Japan is expected within the next few days. The number and equipment of Japanese troops, and the organization of naval task forces, indicates an amphibious expedition against either the Philippines, Thai [Siam] or Kra [Malay] peninsula, or possibly Borneo [Dutch East Indies]. . . .

2. Admiral Kimmel Defends Himself (1946)

In 1942, after carrier-based Japanese bombers had crippled the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor on that fateful Sunday morning, the special Roberts commission found Admiral H. E. Kimmel and General W. C. Short guilty of "dereliction of duty." But the army and navy conducted their own investigations and concluded that there were no grounds for a court-martial. After the war a full-dress joint congressional investigation (10 million words) elicited the following testimony from Admiral Kimmel, who must be judged in the light of three points. First, as early as 1932 the navy had staged a successful mock (Japanese) raid on Pearl Harbor on a Sunday morning *with carrier-based aircraft. Second, the attacking Japanese carriers had been lost to U.S. naval intelligence for some days. Third, four hours and thirteen minutes before the surprise attack the navy sighted an enemy submarine off the mouth of Pearl Harbor; an hour and ten minutes before the strike the navy fired upon and sank a Japanese submarine off the mouth of Pearl Harbor. What were the strengths and weaknesses of Kimmel's defense?*

The so-called "war warning" dispatch of November 27 did not warn the Pacific Fleet of an attack in the Hawaiian area. It did not state expressly or by implication that an attack in the Hawaiian area was imminent or probable. It did not repeal or modify the advice previously given me by the Navy Department that no move against Pearl Harbor was imminent or planned by Japan.

The phrase "war warning" cannot be made a catch-all for all the contingencies hindsight may suggest. It is a characterization of the specific information which the dispatch contained. . . .

In brief, on November 27, the Navy Department suggested that I send from the immediate vicinity of Pearl Harbor the carriers of the fleet, which constituted the fleet's main striking defense against an air attack.*

On November 27, the War and Navy Departments suggested that we send from the island of Oahu [site of Pearl Harbor] 50 percent of the Army's resources in pursuit planes.

These proposals came to us on the very same day of the so-called "war warning."

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[2] *Pearl Harbor Attack,* pt. VI, pp. 2518, 2520, 2521.

*Fortunately for the United States, the three great carriers were not at Pearl Harbor when the attack came.

In these circumstances no reasonable man in my position would consider that the "war warning" was intended to suggest the likelihood of an attack in the Hawaiian area.

From November 27 to the time of the attack, all the information which I had from the Navy Department or from any other source, confirmed, and was consistent with, the Japanese movement in southeast Asia described in the dispatch of November 27. . . .

In short, all indications of the movements of Japanese military and naval forces which came to my attention confirmed the information in the dispatch of 27 November—that the Japanese were on the move against Thailand or the Kra [Malay] Peninsula in southeast Asia.

3. Secretary Stimson Charges Negligence (1946)

General Short, the army commander in Hawaii, complained that the warnings from Washington were not specific enough regarding a possible Japanese attack. He felt that he should have been advised that Washington was intercepting Japanese coded messages (despite the need for secrecy in using these "magic" intercepts). Yet on November 30—a week early—the Honolulu Advertiser *had headlined a story "JAPANESE MAY STRIKE OVER WEEKEND." Newly installed army radar actually picked up the attacking Japanese planes fifty-three minutes in advance, but this evidence stirred no defense action. Secretary of War Stimson, who had served in three presidential cabinets, here defends his office before the joint congressional committee. Is his analogy to a sentinel convincing?*

Many of the discussions on this subject indicated a failure to grasp the fundamental difference between the duties of an outpost command and those of the commander in chief of an army or nation and his military advisers.

The outpost commander is like a sentinel on duty in the face of the enemy. His fundamental duties are clear and precise. He must assume that the enemy will attack at his particular post; and that the enemy will attack at the time and in the way in which it will be most difficult to defeat him. It is not the duty of the outpost commander to speculate or rely on the possibilities of the enemy attacking at some other outpost instead of his own. It is his duty to meet him at his post at any time, and to make the best possible fight that can be made against him with the weapons with which he has been supplied.

On the other hand, the Commander in Chief of the Nation (and his advisers) . . . has much more difficult and complex duties to fulfill. Unlike the outpost commander, he must constantly watch, study, and estimate where the principal or most dangerous attack is most likely to come, in order that he may most effectively distribute his insufficient forces and munitions to meet it. He knows that his outposts are not all equally supplied or fortified, and that they are not all equally capable of defense. He knows also that from time to time they are of greatly varying importance to the grand strategy of the war. . . .

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[3] *Pearl Harbor Attack,* pt. XI, pp. 5428–5429.

From the foregoing I believe that it was inevitable and proper that a far greater number of items of information coming through our Intelligence should be collected and considered and appraised by the General Staff at Washington than those which were transmitted to the commander of an outpost.

General Short had been told the two essential facts: (1) A war with Japan is threatening. (2) Hostile action by Japan is possible at any moment. Given those two facts, both of which were stated without equivocation in the message of November 27, the outpost commander should be on the alert to make his fight.

Even without any such message, the outpost commander should have been on the alert. If he did not know that the relations between Japan and the United States were strained and might be broken at any time, he must have been almost the only man in Hawaii who did not know it, for the radio and the newspapers were blazoning out those facts daily, and he had a chief of staff and an intelligence officer to tell him so. And if he did not know that the Japanese were likely to strike without warning, he could not have read his history of Japan or known the lessons taught in Army schools in respect to such matters.*

Under these circumstances, which were of general knowledge and which he must have known, to cluster his airplanes in such groups and positions that in an emergency they could not take to the air for several hours, and to keep his anti-aircraft ammunition so stored that it could not be promptly and immediately available, and to use his best reconnaissance system, the radar, only for a very small fraction of the day and night, in my opinion betrayed a misconception of his real duty which was almost beyond belief.

[The joint congressional committee investigating Pearl Harbor was a partisan body that submitted two reports. The majority (six Democrats, joined by two Republicans) generally absolved the Democratic Roosevelt administration of responsibility for the surprise attack, while finding the Hawaii commanders guilty of "errors of judgment and not derelictions of duty." Two Republican senators filed a minority report highly critical of the Roosevelt administration.]

4. Roosevelt Awaits the Blow (1941)

On the evening of December 6—the day before Pearl Harbor—U.S. naval intelligence intercepted and decoded the bulk of Tokyo's warlike reply to Secretary Hull's last "tough" note (November 26). Commander Lester Schulz, a naval aide at the White House, promptly delivered these intercepts to the White House. Five years later he testified before the joint congressional committee concerning the president's reaction. Certain critics of Roosevelt claim that he now knew of the Japanese plan to strike Pearl Harbor the next day, and that he deliberately exposed the fleet in order to lure the Japanese into an act of aggression that would unify American opinion. What light does Commander Schulz's testimony shed on this interpretation?

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*Attacking without warning had been a feudal practice in Japan. The Japanese attacked the Chinese without warning in 1894 and 1931 and the Russians in 1904. In the age of Hitler, attacks without warning were commonplace, as indeed they have been throughout history.

[4] *Pearl Harbor Attack,* pt. X, pp. 4662–4663.

Commander Schultz. The President read the papers, which took perhaps ten minutes. Then he handed them to Mr. [Harry] Hopkins. . . . Mr. Hopkins then read the papers and handed them back to the President. The President then turned toward Mr. Hopkins and said in substance . . . "This means war." Mr. Hopkins agreed, and they discussed then, for perhaps five minutes, the situation of the Japanese forces, that is, their deployment and—

Mr. Richardson [committee counsel]. Can you recall what either of them said?

Commander Shultz. In substance I can. . . . Mr. Hopkins . . . expressed a view that since war was undoubtedly going to come at the convenience of the Japanese, it was too bad that we could not strike the first blow and prevent any sort of surprise. The President nodded and then said in effect, "No, we can't do that. We are a democracy and a peaceful people." Then he raised his voice, and this much I remember definitely. He said, "But we have a good record."

The impression that I got was that we would have to stand on that record; we could not make the first overt move. We would have to wait until it came.

During this discussion there was no mention of Pearl Harbor. The only geographic name I recall was Indochina. The time at which war might begin was not discussed, but from the manner of the discussion there was no indication that tomorrow was necessarily the day.

C. Soviet-American Friction

1. Communists Distrust Capitalists (1946)

General John R. Deane, the chief U.S. military liaison officer in Moscow, found the hard-pressed Russians willing to accept U.S. arms but not U.S. personnel. He concluded that the Communist regime did not want its people tainted by exposure to capitalistic Americans, that it desired the prestige of winning solo victories, and that it regarded World War II as only one campaign in the long war against capitalism. Why permit possible future adversaries like the Americans to spy out the terrain and probe the Soviet Union's military weaknesses? In this postwar account, General Deane cites specific cases. Which ones seem to be least credible? What do they foreshadow regarding cooperation with Moscow after the war?

Whatever the reasons, the fact that Russia desired, insofar as possible, to play a lone hand was proved by undeniable evidence. In her darkest days she refused to allow a group of Allied bombers to base in the Caucasus in order to assist her at Stalingrad. Our well-meant voluntary efforts to support her advance in the Balkans with our Air Force operating from Italy brought forth protests rather than gratitude. No single American was allowed to enter the Soviet Union without pressure from the Ambassador or me, and then a visa was granted only after an exhaustive study of the background of the individual involved. Under these circumstances it was clear that

[1] Selections from *The Strange Alliance,* pp. 296, 160–61, by J. R. Deane. Copyright 1947 by J. R. Deane; renewed 1974. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin Inc.

nothing much could come of a partnership in which one of the principals was not only reluctant, but proficient in sabotaging its effectiveness. . . .

When General Eisenhower visited Moscow after the war, he held a press conference at which he stated that after January 1945 he was kept fully informed at all times of the essentials of the Red Army's plans, particularly the timing of their offensives, their objectives, and the direction of their main efforts. This was true, but his possession of such information was a far cry from the co-operative action that might normally be expected between allies. All the information Eisenhower had concerning the Red Army's plans was the result of our initiative in seeking to obtain it, and then it was only obtained after continuous pressure at the highest levels.

Not once during the war did Stalin or his subordinates seek a meeting with British or American authorities in order to present proposals for improving our co-operative effort. It was either the President or the Prime Minister [Churchill] who proposed [conferences at] Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. No single event of the war irritated me more than seeing the President of the United States lifted from a wheel chair to automobile, to ship, to shore, and to aircraft, in order to go halfway around the world as the only possible means of meeting J. V. Stalin.

There were innumerable little ways in which our joint war effort could have been made more effective. We might have learned something of immeasurable value in defeating the German submarines had we been allowed to see Gdynia [naval base] as soon as it was taken; we might have brought Germany to her knees quicker had we been allowed to establish radar triangulation stations in Russia as navigational aids to our bomber formations in eastern Germany. We might have defeated Germany more quickly had we shared our operational experience by having observers on each other's fronts. We might have, we might have—on and on. No! In Soviet Russia each such venture would have meant a closer association with capitalistic foreigners. Well, perhaps we were among friends, but it was difficult to believe it.

[Deane further relates (on page 154) that when the British Military Mission in Moscow was disbanded at war's end, it was discovered that the place was "infested with well-concealed dictaphones." Everything said by these British allies of the Soviet Union was evidently recorded for the information of the Soviet secret police.]

2. Stalin Resents Second-Front Delays (1943)

The one kind of help that Stalin consistently demanded was the opening of a second front in France that would draw German divisions off the backs of the reeling Russians. As Stalingrad tottered, Communists and other groups in the United States demanded a morale-boosting second front in 1942, even though it might end in bloody failure. Conservatives insisted that the two menaces be left alone to cut each other's throats. Drew Pearson, the keyhole columnist, declared in 1943 that this brutal course was the policy of Washington. Secretary Hull thereupon branded such allegations "monstrous and diabolical falsehoods." Stalin was not unaware of such talk

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[2] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, *Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Presidents of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945* (1957), vol. 2, pp. 75–76.

Now!
The Daily Worker, a Communist newspaper, began clamoring for an immediate second front less than four months after Pearl Harbor, so as to divert Hitler from his attack on the Soviet Union. (New York Daily Worker, April 9, 1942)

when he angrily sent the following secret message to Winston Churchill (June 24, 1943), just after Churchill had again backed down on his promise of a second front in 1943. From the viewpoint of the Allies, what was the most alarming aspect of Stalin's heated response?

. . . When you now write that "it would be no help to Russia if we threw away a hundred thousand men in a disastrous cross-Channel attack," all I can do is remind you of the following:

First, your own Aide-Mémoire of June 1942, in which you declared that preparations were under way for an invasion, not by a hundred thousand, but by an Anglo-American force exceeding one million men at the very start of the operation.

Second, your February [1943] message, which mentioned extensive measures preparatory to the invasion of Western Europe in August or September 1943, which, apparently, envisaged an operation, not by a hundred thousand men, but by an adequate force.

So when you now declare: "I cannot see how a great British defeat and slaughter would aid the Soviet armies," is it not clear that a statement of this kind in relation to the Soviet Union is utterly groundless and directly contradicts your previous and responsible decisions, listed above, about extensive and vigorous measures by the British and Americans to organize the invasion this year, measures on which the complete success of the operation should hinge?

I shall not enlarge on the fact that this responsible decision, revoking your previous decisions on the invasion of Western Europe, was reached by you and the

President without Soviet participation and without inviting its representatives to the Washington conference, although you cannot but be aware that the Soviet Union's role in the war against Germany and its interest in the problems of the second front are great enough.

There is no need to say that the Soviet Government cannot become reconciled to this disregard of vital Soviet interests in the war against the common enemy.

You say that you "quite understand" my disappointment. I must tell you that the point here is not just the disappointment of the Soviet Government, but the preservation of its confidence in its Allies, a confidence which is being subjected to severe stress. One should not forget that it is a question of saving millions of lives in the occupied areas of Western Europe and Russia, and of reducing the enormous sacrifices of the Soviet armies, compared with which the sacrifices of the Anglo-American armies are insignificant.

3. Roosevelt Manages "Uncle Joe" (1943)

Roosevelt was eager to meet Stalin and soften his suspicions with the famous Roosevelt charm. "I can handle that old buzzard," he allegedly boasted in private. Late in 1943 the two men met for the first time, together with Prime Minister Churchill, at Teheran, the capital of Persia, which was as far away as Stalin would venture from his direction of the Soviet armies. Roosevelt reported his experiences to his secretary of labor, Frances Perkins, who recalled them as follows. How might one account for Stalin's attitude early in the sessions?

"You know [reported Roosevelt], the Russians are interesting people. For the first three days I made absolutely no progress. I couldn't get any personal connection with Stalin, although I had done everything he asked me to do. I had stayed at his Embassy, gone to his dinners, been introduced to his ministers and generals. He was correct, stiff, solemn, not smiling, nothing human to get hold of. I felt pretty discouraged. If it was all going to be official paper work, there was no sense in my having made this long journey which the Russians had wanted. They couldn't come to America or any place in Europe for it. I had come there to accommodate Stalin. I felt pretty discouraged because I thought I was making no personal headway. What we were doing could have been done by the foreign ministers.

"I thought it over all night and made up my mind I had to do something desperate. I couldn't stay in Teheran forever. I had to cut through this icy surface so that later I could talk by telephone or letter in a personal way. I had scarcely seen Churchill alone during the conference. I had a feeling that the Russians did not feel right about seeing us conferring together in a language which we understood and they didn't.

"On my way to the conference room that morning we caught up with Winston [Churchill] and I had just a moment to say to him, 'Winston, I hope you won't be sore at me for what I am going to do.'

"Winston just shifted his cigar and grunted. I must say he behaved very decently afterward.

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[3] Selections from *The Roosevelt I Knew*, pp. 83–85, by Frances Perkins. Copyright © 1946 by Frances Perkins; renewed 1974 by Susanna W. Coggeshall. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin Inc.

"I began almost as soon as we got into the conference room. I talked privately with Stalin. I didn't say anything that I hadn't said before, but it appeared quite chummy and confidential, enough so that the other Russians joined us to listen. Still no smile.

"Then I said, lifting my hand up to cover a whisper (which of course had to be interpreted), 'Winston is cranky this morning, he got up on the wrong side of the bed.'

"A vague smile passed over Stalin's eyes, and I decided I was on the right track. As soon as I sat down at the conference table, I began to tease Churchill about his Britishness, about John Bull, about his cigars, about his [drinking?] habits. It began to register with Stalin. Winston got red and scowled, and the more he did so, the more Stalin smiled. Finally Stalin broke out into a deep, hearty guffaw, and for the first time in three days I saw light. I kept it up until Stalin was laughing with me, and it was then that I called him 'Uncle Joe.' He would have thought me fresh the day before, but that day he laughed and came over and shook my hand.

"From that time on our relations were personal, and Stalin himself indulged in an occasional witticism. The ice was broken and we talked like men and brothers.

"You know . . . he was deeply touched by the presentation of the sword which Churchill brought him from the British people."

[Relations between Roosevelt and Stalin remained friendly until several weeks before Roosevelt's death in April 1945. Then Stalin abusively charged bad faith in connection with the surrender of German troops in Italy, while Roosevelt came back with protests against Stalin's violations of his Yalta pledges, notably in connection with Poland.]

D. The "Unconditional Surrender" Controversy

1. Sherwood Defends FDR (1948)

Late in 1942 the Allies launched a side-issue invasion of French North Africa, but Stalin refused to recognize it as a genuine second front. Shortly thereafter Roosevelt flew to Casablanca, in French Morocco, for a conference with Prime Minister Churchill, his eighth cousin once removed. Roosevelt knew that the embittered Stalin was deeply suspicious of a possible deal between Hitler and the Allies. The Soviet Union might even make a separate peace with the Germans, as they had done with disastrous effect in 1918. At Roosevelt's instigation, the Casablanca conference proclaimed a policy of "unconditional surrender"—that is, the unconditional surrender of the Axis regimes but not "the destruction of the German populace, nor of the Italian or Japanese populace." Robert E. Sherwood, the ghostwriter associate of Roosevelt, here gives his version. Note how many different objectives the president had in view. Why can one argue that "unconditional surrender" did not prolong German resistance?

There were many propaganda experts, both British and American, who believed that the utterance of these words ["unconditional surrender"] would put the iron of

[1] From pp. 695–697 in *Roosevelt and Hopkins* by Robert E. Sherwood. Copyright 1948 by Robert E. Sherwood. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

desperate resistance into the Germans, Japanese, and Italians and thereby needlessly prolong the war and increase its cost; there are some who still believe that it did so. These critics were not necessarily opposed to the principle of total defeat—but they considered it a disastrous mistake for the President to announce it publicly. . . .

I wrote Winston Churchill asking him if he had discussed the unconditional surrender statement with Roosevelt before the press conference at Casablanca, and his reply was as follows: "I heard the words 'Unconditional Surrender' for the first time from the President's lips at the Conference. It must be remembered that at that moment no one had a right to proclaim that Victory was assured. Therefore, Defiance was the note. I would not myself have used these words, but I immediately stood by the President and have frequently defended the decision. It is false to suggest that it prolonged the war. Negotiation with Hitler was impossible. He was a maniac with supreme power to play his hand out to the end, which he did; and so did we."

Roosevelt himself absolved Churchill from all responsibility for the statement. Indeed, he suggested that it was an unpremeditated one on his own part. He said, "We had so much trouble getting those two French generals together that I thought to myself that this was as difficult as arranging the meeting of Grant and Lee—and then suddenly the press conference was on, and Winston and I had had no time to prepare for it, and the thought popped into my mind that they had called Grant 'Old Unconditional Surrender' and the next thing I knew, I had said it."

Roosevelt, for some reason, often liked to picture himself as a rather frivolous fellow who did not give sufficient attention to the consequences of chance remarks. In this explanation, indicating a spur-of-the-moment slip of the tongue, he certainly did considerably less than justice to himself. For this announcement of unconditional surrender was very deeply deliberated. Whether it was wise or foolish, whether it prolonged the war or shortened it—or even if it had no effect whatsoever on the duration (which seems possible)—it was a true statement of Roosevelt's considered policy and he refused all suggestions that he retract the statement or soften it and continued refusal to the day of his death. In fact, he restated it a great many times. . . .

What Roosevelt was saying was that there would be no negotiated peace, no compromise with Nazism and Fascism, no "escape clauses" provided by another Fourteen Points which could lead to another Hitler. (The Ghost of Woodrow Wilson was again at his shoulder.) Roosevelt wanted this uncompromising purpose to be brought home to the American people and the Russians and the Chinese, and to the people of France and other occupied nations, and he wanted it brought home to the Germans—that neither by continuance of force nor by contrivance of a new spirit of sweet reasonableness could their present leaders gain for them a soft peace. He wanted to ensure that when the war was won it would stay won.

2. Hull Opposes Unconditional Surrender (1948)

"Unconditonal surrender" had its warm supporters. In addition to the advantages already indicated, it would hearten German-conquered peoples like the Poles; it would key the Allies up for greater sacrifices; it would postpone disruptive arguments among the Allies over surrender terms; it would avert a quarrel like that with Ger-

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[2]Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from *Memoirs,* vol. 2, by Cordell Hull. Copyright 1948 by Cordell Hull. Copyright renewed.

Willst Du der Letzte Tote des Krieges Sein?
("Do you want to be the last dead of the war?") U.S. propaganda leaflet of World War II directed at German soldiers. (Hoover Institution, Stanford University)

many after 1918 over the armistice terms. Yet critics like Senator Wheeler of Montana branded "unconditional surrender" as "brutal" and "asinine." It was vague and easily misinterpreted; it would provide ammunition for enemy propagandists; it would close the door to negotiations with Germany; it would pave the way for Soviet ascendancy in Eastern Europe. Secretary of State Hull, somewhat miffed, advanced additional arguments in his Memoirs. *Notice what he reveals about relations between the president and the State Department. Would the alternative policy that he suggests have made more sense?*

The principle of unconditional surrender overshadowed our policy toward the Axis and their satellites and our planning for their future.

Originally this principle had not formed part of the State Department's thinking. We were as much surprised as Mr. Churchill when, for the first time, the President, in the Prime Minister's presence, stated it suddenly to a press conference during the Casablanca Conference in January, 1943. I was told that the Prime Minister was dumbfounded.

Basically, I was opposed to the principle for two reasons, as were many of my

associates. One was that it might prolong the war by solidifying Axis resistance into one of desperation. The people of the Axis countries, by believing they had nothing to look forward to but unconditional surrender to the will of their conquerors, might go on fighting long after calmer judgment had convinced them that their fight was hopeless.

The President himself had qualified his unconditional surrender phrase by stating at Casablanca that this did not mean the destruction of the people of Germany, Japan, and Italy, but the ending of a philosophy based on conquest and subjugation of other peoples. Nevertheless the phrase itself spread more widely than the qualification, and it became a weapon in the hands of Nazi propagandists.

The second reason was that the principle logically required the victor nations to be ready to take over every phase of the national and local Governments of the conquered countries, and to operate all governmental activities and properties. We and our Allies were in no way prepared to undertake this vast obligation.

I thought that our principle of surrender should be flexible. In some cases the most severe terms should be imposed. I had Germany and Japan in mind in this connection. In other cases we would have preliminary informal conversations that would result in substantial adjustments away from the terms of unconditional surrender. Here I had in mind Italy and the Axis satellite states, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland.

In our postwar-planning discussions in the State Department, which had begun more than three years prior to the Casablanca Conference, we had not embraced the idea of unconditional surrender. In the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, each Government simply pledged itself not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies. Nevertheless, after the President had stated the principle so emphatically at Casablanca, there was nothing we could do except to follow it at least in form. It was to rise on numerous occasions to plague us and to require explanation.

[Ironically, Japan did not surrender unconditionally in 1945, but held out for the retention of the emperor.]

E. Dropping the Atomic Bomb

1. Japan's Horrified Reaction (1945)

With Germany knocked out of the war, President Truman journeyed to Potsdam, near Berlin, in July 1945, to concert plans with Stalin and the British leaders. He was there informed that U.S. scientists had experimentally detonated the first atomic bomb in history. The conferees now called on the Japanese to surrender or be destroyed, although the Potsdam ultimatum made no reference, as perhaps it should have, to the existence of the fantastic new weapon. When Tokyo brushed aside the demand for surrender, Truman ordered the dropping of atomic bombs (the only two the United

[1] *Nippon Times* (Tokyo), August 10, 1945. The third bomb was not scheduled to be ready until about August 24, two weeks after the dropping of the second one.

States then had) on Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9). The horrified reaction of the Nippon Times *is herewith given. Determine whether there was force in the Japanese charge of hypocrisy, and whether there is any moral difference between atomic bombing and large-scale incendiary bombing of civilian centers. (The Japanese had already bombed civilian centers, beginning with Shanghai in 1932.) Did the Japanese refusal to respond to the Potsdam ultimatum justify the bombing?*

How can a human being with any claim to a sense of moral responsibility deliberately let loose an instrument of destruction which can at one stroke annihilate an appalling segment of mankind? This is not war; this is not even murder; this is pure nihilism. This is a crime against God and humanity which strikes at the very basis of moral existence. What meaning is there in any international law, in any rule of human conduct, in any concept of right and wrong, if the very foundations of morality are to be overthrown as the use of this instrument of total destruction threatens to do?

The crime of the Americans stands out in ghastly repulsiveness all the more for the ironic contradiction it affords to their lying pretensions. For in their noisy statements, they have always claimed to be the champions of fairness and humanitarianism. In the early days of the China Affair [beginning, in 1937], the United States repeatedly protested against the bombing operations of the Japanese forces, notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese operations were conducted on a limited scale against strictly military objectives. But where its own actions are concerned, the United States seems to see no inconsistency in committing on an unimaginably vast scale the very same crime it had falsely accused others of committing.

This hypocritical character of the Americans had already been amply demonstrated in the previous bombings of Japanese cities. Strewing explosives and fire bombs indiscriminately over an extensive area, hitting large cities and small towns without distinction, wiping out vast districts which could not be mistaken as being anything but strictly residential in character, burning or blasting to death countless thousands of helpless women and children, and machine-gunning fleeing refugees, the American raiders had already shown how completely they violate in their actual deeds the principles of humanity which they mouth in conspicuous pretense.

But now beside the latest technique of total destruction which the Americans have adopted, their earliest crimes pale into relative insignificance. What more barbarous atrocity can there be than to wipe out at one stroke the population of a whole city without distinction*—men, women, and children; the aged, the weak, the infirm; those in positions of authority, and those with no power at all; all snuffed out without being given a chance of lifting even a finger in either defense or defiance!

The United States may claim, in a lame attempt to raise a pretext in justification of its latest action, that a policy of utter annihilation is necessitated by Japan's failure to heed the recent demand for unconditional surrender. But the question of surrendering or not surrendering certainly can have not the slighest relevance to the question of whether it is justifiable to use a method which under any circumstance is strictly condemned alike by the principles of international law and of morality. For this American outrage against the fundamental moral sense of mankind, Japan must pro-

*At Hiroshima about 150,000 people were killed and wounded out of a total population of some 350,000. The firebomb raid on Tokyo of March 10, 1945, killed an estimated 83,000 people.

United States, which has made itself the arch-

the Bombing

ctantly but overwhelmingly recommended by
s. Some of the scientists at first proposed test
e, but the United States had only two bombs,
duds. They could not wreak much damage in
se unimpressed. If the cities to be bombed were
move American prisoners of war to them and
mbers. Japan was reeling, but it perhaps had
a million casualties, while losing more than a
bomb, indicating that awesome forces were
un them into a quick surrender—as it did. (A
weakened this effect.) The cost was perhaps
illion—Japanese, American, and British. The
stant journal published in Chicago, did not
ibing." Which, if any, of its suggestions would
of the United States?

e has followed the dropping of atomic bombs
tremors throughout the world have diverted
y itself. . . . It is our belief that the use made of
on in an indefensible moral position.

issue of military necessity, though the facts are
atomic bomb was used at a time when Japan's
navy was sunk, her [illegible] ly destroyed, her homeland surrounded, her supplies cut off, and our forces poised for the final stroke. Recognition of her imminent defeat could be read between the lines of every Japanese communiqué. Neither do we intend to challenge Mr. Churchill's highly speculative assertion that the use of the bomb saved the lives of more than one million American and 250,000 British soldiers.

We believe, however, that these lives could have been saved had our government followed a different course, more honorable and more humane. Our leaders seem not to have weighed the moral considerations involved. No sooner was the bomb ready than it was rushed to the front and dropped on two helpless cities, destroying more lives than the United States has lost in the entire war.

Perhaps it was inevitable that the bomb would ultimately be employed to bring Japan to the point of surrender. . . . But there was no military advantage in hurling the bomb upon Japan without warning. The least we might have done was to announce to our foe that we possessed the atomic bomb; that its destructive power was beyond anything known in warfare; and that its terrible effectiveness had been experimentally

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[2]Copyright 1945 Christian Century Foundation. Reprinted by permission from the August 29, 1945, issue of *The Christian Century*.

The Birth of the Nuclear Age, 1945
Whether the awesome new power of the atom would be used for peaceful or destructive purposes was a question that haunted the world in the post-World War II era. (Culver Pictures)

demonstrated in this country. We could thus have warned Japan of what was in store for her unless she surrendered immediately. If she doubted the good faith of our representations, it would have been a simple matter to select a demonstration target in the enemy's own country at a place where the loss of human life would be at a minimum.

If, despite such warning, Japan had still held out, we would have been in a far less questionable position had we then dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At least our record of deliberation and ample warning would have been clear. Instead, with brutal disregard of any principle of humanity, we "demonstrated" the bomb on two great cities, utterly extinguishing them.* This course has placed the United States in a bad light throughout the world. What the use of poison gas did to the reputation of Germany in World War I, the use of the atomic bomb has done for the reputation of the United States in World War II. Our future security is menaced by our own act, and our influence for justice and humanity in international affairs has been sadly crippled.

*Hiroshima was about three-fourths devastated; Nagasaki, one-third.

3. Truman Justifies the Bombing (1945)

German scientists were known to be working on an atomic bomb, and Roosevelt was persuaded to push forward with an ultrasecret competing project that ultimately cost some $2.5 billion. The charge was made—without proof—that Truman had to use the new weapon or face an investigation of squandered money. More probable was his desire to end the Far Eastern war speedily, before the bothersome Russians came in. The evidence is strong that they hurried up their six-day participation following the dropping of the first bomb. At all events, President Truman accepted full responsibility for his decision, and later defended it in his Memoirs, *as excerpted herewith. Did he make the decision by himself? Did he try to use the bomb as a lawful weapon? In the light of conditions at the time, rather than hindsight, was he justified in his action?*

My own knowledge of these [atomic] developments had come about only after I became President, when Secretary [of War] Stimson had given me the full story. He had told me at that time that the project was nearing completion, and that a bomb could be expected within another four months. It was at his suggestion, too, that I had then set up a committee of top men and had asked them to study with great care the implications the new weapon might have for us. . . .

It was their recommendation that the bomb be used against the enemy as soon as it could be done. They recommended further that it should be used without specific warning, and against a target that would clearly show its devastating strength. I had realized, of course, that an atomic bomb explosion would inflict damage and casualties beyond imagination. On the other hand, the scientific advisers of the committee reported, "We can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use." It was their conclusion that no technical demonstration they might propose, such as over a deserted island, would be likely to bring the war to an end. It had to be used against an enemy target.

The final decision of where and when to use the atomic bomb was up to me. Let there be no mistake about it. I regarded the bomb as a military weapon, and never had any doubt that it should be used. The top military advisers to the President recommended its use, and when I talked to Churchill, he unhesitatingly told me that he favored the use of the atomic bomb if it might aid to end the war.

In deciding to use this bomb I wanted to make sure that it would be used as a weapon of war in the manner prescribed by the laws of war. That meant that I wanted it dropped on a military target. I had told Stimson that the bomb should be dropped as nearly as possibly upon a war production center of prime military importance. . . .

Four cities were finally recommended as targets: Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, and Nagasaki. They were listed in that order as targets for the first attack. The order of selection was in accordance with the military importance of these cities, but allowance would be given for weather conditions at the time of the bombing.

[The devastating impact of the atomic bomb, together with the Soviet Union's sudden entry into the war against Japan, undoubtedly forced the Japanese surrender

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[3] *Memoirs of Harry S. Truman,* vol. 1: *Years of Decisions.* Doubleday & Co., Inc. Copyright © 1955 by Time Inc., renewed 1983 by Margaret Truman Daniel. Reprinted by permission of Margaret Truman Daniel.

sooner than would otherwise have been possible. Even so, the fanatical military men in Tokyo almost won out for a last-ditch stand.

In 1959, during interchanges with the students of Columbia University, ex-President Truman vigorously justified his action. He noted that "When we asked them to surrender at Potsdam, they gave us a very snotty answer. That is what I got. . . . They told me to go to hell, words to that effect." Mr. Truman insisted that the dropping of the bomb was "just a military maneuver, that is all," because "We were destroying the factories that were making more munitions." He then concluded: "All this uproar about what we did and what could have been stopped—should we take these wonderful Monday morning quarterbacks, the experts who are supposed to be right? They don't know what they are talking about. I was there. I did it. I would do it again." (Truman Speaks *[New York: Columbia University Press, 1960], pp. 73–74.)]*

Thought Provokers

1. It has been said that the four years of World War II did more to transform U.S. society than twelve years of the Great Depression and eight years of the New Deal. Comment.
2. Basically, why were the defenders at Pearl Harbor caught by surprise, and who deserves the most blame for the surprise?
3. If the situation had been reversed, would Stalin have been more willing than the other Allies to open a second front? Explain.
4. Wilsonian propaganda in 1917–18 drove a wedge between the German people and their government. Why was this technique less effective in World War II? On balance, and with the benefit of hindsight, was the policy of unconditional surrender "perhaps the biggest political mistake of the war" (Hanson W. Baldwin)?
5. Does the probability that the Germans or the Japanese would have used the atomic bomb against the United States, if they had developed it first, strengthen the moral position of the United States? If Truman had announced at Potsdam that the United States had the atomic bomb, would the Japanese have been likely to surrender at once? Was the United States shortsighted in establishing a precedent that might one day be used against it? Comment on Secretary Stimson's view that the dropping of the bomb would prove war to be so horrible that there could never be another.

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Harry S Truman and the Cold War

I have been asked whether I have any regrets about any of the major decisions I had to make as President. I have none.

Harry S Truman, 1960

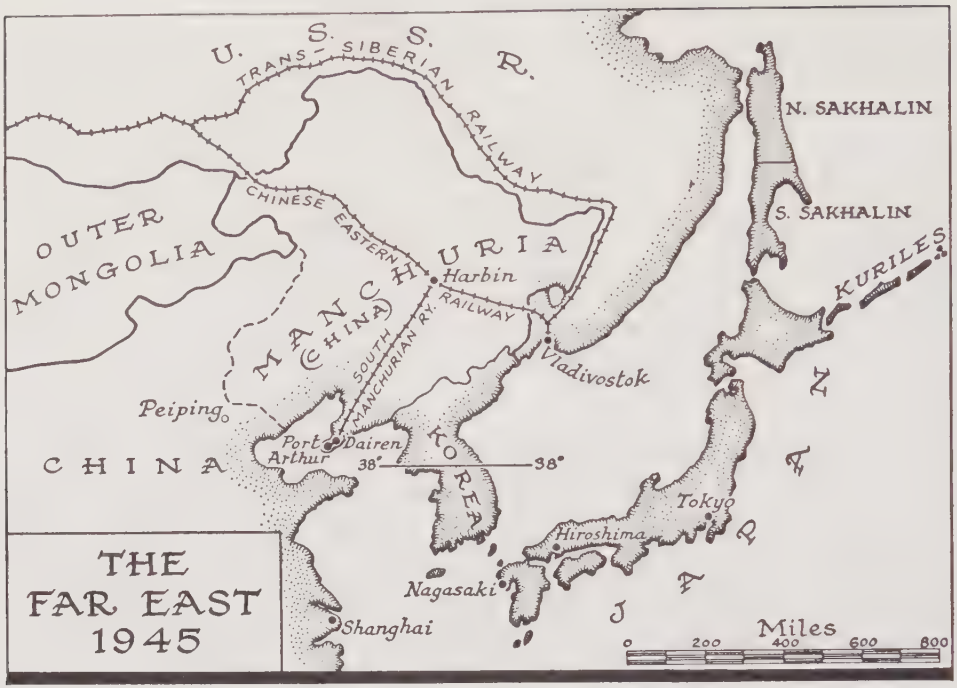
Prologue: In February 1945, while Germany was still fighting desperately and Japan was far from finished, an ailing Roosevelt arrived at Yalta in the Russian Crimea. There, in collaboration with Prime Minister Churchill, he thrashed out final agreements with Stalin. Nine weeks later Roosevelt was dead. The ultimate Communist takeover of the satellite governments of central Europe, which appeared to contradict Stalin's pledges at Yalta, deepened U.S. fears. In 1947 President Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine, designed in the short run to shore up Communist-threatened Greece and Turkey, but aiming in the long run to define a global policy of "containment" of Communist expansionism. In 1948, Truman implemented the Marshall Plan, designed to rehabilitate war-torn Western Europe. The Marshall Plan proved conspicuously successful in attaining its objectives. But continuing fear of the Soviet Union forced the United States, despite its ancient antialliance tradition, to negotiate in 1949 an epochal military defense alliance in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The "containment" policy suffered a severe blow in 1949, when Communists emerged the victors in China's civil war. The "fall" of China touched off bitter political warfare between Republicans and Democrats in the United States, and contributed to the rise of McCarthyism—fanatical and often irresponsible pursuit of alleged Communist "traitors" in the United States. The outbreak of a shooting war in Korea in 1950 seemed to confirm the worst fears about Communist intentions and provided the opportunity for a massive U.S. military buildup.

A. The Yalta Agreements

1. Roosevelt "Betrays" China and Japan (1945)

One of Roosevelt's primary objectives at the Yalta Conference was to coordinate with Stalin the final blows of the war. The American people were eager to induce the Soviet Union to enter the conflict against Japan so as to reduce their anticipated losses

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 984.



in the final stages of the assault. The Soviets had already suffered millions of casualties in fighting Hitler, and Stalin told Roosevelt that he would have to receive concessions if he were to justify another war to his war-weary people. The following, one of the "top secret" Yalta agreements hammered out between Roosevelt and Stalin, was not made public until exactly a year later. The basic reason for secrecy was that the Soviet Union and Japan were not then at war, and publication or even leakage of the terms might prompt a Japanese attack before the Soviet Union was ready. A need for the utmost secrecy was the excuse given for not then notifying China, an ally of the United States, that its rights were being bartered away in Outer Mongolia and in Manchuria (the Manchurian railroads and the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur). In what ways did the deal "betray" China? Was Roosevelt justified in agreeing to these terms?

The leaders of the three Great Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months* after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe was terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved; *[This area, twice the size of Texas, had been under China's sway until 1912; it had become a Soviet satellite in 1924.]*

2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:

*The Soviet Union entered the Far Eastern war exactly three months after Germany surrendered. Some scholars have argued that the U.S. decision to drop the two atomic bombs on Japan was hastened by the desire to conclude the fighting before the Soviet Union could fully enter the war and play a major role. Of course, at the time of Yalta Roosevelt could not know when—or even if—the bombs would be available.

a) The southern part of Sakhalin, as well as all the islands adjacent to it, shall be returned to the Soviet Union. *[Japan and Russia had shared control until 1905, when Japan secured South Sakhalin.]*

b) The commercial port of [China's] Dairen shall be internationalized, the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded, and the lease of [China's] Port Arthur as a naval base of the USSR restored, *[FDR here recognized Russia's age-old need for an ice-free port. Dairen was internationalized, and the Port Arthur naval base was leased to the Soviet Union. Both were ultimately restored to Communist China.]*

c) The Chinese Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad, which provides an outlet to Dairen, shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese Company, it being understood that the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria; *[The Yalta agreement ensured the Soviet Union temporary control of these two key railroads in China's Manchuria.]*

3. The Kurile Islands [of Japan] shall be handed over to the Soviet Union. *[Though colonized by both Russians and Japanese, these islands had become a Japanese possession in 1875. Giving away the territory of enemy Japan raised little protest at the time.]*

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia, and the ports and railroads referred to above, will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated *[that is, whether China consented or not].*

For its part, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the USSR and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke. *[The pact of friendship was concluded after some demur by the Chinese on August 14, 1945, six days after the Soviet Union opened war on Japan. Following the dropping of the atomic bomb, the Russians could not wait for China's acquiescence.]*

I. [J.] Stalin
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

2. The Freeman's *Bill of Indictment (1953)*

Roosevelt left Yalta pleased with the victory for Allied unity. He had secured Stalin's consent to a conference at San Francisco to frame the United Nations Charter, and he had won a concession from him limiting the use of the veto. But Roosevelt and Churchill had been forced to agree to Soviet retention of eastern Poland, with com-

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[2] *The Freeman* (New York) *3* (March 9, 1953):403. By permission of The Foundation for Economic Education. Admiral Leahy reported in 1950 that at Yalta he had complained to Roosevelt about the vagueness of the agreement regarding a free Poland: "'Mr. President, this is so elastic that the Russians can stretch it all the way from Yalta to Washington without ever technically breaking it.' The President replied, 'I know, Bill—I know it. But it's the best I can do for Poland at this time.'" W. D. Leahy, *I Was There* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1950), pp. 315–316.

pensating western territory to be given to the Poles at the expense of Germany. All this did violence to the rights of millions of Poles and Germans, as well as to the plain terms of the Atlantic Charter of 1941. On the other hand, Stalin had promised free elections for dismembered Poland and for the other satellite nations of central Europe—a pledge he later flouted. Critics have charged that Roosevelt should have known by this time that the Soviet Union did not honor agreements that it found inconvenient, and that he should have stood firm for principle. The Freeman, *a critical journal, published the following attack eight years later. How balanced is its appraisal?*

Yalta was the most cynical and immoral international transaction to which the United States was ever a partner. It was a repudiation of all the ideals for which the war against Nazism was supposedly being fought. America came very close to losing its soul at Yalta. What was even more ominous than the provisions of the agreement was the absence, at the time of its publication, of any loud or audible outcry of protest.* It would seem that the normal American ability to distinguish between right and wrong, freedom and slavery, had been badly blurred.

From the practical standpoint, most of our serious international difficulties at the present time can be traced back to a deal which gave Stalin the keys to Eastern Europe and East Asia in exchange for paper promises which, as anyone with reasonable knowledge of the Soviet record and Soviet psychology could have anticipated, were broken almost as soon as the ink on the Yalta document was dry.

The principle of self-determination for all peoples, spelled out in the first three clauses of the Atlantic Charter [see p. 318], was completely scrapped at Yalta, although there were hypocritical professions of respect for Atlantic Charter principles in the pact. The Soviet annexation of eastern Poland, definitely sanctioned, and the Polish annexation of large slices of ethnic German territory, foreshadowed in the agreement, were obviously against the will of the vast majority of the peoples concerned. There was no pretense of an honest plebiscite. These decisions have created millions of destitute, embittered refugees and have drawn frontier lines which are a very probable cause of future conflict.

Both the freedom and the territorial independence of Poland were offered as sacrifices on the altar of appeasement. The treatment of Poland, carved up territorially and made ripe for a foreign dictatorship, its fate determined by outsiders without even the presence of a Polish spokesman, was similar in many ways to the treatment of Czechoslovakia at Munich. . . .

Two features of the Yalta agreement represent endorsement by the United States of the legitimacy of human slavery—scarcely fit news for the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. There was recognition that German labor could be used as a source of "reparations," which could be invoked as justification for the detention at forced labor of large numbers of German war prisoners in the Soviet Union and also in France and Great Britain. And there was a self-assumed obligation by the United States and Great Britain to repatriate all Soviet citizens in their zones of occupation. So long as this was carried out (it has now, fortunately, long been stopped), there were tragic scenes of actual and attempted suicide on the part of Soviet citizens who feared above everything else to return to their homeland of concentration camps.

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*Polish-Americans did protest vigorously at the time; the unpublished secret agreements came out piecemeal later.

Finally, the secret clauses of the Yalta agreement, which offered Stalin extensive territorial and economic concessions in the Far East at the expense of China and Japan, were immoral, unnecessary, and unwise. They were immoral because they gave away the rights and interests of an ally, the Nationalist government of China, without consulting or even informing Chiang Kai-shek. They were unnecessary, because Stalin's eagerness to be in at the kill in the Far East was beyond serious doubt or question.

[The Freeman *was more sympathetic toward Germans than were most Americans. Putting Germans under Polish rule and using German slave labor in the Soviet Union for reparations did not seem immoral to many Americans in 1945, especially in view of Hitler's diabolical slaughter of some 6 million Jews. As for returning tens of thousands of anticommunist refugees to Soviet tyranny, many Americans felt that this was not an unreasonable request to grant to their good Soviet ally. Eight years later, perspectives had radically changed with respect to both Germany and the Soviet Union.]*

3. Secretary Stettinius Defends Yalta (1949)

Handsome Secretary of State Stettinius—with his prematurely white hair and flashing white teeth—replaced the aged and ailing Secretary Hull late in 1944. Without political influence or diplomatic experience, he was expected to be a kind of

[3] Excerpt from *Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference* by Edward R. Stettinius. Copyright 1949 by The Stettinius Fund, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc.

errand boy for President Roosevelt, who took him along to Yalta. Stettinius here presents a spirited defense of the controversial agreements. What conditions existing at the time *caused the Yalta decisions to appear in a less sinister light than was later cast upon them?*

What did the Soviet Union gain in eastern Europe which she did not already have as the result of the smashing victories of the Red Army? Great Britain and the United States secured pledges at Yalta, unfortunately not honored, which did promise free elections and democratic governments.

What, too, with the possible exception of the Kuriles, did the Soviet Union receive at Yalta which she might not have taken without any agreement? If there had been no agreement, the Soviet Union could have swept into North China, and the United States and the Chinese would have been in no real position to prevent it.

It must never be forgotten that, while the Crimea Conference was taking place, President Roosevelt had just been told by his military advisers that the surrender of Japan might not occur until 1947, and some predicted even later. The President was told that without Russia it might cost the United States a million casualties to conquer Japan.

It must be remembered, too, that at the time of the Yalta Conference it was still uncertain whether the atomic bomb could be perfected and that, since the Battle of the Bulge had set us back in Europe, it was uncertain how long it might take for Germany to crack. There had been immense optimism in the autumn of 1944, as Allied troops raced through France, that the war was nearly over. Then came the Battle of the Bulge, which was more than a military reversal. It cast a deep gloom over the confident expectation that the German war would end soon. In Washington, for instance, the procurement agencies of the armed services immediately began placing orders on the basis of a longer war in Europe than had been estimated.

With hindsight, it can be said that the widespread pessimism was unwarranted. The significant fact is not, however, this hindsight but the effect of this thinking on the strategy and agreements made in the Crimea. It was important to bring the Soviet Union into the united sphere of action. Russian co-operation in the Japanese war ran parallel to their co-operation in the world organization and to united action in Europe.

Furthermore, critics of the Far Eastern agreement have tended to overlook the fact that in the agreement the Soviet Union pledged that China was to retain "full sovereignty in Manchuria" and that the Soviet Union would conclude a pact of friendship with the Chinese Nationalist Government.

It is my understanding that the American military leaders felt that the war had to be concluded as soon as possible. There was the fear that heavy casualties in Japan or the possible lack of continuous victories would have an unfortunate effect on the attitude of the American people.

President Roosevelt had great faith in his Army and Navy staffs, and he relied wholeheartedly upon them. Their insistent advice was that the Soviet Union had to be brought into the Far Eastern war soon after Germany's collapse. The President, therefore, in signing the Far Eastern agreement, acted upon the advice of his military advisers. He did not approve the agreement from any desire to appease Stalin and the Soviet Union.

It is apparently the belief of some critics of the Yalta Conference that it would have been better to have made no agreements with the Soviet Union. Yet if we had made no agreements at Yalta, the Russians still would have been in full possession of the territory in Europe that President Roosevelt is alleged to have given them. The failure to agree would have been a serious blow to the morale of the Allied world, already suffering from five years of war; it would have meant the prolongation of the German and Japanese wars; it would have prevented the establishment of the United Nations; and it would probably have led to other consequences incalculable in their tragedy for the world.

[The legend has taken root that an ailing Roosevelt, advised by the sickly Harry Hopkins and the Communist-employed Alger Hiss (whose role has been exaggerated), was sold a gold brick by crafty "Uncle Joe" Stalin. The secret intelligence reports concerning Japan's powers of resistance were faulty, but Roosevelt had to rely on the information that was given him. And if he was sick, what of the hale and hearty Churchill, who signed the agreements? Five months after Yalta, President Truman journeyed to Potsdam, where one of his primary purposes was to hold Stalin to his promise to enter the war against Japan. Truman was not sick, and he had further information about Japanese powers of resistance. When the Soviet Union finally entered the war six days before its end, great was the rejoicing in the United States. As for the charge that the United States "lost" China because of the Yalta agreements, the fact is that China was never the United States' to lose. The "salvation" of Nationalist China would probably have involved large numbers of U.S. troops, and public opinion was unwilling to provide them. As for Japan, there was little opposition at the time of Yalta to depriving a savage enemy of the Kurile Islands and handing them over to a resolute ally.]

B. The Truman Doctrine

1. Kennan Proposes Containment (1946)

As the Grand Alliance crumbled in the postwar months, U.S. policymakers groped for ways to understand the Soviet Union and to respond to Soviet provocations. On February 22, 1946, the scholarly chargé d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, George F. Kennan, sent his famous "Long Telegram" to the State Department, giving his views of the sources of Soviet conduct. A later version of this message was published anonymously in Foreign Affairs *(July 1947). Kennan's ideas proved immensely influential in defining the so-called containment doctrine that dominated U.S. strategic thinking for the next two decades or more of the Cold War. Kennan argued that the Soviet Union regarded itself as encircled by hostile capitalist countries. In Soviet eyes, capitalist governments hoped to avert economic conflict among themselves by seeking war against the socialist world. Kennan denied the accuracy of these*

[1] *Foreign Relations of the United States,* 1946, vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), pp. 696–709.

Soviet perceptions, but insisted that they nonetheless motivated Soviet behavior. He painted the Soviet leaders as insecure, fearful, and cynical: "In the name of Marxism they sacrificed every single ethical value in their methods and tactics. Today they cannot dispense with it. It is fig leaf of their moral and intellectual respectability. Without it they would stand before history, at best, as only the last of that long succession of cruel and wasteful Russian rulers who have relentlessly forced their country on to ever new heights of military power in order to guarantee the external security of their internally weak regimes. That is why Soviet purposes must always be solemnly clothed in trappings of Marxism, why no one should underrate importance of dogma in Soviet affairs." Kennan then went on to analyze the practical implications of this diagnosis and to recommend U.S. countermeasures. How prophetic was he? In his memoirs many years later, Kennan pleaded that he had never meant to suggest the kind of massive U.S. military buildup that the containment doctrine was later used to justify. Was he in fact misunderstood? If so, why?

Part Three: Projection of Soviet Outlook in Practical Policy on Official Level

We have now seen nature and background of Soviet program. What may we expect by way of its practical implementation? . . .

On official plane we must look for following:

(A) Internal policy devoted to increasing in every way strength and prestige of Soviet state's intensive military-industrialization; maximum development of armed forces; great displays to impress outsiders; continued secretiveness about internal matters, designed to conceal weaknesses and to keep opponents in dark.

(B) Wherever it is considered timely and promising, efforts will be made to advance official limits of Soviet power. For the moment, these efforts are restricted to certain neighboring points conceived of here as being of immediate strategic necessity, such as Northern Iran, Turkey, possibly Bornholm. However, other points may at any time come into question, if and as concealed Soviet political power is extended to new areas. Thus a "friendly" Persian Government might be asked to grant Russia a port on Persian Gulf. Should Spain fall under communist control, question of Soviet base at Gibraltar Strait might be activated. But such claims will appear on official level only when unofficial preparation is complete.

(C) Russians will participate officially in international organizations where they see opportunity of extending Soviet power or of inhibiting or diluting power of others. Moscow sees in UNO [United Nations Organization] not the mechanism for a permanent and stable world society founded on mutual interest and aims of all nations, but an arena in which aims just mentioned can be favorably pursued. As long as UNO is considered here to serve this purpose, Soviets will remain with it. But if at any time they come to conclusion that it is serving to embarrass or frustrate their aims for power expansion and if they see better prospects for pursuit of these aims along other lines, they will not hesitate to abandon UNO. This would imply, however, that they felt themselves strong enough to split unity of other nations by their withdrawal, to render UNO ineffective as a threat to their aims or security, and to replace it with an international weapon more effective from their viewpoint. Thus Soviet attitude toward UNO will depend largely on loyalty of other nations to it, and on degree of vigor, decisiveness and cohesion with which these nations defend in UNO the peaceful and

hopeful concept of international life, which that organization represents to our way of thinking. I reiterate, Moscow has no abstract devotion to UNO ideals. Its attitude to that organization will remain essentially pragmatic and tactical.

(D) Toward colonial areas and backward or dependent peoples, Soviet policy, even on official plane, will be directed toward weakening of power and influence and contacts of advanced western nations, on theory that in so far as this policy is successful, there will be created a vacuum which will favor communist-Soviet penetration. Soviet pressure for participation in trusteeship arrangements thus represents, in my opinion, a desire to be in a position to complicate and inhibit exertion of western influence at such points rather than to provide major channel for exerting of Soviet power. Latter motive is not lacking, but for this Soviets prefer to rely on other channels than official trusteeship arrangements. Thus we may expect to find Soviets asking for admission everywhere to trusteeship or similar arrangements and using levers thus acquired to weaken western influence among such peoples.

(E) Russians will strive energetically to develop Soviet representation in, and official ties with, countries in which they sense strong possibilities of opposition to western centers of power. This applies to such widely separated points as Germany, Argentina, Middle Eastern countries, etc.

(F) In international economic matters, Soviet policy will really be dominated by pursuit of autarchy for Soviet Union and Soviet-dominated adjacent areas taken together. That, however, will be underlying policy. As far as official line is concerned, position is not yet clear. Soviet Government has shown strange reticence since termination hostilities on subject foreign trade. If large scale long term credits should be forthcoming, I believe Soviet Government may eventually again do lip service, as it did in nineteen-thirties to desirability of building up international economic exchange in general. Otherwise I think it possible Soviet foreign trade may be restricted largely to Soviet's own security sphere, including occupied areas in Germany, and that a cold official shoulder may be turned to principle of general economic collaboration among nations.

(G) With respect to cultural collaboration, lip service will likewise be rendered to desirability of deepening cultural contacts between peoples, but this will not in practice be interpreted in any way which could weaken security position of Soviet peoples. Actual manifestations of Soviet policy in this respect will be restricted to arid channels of closely shepherded official visits and functions, with super-abundance of vodka and speeches and dearth of permanent effects.

(H) Beyond this, Soviet official relations will take what might be called "correct" course with individual foreign governments, with great stress being laid on prestige of Soviet Union and its representatives and with punctilious attention to protocol, as distinct from good manners.

Part Four: Following May Be Said as to What We May Expect by Way of Implementation of Basic Soviet Policies on Unofficial, or Subterranean Plane, i.e., on Plane for which Soviet Government Accepts No Responsibility

(A) To undermine general political and strategic potential of major western powers. Efforts will be made in such countries to disrupt national self-confidence, to hamstring measures of national defense, to increase social and industrial unrest, to

stimulate all forms of disunity. All persons with grievances, whether economic or racial, will be urged to seek redress not in mediation and compromise, but in defiant violent struggle for destruction of other elements of society. Here poor will be set against rich, black against white, young against old, newcomers against established residents, etc.

(B) On unofficial plane particularly violent efforts will be made to weaken power and influence of western powers of colonial, backward, or dependent peoples. On this level, no holds will be barred. . . .

(C) Where individual governments stand in path of Soviet purposes pressure will be brought for their removal from office. . . .

(D) In foreign countries Communists will, as a rule, work toward destruction of all forms of personal independence, economic, political or moral. . . .

(E) Everything possible will be done to set major western powers against each other. . . .

(F) In general, all Soviet efforts on unofficial international plane will be negative and destructive in character, designed to tear down sources of strength beyond reach of Soviet control. This is only in line with basic Soviet instinct that there can be no compromise with rival power and that constructive work can start only when communist power is dominant. But behind all this will be applied insistent, unceasing pressure for penetration and command of key positions in administration and especially in police apparatus of foreign countries. The Soviet regime is a police regime par excellence, reared in the dim half world of Tsarist police intrigue, accustomed to think primarily in terms of police power. This should never be lost sight of in gauging Soviet motives.

Part Five

In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent modus vivendi, that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure. This political force has complete power of disposition over energies of one of world's greatest peoples and resources of world's richest national territory, and is borne along by deep and powerful currents of Russian nationalism. In addition, it has an elaborate and far flung apparatus for exertion of its influence in other countries, an apparatus of amazing flexibility and versatility, managed by people whose experience and skill in underground methods are presumably without parallel in history. Finally, it is seemingly inaccessible to considerations of reality in its basic reactions. For it, the vast fund of objective fact about human society is not, as with us, the measure against which outlook is constantly being tested and re-formed, but a grab bag from which individual items are selected arbitrarily and tendentiously to bolster an outlook already preconceived. This is admittedly not a pleasant picture. Problem of how to cope with this force is undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face. It should be point of departure from which our political general staff work at present juncture should proceed. It should be approached with same thoroughness and care as solution of major strategic problem in war, and if necessary, with no smaller outlay in planning effort. I cannot attempt to suggest all answers here. But I would like to record my conviction that problem is

within our power to solve—and that without recourse to any general military conflict. And in support of this conviction there are certain observations of a more encouraging nature I should like to make:

(One) Soviet power, unlike that of Hitlerite Germany, is neither schematic nor adventuristic. it does not work by fixed plans. It does not take unnecessary risks. Impervious to logic of reason, and it is highly sensitive to logic of force. For this reason it can easily withdraw—and usually does—when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus, if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so. If situations are properly handled there need be no prestige engaging showdowns.

(Two) Gauged against western world as a whole, Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Thus, their success will really depend on degree of cohesion, firmness and vigor which western world can muster. And this is factor which it is within our power to influence.

(Three) Success of Soviet system, as form of internal power, is not yet finally proven. It has yet to be demonstrated that it can survive supreme test of successive transfer of power from one individual or group to another. Lenin's death was first such transfer, and its effects wracked Soviet state for 15 years after. Stalin's death or retirement will be second. But even this will not be final test. Soviet internal system will now be subjected, by virtue of recent territorial expansions, to series of additional strains which once proved severe tax on Tsardom. We here are convinced that never since termination of civil war have mass of Russian people been emotionally farther removed from doctrines of communist party than they are today. In Russia, party has now become a great and—for the moment—highly successful apparatus of dictatorial administration, but it has ceased to be a source of emotional inspiration. Thus, internal soundness and permanence of movement need not yet be regarded as assured.

(Four) All Soviet propaganda beyond Soviet security sphere is basically negative and destructive. It should therefore be relatively easy to combat it by any intelligent and really constructive program.

For these reasons I think we may approach calmly and with good heart problem of how to deal with Russia. As to how this approach should be made, I only wish to advance, by way of conclusion, following comments:

(One) Our first step must be to apprehend, and recognize for what it is, the nature of the movement with which we are dealing. We must study it with same courage, detachment, objectivity, and same determination not to be emotionally provoked or unseated by it, with which doctor studies unruly and unreasonable individual.

(Two) We must see that our public is educated to realities of Russian situation. I cannot over-emphasize importance of this. Press cannot do this alone. It must be done mainly by government, which is necessarily more experienced and better informed on practical problems involved. In this we need not be deterred by [ugliness—Eds.] of picture. I am convinced that there would be far less hysterical anti-Sovietism in our country today if realities of this situation were better understood by our people. There is nothing as dangerous or as terrifying as the unknown. It may also be argued that to reveal more information on our difficulties with Russia would reflect unfavorably on Russian American relations. I feel that if there is any real risk here involved, it is one which we should have courage to face, and sooner the better. But I cannot see what

we would be risking. Our stake in this country, even coming on heels of tremendous demonstrations of our friendship for Russian people, is remarkably small. We have here no investments to guard, no actual trade to lose, virtually no citizens to protect, few cultural contacts to preserve. Our only stake lies in what we hope rather than what we have; and I am convinced we have better chance of realizing those hopes if our public is enlightened and if our dealings with Russians are placed entirely on realistic and matter of fact basis.

(Three) Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue. This is point at which domestic and foreign policies meet. Every courageous and incisive measure to solve internal problems of our own society, to improve self-confidence, discipline, morale and community spirit of our own people, is a diplomatic victory over Moscow worth a thousand diplomatic notes and joint communiqués. If we cannot abandon fatalism and indifference in face of deficiencies of our own society, Moscow will profit—Moscow cannot help profiting by them in its foreign policies.

(Four) We must formulate and put forward for other nations a much more positive and constructive picture of sort of world we would like to see than we have put forward in past. It is not enough to urge people to develop political processes similar to our own. Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by experiences of past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should be better able than Russians to give them this. And unless we do, Russians certainly will.

(Five) Finally we must have courage and self-confidence to cling to our own methods and conceptions of human society. After all, the greatest danger that can befall us in coping with this problem of Soviet Communism, is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping.

2. Truman Appeals to Congress (1947)

A crisis developed early in 1947 when the bankrupt British served notice on Washington that they could no longer afford to support the "rightist" government of Greece against Communist guerrillas. If Greece fell, Turkey and all the eastern Mediterranean countries would presumably collapse like falling dominoes. After hurried consultations in Washington, President Truman boldly went before Congress to ask for $400 million to provide military and economic assistance to both Greece and Turkey. This was a great deal of money, he conceded, but a trifling sum compared with the more than a third of a trillion dollars already expended in the recent war to guarantee freedom. On what grounds did he base his appeal? Were there any dangers in this approach?

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of

[2] *Congressional Record*, 80th Cong., 1st sess. (March 12, 1947), p. 1981.

Turkish Delights
The Daily Worker, a Moscow-inspired newspaper, condemned the Truman Doctrine for assistance to Greece and Turkey as Truman's pipe dream of a dollar-based world empire. (New York Daily Worker, 1947)

life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. [Applause.] This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments. . . .

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow

changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuge as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. . . .

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. [Applause.] . . .

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely. [Applause, the members rising.]

3. *The Chicago* Tribune *Dissents (1947)*

The nation was momentarily stunned by Truman's bombshell. Critics complained that the initial appropriation would be but a drop in the bucket (as it was), that the Soviet Union (though not mentioned by name) would be gravely offended, and that the United Nations was being rudely bypassed. (Speed was of the essence, and the administration concluded that the Soviets would paralyze action in the United Nations.) The Chicago Tribune, *a powerful isolationist newspaper, was vehemently anti-British, anticommunist, and anti-Roosevelt. Which of its arguments against the Truman Doctrine are persuasive?*

Mr. Truman made as cold a war speech yesterday against Russia as any President has ever made except on the occasion of going before Congress to ask for a declaration of war. . . .

The outcome will inevitably be war. It probably will not come this year or next year, but the issue is already drawn. The declaration of implacable hostility between this country and Russia is one which cannot be tempered or withdrawn. . . .

Mr. Truman's statement constituted a complete confession of the bankruptcy of American policy as formulated by Mr. Roosevelt and pursued by himself. We have just emerged from a great war which was dedicated to the extinction of the three nations [Germany, Italy, Japan] which were as vocally opposed to Russia as Mr. Truman proclaims himself to be now. If communism was the real danger all along, why did Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman adopt Russia as an ally, and why, at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, did they build up Russia's power by making her one concession after another?

The Truman speech also leaves the United Nations as a meaningless relic of mistaken intentions. The world league to insure a lasting peace is a fraud and a sham, so impotent that Mr. Truman proposes that the United States ignore it and seek peace by force and threat of force—the very means which U.N. was intended to exclude in international dealings.

The one hope that is left is Congress, but even its peremptory refusal to follow

[3] Chicago *Daily Tribune,* March 13, 1947. By permission of the Chicago *Tribune.*

Truman into his anti-communist crusade will not wholly undo the damage which the President has already done. His words cannot be unsaid, nor can their effect upon Russia be canceled out. Already, as witness Moscow's recall of the Soviet Ambassador from Washington, the nations are engaging in the usual preliminaries to war.

When the country views the terrible predicament in which it now finds itself, it cannot avoid the conclusion that wisdom at all times counseled the United States to follow Americanism only, to dedicate itself to the pursuit of its own interests, and to let Europe's wars alone. We have fought two of them without avail, and Mr. Truman is calling upon us to fight a third.

We were drawn into these wars primarily at the behest of Britain, and that nation, by dumping the Greek and Turkish problems into Mr. Truman's lap, is summoning us to the struggle again. If the United States can be induced to crush Russia, Britain again will rise to a station of security and comparative eminence, for it will be the only other surviving major nation.

For 10 years the United States has been dominated by alien interests. These interests, primarily financial, have bought up every newspaper, radio station, columnist, and commentator, and every so-called organization of public opinion that could be purchased. It has killed our sons by the hundreds of thousands and brought the nation to bankruptcy. It will use whatever tactics seem best to rush into World War III. It will coerce the timid and fool the stupid.

Congress must cease being a catspaw for this movement and think of America's interest first—even exclusively.

[The dangers involved in the Truman Doctrine were great, but the dangers of drifting seemed greater. Congress, by better than a two-to-one vote in both houses, finally approved the initial appropriation early in 1948.]

C. The Marshall Plan

1. Secretary Marshall Speaks at Harvard (1947)

By June 1947 it was painfully evident that the Truman Doctrine was merely a child on an adult's errand. The hunger and economic prostration produced by the war were providing an alarming hotbed for the propagation of communism in Europe, especially in Italy and France. A Communist takeover of all Western Europe appeared to be a distinct (and depressing) possibility. At this critical juncture the secretary of state, General George C. Marshall, speaking at the Harvard University commencement exercises, made the following breathtaking proposal. To what extent is it both selfish and unselfish? What is its relation to the Truman Doctrine?

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial addi-

[1] *Department of State Bulletin 16* (June 15, 1947; speech of June 5, 1947): 1159–1160.

tional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. . . .

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government.

It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all, European nations.

2. Senator Vandenberg Is Favorable (1947, 1948)

Tax-burdened Americans, having spent billions in World War II, were reluctant to pour more treasure down the "European rathole." Eloquent Senator Vandenberg of Michigan (see p. 309), a recent convert from isolationism to internationalism, was one of the foremost champions in Congress of the Marshall Plan. In the following excerpts from letters to his constituents, what are his arguments for the Marshall Plan? In what ways does he see the plan as serving the self-interest of the United States?

I have no illusions about this so-called "Marshall Plan." . . . Furthermore, I certainly do not take it for granted that American public opinion is ready for any such

[2]From *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*, pp. 381–383, by Arthur Vandenberg, Jr. Copyright 1952 by Arthur Vandenberg, Jr. Copyright © renewed 1980. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

burdens as would be involved unless and until it is far more effectively demonstrated to the American people that this (1) is within the latitudes of their own available resources and (2) serves their own intelligent self-interest.

. . . I am entirely willing to admit that America herself cannot prosper in a broken world. But it is equally true that if America ever sags, the world's hopes for peace will sag with her. Meanwhile, however, there are some very realistic problems which we must face—including the basic fact that even our friends in Western Europe will soon be totally devoid of dollar exchange and therefore unable to buy commodities from us which are indispensable to their own self-rehabilitation. I must confess that this poses a tough conundrum in international economics entirely aside from considerations of "charity" or "communism." . . .

So we have no alternative but to do the best we can, in the absence of certified knowledge, and to balance one "calculated risk" against another. . . .

You are entirely right that an "international WPA"* can't save Europe from communism or anything else. Is somebody proposing one? I hadn't heard about it. The so-called "Marshall Plan" is the exact opposite, if it runs true to form—and it's our business to see that it does. It is a program geared to self-help. It requires beneficiary countries to proceed specifically to do the things for themselves which will put them on their own feet (and off ours) by 1951—and our aid is progressively contingent upon concurrent results.

. . . I respectfully submit that we do "know enough" to know what will happen if it, or something like it, doesn't work. We know that independent governments, whatever their character otherwise, will disappear from Western Europe; that aggressive communism will be spurred throughout the world; and that our concept of free men, free government, and a relatively free international economy will come up against accumulated hazards which can put our own, precious "American way of life" in the greatest, kindred hazard since Pearl Harbor. . . .

Let's be equally frank in our "calculations" as to what happens if the iron curtain reaches the Atlantic; if peace and justice are at the mercy of expanding, hostile totalitarian aggression, and if the greatest creditor and capitalist nation on earth should find itself substantially isolated in a communist world where the competition would force us into complete regimentation of ourselves beyond anything we have ever experienced.

This question of "what the Bill will cost" is a very interesting one. Unfortunately, the critics of the Bill have nothing to say about what the failure to pass the Bill will cost. You can get some direct and specific idea on this latter point by reading the testimony before our Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Secretary of the Army Royall, who both assert that without legislation of this character they would find it necessary immediately to ask for heavily increased appropriations for military defense. Why? Because it is infinitely cheaper to defend ourselves by economic means.

In other words, in the final analysis, peace is cheaper than war. War has no bargains. Peace does. There is no guarantee that this European Recovery Plan will "work." But certainly there is an even chance that it can succeed. In my opinion, we cannot afford not to take that chance.

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*Works Progress Administration—a New Deal agency designed to provide employment on public works.

3. Moscow's Misrepresentations (c. 1947)

The Marshall Plan certainly would not have received congressional approval if the American people had not been convinced that their security depended on preventing Western Europe from falling under the sway of Soviet Communism. Humanitarian instincts, gratitude to former allies, the creation of prosperous customers for surplus goods—all these points were argued, but security was unquestionably paramount. U.S. critics of the Marshall Plan charged that the poor people of the United States needed help, and that Washington should not subsidize socialism (in Britain and elsewhere). The following description of the Marshall Plan was prepared by Soviet propagandists for a children's magazine. How accurate is it?

The American papers immediately raised a great noise about this [Marshall] plan. In different terms, they emphasized "the magnanimity" of America which had decided to help war-stricken Europe.

However, actually, this cunning plan pursued entirely different aims. The American capitalists want to use the help of the Marshall Plan to overwhelm Europe and bring it into subjection to themselves. The government of the Soviet Union at once recognized the real meaning of the Marshall Plan, and definitely refused to take part in setting it up. So also did the governments of the other democratic lands—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and also Finland.* But sixteen European states adopted the Marshall Plan against the wishes of their peoples.

Let us see now how the U.S.A. is preparing to carry out the Marshall Plan, and what it promises the European countries which have fallen for the American bait.

Representatives of these sixteen European states met together and calculated that they had to receive from the U.S.A. 29 billion dollars to restore their economies. The Americans answered that this sum was too high, and asked for its reduction to 20–22 billion dollars.

The Americans, moreover, attached the following condition: they themselves will dictate to each European country what branch of economy it must develop and what it must curtail. For example, they say to Britain: "You Britishers, build fewer ships for yourselves; you will buy ships from us in America." They propose to the French a reduction in the production of automobiles—American factories can make automobiles for France.

It goes without saying that this was very useful for American capitalists. In America everybody is fearfully awaiting "the economic crisis," i.e., the time when many factories and industries suddenly close and millions of people are left without work. At that time it will be difficult for the manufacturers to get rid of their output. A man out of work has nothing with which to buy them. So the American capitalists are greatly concerned how to sell profitably their output in Europe. Further, the European countries inevitably will become dependent on America: once they make a few machines, tools, and automobiles, it means that willy-nilly they must defer to the Americans.

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[3] Quoted in W. B. Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow* (1949), pp. 198–200. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

*Soviet pressures on these satellite countries kept them from accepting the Marshall Plan.

According to the Marshall Plan, the American capitalists want to restore all the great factories of Western Germany. In other countries they are hastening to close many factories, while in Germany, on the contrary, they are opening them up. Their purpose there, too, is quite understandable: clearly, the U.S.A. considers Western Germany as its colony. By controlling the big industries there which can also make armaments, it will be easy for the Americans to frighten the European countries dependent on them.

The American capitalists counted on using the Marshall Plan to stir up trouble between the peoples of the democratic countries and the Soviet Union. The Americans proposed to these countries as follows: "We will give you dollars if only you will abandon your friendship with the Soviet Union. But if you don't, we won't give you anything." But the peoples of these countries did not fall for the American capitalists' trick. They answered the Americans: "We will not exchange our freedom and independence for dollars." . . .

But this isn't all. The American capitalists have still another dastardly aim. After using the Marshall Plan to reduce the European countries, they want to unite them in a military alliance for a future war against the democratic states.

The Marshall Plan is highly profitable to the United States. For the European countries it brings only poverty. Any land which wants to receive "aid" by means of this plan will be entirely dependent on America. Its economy will not be assisted: on the contrary, it will fall into greater ruin because the country will have to close many of its industries and plants, and hundreds of thousands of people will be out of work. That is why both in America itself and in all other lands progressive people are opposing the Marshall Plan with all their strength.

D. The China Tangle

1. Secretary Acheson Drops Chiang (1949)

Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek) Nationalist China was creaking at the joints when its eight-year war with Japan ended in 1945. Washington continued to provide Jiang with arms to fight the Chinese Communists, but many of these supplies were corruptly sold or abjectly surrendered. President Truman finally dispatched the highly respected General Marshall in a fruitless attempt to persuade the Nationalists to form a coalition government with the Communists. After Washington had cut back the flow of arms to Nationalist China, the corruption-riddled regime collapsed; Jiang fled with the remnants of his army to the offshore island of Formosa (Taiwan). Secretary of State Acheson, whose keen intellect and toplofty manner irritated members of Congress, defended the administration in the following official letter. What part seems least candid? What was Acheson's ability as a prophet? Should the historic policy have been reversed? Would U.S. public opinion have tolerated such a reversal?

A realistic appraisal of conditions in China, past and present, leads to the conclusion that the only alternative open to the United States was full-scale intervention in

[1] *United States Relations with China, with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949* (1949), pp. xv–xvi.

behalf of a Government which had lost the confidence of its own troops and its own people. Such intervention would have required the expenditure of even greater sums than have been fruitlessly spent thus far, the command of Nationalist armies by American officers, and the probable participation of American armed forces—land, sea, and air—in the resulting war.

Intervention of such a scope and magnitude would have been resented by the mass of the Chinese people, would have diametrically reversed our historic policy, and would have been condemned by the American people. . . .

The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States. Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed that result; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not. A decision was arrived at within China, if only a decision by default.

And now it is abundantly clear that we must face the situation as it exists in fact. We will not help the Chinese or ourselves by basing our policy on wishful thinking. We continue to believe that, however tragic may be the immediate future of China, and however ruthlessly a major portion of this great people may be exploited by a [Communist] party in the interest of foreign imperialism, ultimately the profound civilization and the democratic individualism of China will reassert themselves, and she will throw off the foreign yoke. I consider that we should encourage all developments in China which now and in the future work toward this end.

2. Senator McCarthy Blasts "Traitors" (1952)

The loss of a half-billion or so Chinese to the Communists was a staggering blow to U.S. policy. Scapegoats had to be found. The violently anticommunist Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy leaped into the fray, flinging accusations wildly and indiscriminately. In his view, Secretary Acheson and General Marshall, themselves allegedly "soft" on Communism and advised by Communist "traitors" in the State Department, had deliberately and treasonably allowed China to go down the drain. Senator McCarthy asked himself the following questions—and answered them—in a book published in 1952. Which of his charges seem the most convincing? the most overdrawn? Did he prove that more arms for China would have averted the Communist takeover?

Do you think Acheson realized he was following the Communist Party line in Asia?

Either he knew what he was doing or he was incompetent beyond words. As late as November, 1945, William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of the United States, notified the world that China was the prime target of the Soviet Union. He said: "On the international scale, the key task . . . is to stop American intervention in China. . . . The war in China is the key of all problems on the international front."

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[2]Quoted from Senator Joseph McCarthy, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1952), pp. 37–40.

Less than a month after this Communist proclamation, Marshall embarked upon the "Marshall Mission to China." The testimony before the Russell Committee was that this mission was an Acheson-Marshall-Vincent* project. Before Marshall went to China the Communists occupied a very small portion of China. Their Army numbered less than 300,000 badly equipped troops. When Marshall returned from China to be rewarded by Truman with an appointment as Secretary of State, the Communist-controlled area had greatly increased and the Communist Army had grown from 300,000 badly equipped troops to an Army of over 2,000,000 relatively well-equipped soldiers.

What about the State Department's excuse that we withdrew aid from Chiang Kai-shek [Jiang Jieshi] because his government was corrupt?

Chiang Kai-shek had been engaged in conflict and warfare since 1927—first with the Communists, then with Japan, then simultaneously with the Communists and Japan, and after Japan's defeat, again with the Communists. During that time, all the disruption of war beset Chiang's Government. Under the circumstances it would be a miracle if there were no corruption or incompetence in his government.

But if corruption and incompetence are grounds for turning an administration over to the Communists, then Earl Browder should be President of the United States, Harry Bridges should be Secretary of Labor, and Alger Hiss† should be Secretary of Defense.

What about Acheson's claim that we gave Chiang Kai-shek every help which he could utilize, including $2 billion worth of aid since the end of World War II?

That is untrue. Acheson made this claim in a letter to Senator Pat McCarran on March 14, 1949, in arguing against any further aid to anti-Communist China, which according to Acheson "would almost surely be catastrophic."

Of the phony $2 billion figure, $335,800,000 was for repatriating Japanese soldiers in China and transporting Chinese Nationalist armed forces to accept the surrender of the Japanese. Even President Truman declared that those expenditures should properly have been charged to World War II. . . .

Is it true that Marshall, under State Department instructions, signed an order cutting off not only arms to our friends in China, but also all ammunition so that the arms they had would be useless?

Yes. The embargo on all arms and ammunition to China began in 1946 and continued into 1947.

Those were crucial years, and China's plight was so bad that even the New York *Times* reported on June 22, 1947, that the guns of the anti-Communists were so worn and burned out that "bullets fell through them to the ground."

The Communists, on the other hand, were kept well supplied by the Russians. Admiral Cooke has so testified before the McCarran Committee. . . .

Do you claim that General Marshall, who has long worked with Acheson, was knowingly working for the Communist cause in China?

As I stated in my book, *The Story of General George Marshall—America's Retreat*

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*John C. Vincent was a foreign service officer allegedly "soft" on Communism.

†Alger Hiss was a former State Department official convicted in 1950 of perjury in connection with passing secrets on to the Soviets. Harry Bridges was a Pacific Coast labor leader accused of Communist affiliation. Earl Browder was twice a candidate for the presidency on the Communist ticket.

from Victory, I cannot delve into the mind of Marshall. I can only present the facts to the American people. Whether Marshall knowingly betrayed China or whether he honestly thought that he was helping China, the results are equally disastrous for America. . . .

Since the fall of China has Acheson ever admitted that his China policy was a failure?

No. There is no indication that Acheson considers the loss of China to Communism a "failure." Instead, he hailed it as "a new day which has dawned in Asia."

[The United States supplied Jiang's Nationalists with vastly more arms than the Soviet Union sent to the Chinese Communists, although departing Soviet troops did abandon large quantities of Japanese munitions to the Communists. The Americans also abandoned comparable supplies of their own to the Nationalists. The tale about bullets falling out of worn-out guns came from an unnamed Chinese correspondent's report (New York Times, *June 22, 1947, p. 38) that "some machine gun barrels were so burned that bullets fell through them to the ground." Machine guns can be so badly worn as to fire inaccurately, but the bullets are firmly lodged in the cartridges, and the cartridges are either clipped or belted together.*

General Barr, a U.S. military observer, reported to the Department of the Army on November 16, 1948:

"I am convinced that the military situation has deteriorated to the point where only the active participation of United States troops could effect a remedy. . . . Military matériel and economic aid in my opinion is less important to the salvation of China than other factors. No battle has been lost since my arrival due to lack of ammunition or equipment. Their military debacles in my opinion can all be attributed to the world's worst leadership and many other morale-destroying factors that lead to a complete loss of will to fight. The complete ineptness of high military leaders and the widespread corruption and dishonesty throughout the Armed Forces could, in some measure, have been controlled and directed had the above authority and facilities been available. Chinese leaders completely lack the moral courage to issue and enforce an unpopular decision. . . ." (United States Relations with China, with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949 *[1949], p. 358.)]*

E. The Korean Crisis and NSC-68

1. Senator Connally Writes Off Korea (1950)

Secretary Acheson compounded his China felony, in McCarthyite eyes, by making a memorable speech to the National Press Club of Washington early in 1950. He outlined the United States' "defensive perimeter" in the Far East, but conspicuously omitted from it the Republic of South Korea and Jiang's last-hope Formosa. He stated that the areas thus excluded would have to depend on themselves for defense and on

[1] Reprinted from *U.S. News and World Report 28* (May 5, 1950): 30. Copyright 1950, U.S. News and World Report.

"the commitments of the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations. . . ." Some three months later Senator Connally, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, gave the following interview. Critics of the Truman administration later charged that the Acheson and Connally statements were open invitations to the Soviet-backed North Korean Communists to invade South Korea, as they did in June 1950. Was this inference fair?

Question. Do you think the suggestion that we abandon South Korea is going to be seriously considered?

Answer. I am afraid it is going to be seriously considered because I'm afraid it's going to happen, whether we want it to or not. I'm for Korea. We're trying to help her—we're appropriating money now to help her. But South Korea is cut right across by this line—north of it are the Communists, with access to the mainland—and Russia is over there on the mainland. So that whenever she takes a notion, she can just overrun Korea, just like she probably will overrun Formosa when she gets ready to do it. I hope not, of course.

Question. But isn't Korea an essential part of the defense strategy?

Answer. No. Of course, any position like that is of some strategic importance. But I don't think it is very greatly important. It has been testified before us that Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines make the chain of defense which is absolutely necessary. And, of course, any additional territory along in that area would be that much more, but it's not absolutely essential.

2. Truman Accepts the Korean Challenge (1950)

President Truman was forced to make a series of agonizing decisions: the Truman doctrine (1947), the Marshall Plan (1947), the Berlin Airlift (1948), the North Atlantic Pact (1949), the Korean intervention (1950). Speaking later (1959) at Columbia University, he was asked, "Mr. President, what was the most complicated, the one single, most difficult decision you had to make?" Unhesitatingly he replied: "Korea. The reason for that was the fact that the policies of our allies and the members of the United Nations were at stake at the same time as ours." Here in his Memoirs *he explains more fully the reasons for intervening with armed forces to support the South Korean republic, a special ward of the United Nations. Remembering that the League of Nations had collapsed in the 1930s because it failed to act resolutely, assess the validity of Truman's view that his intervention in Korea averted World War III.*

On Saturday, June 24, 1950, I was in Independence, Missouri, to spend the weekend with my family and to attend to some personal family business.

It was a little after ten in the evening, and we were sitting in the library of our home on North Delaware Street when the telephone rang. It was the Secretary of State calling from his home in Maryland.

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[2] *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope* (1956), vol. 2, pp. 331–333. Published by Doubleday and Company. Copyright © 1956 by Time, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Margaret Truman Daniel.

"Mr. President," said Dean Acheson, "I have very serious news. The North Koreans have invaded South Korea."

My first reaction was that I must get back to the capital, and I told Acheson so. . . .

The plane left the Kansas City Municipal Airport at two o'clock, and it took just a little over three hours to make the trip to Washington. I had time to think aboard the plane. In my generation, this was not the first occasion when the strong had attacked the weak. I recalled some earlier instances: [Japan in] Manchuria, [Italy in] Ethiopia, [Germany in] Austria. I remembered how each time that the democracies failed to act it had encouraged the aggressors to keep going ahead.

Communism was acting in Korea just as Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had acted ten, fifteen, and twenty years earlier. I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores. If the Communists were permitted to force their way into the Republic of Korea without opposition from the free world, no small nation would have the courage to resist threats and aggression by stronger Communist neighbors. If this was allowed to go unchallenged it would mean a third world war, just as similar incidents had brought on the second world war. It was also clear to me that the foundations and the principles of the United Nations were at stake unless this unprovoked attack on Korea could be stopped.

3. NSC-68 Offers a Blueprint for the Cold War (1950)

Jolted by the Communist success in China and the Soviet development of an atomic bomb, President Truman in early 1950 ordered a far-reaching reassessment of U.S. Cold War policies. The result was a lengthy secret document, declassified only a quarter of a century later, known as National Security Council Memorandum Number 68 (NSC-68). The memorandum assessed the balance of Soviet and U.S. power in the world and made sweeping recommendations for a vigorous U.S. military buildup. It laid out, in effect, a blueprint for U.S. foreign policy for the next two decades. It advised against negotiating with the Soviet Union until the United States had time "to build up strength," although it conceded that some discussions with the Soviets were probably necessary "to gain public support for the [buildup] and to minimize the immediate risks of war." NSC-68 also advocated the development of hydrogren bombs and the expansion of conventional military forces, and frankly acknowledged that substantial tax increases would be necessary to finance this effort. On what premises about the state of the world and the character of the Soviet Union does NSC-68 build its argument? Are those premises justifiable? What policy choices does the memorandum present? Why does it choose the particular policies it recommends? What does it see as the United States' strengths and liabilities in the confrontation with the Soviet Union? What obstacles to developing those strengths does it identify?

I. Background of the Present Crisis

Within the past thirty-five years the world has experienced two global wars of tremendous violence. It has witnessed two revolutions—the Russian and the Chinese—of extreme scope and intensity. It has also seen the collapse of five empires—the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian, German, Italian and Japanese—and the drastic decline of two major imperial systems, the British and the French. During the span of one generation, the international distribution of power has been fundamentally altered. For several centuries it had proved impossible for any one nation to gain such preponderant strength that a coalition of other nations could not in time face it with greater strength. The international scene was marked by recurring periods of violence and war, but a system of sovereign and independent states was maintained, over which no state was able to achieve hegemony.

Two complex sets of factors have now basically altered this historical distribution of power. First, the defeat of Germany and Japan and the decline of the British and French Empires have interacted with the development of the United States and the Soviet Union in such a way that power has increasingly gravitated to these two centers. Second, the Soviet Union, unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become endemic and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent or non-violent methods in accordance with the dictates of expediency. With the development of increasingly terrifying weapons of mass destruction, every individual faces the ever-present possibility of annihilation should the conflict enter the phase of total war. . . .

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[3] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) pp. 237–238, 272–286.

The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic but of civilization itself. They are issues which will not await our deliberations. With conscience and resolution this Government and the people it represents must now take new and fateful decisions. . . .

Four possible courses of action by the United States in the present situation can be distinguished. They are:

a. Continuation of current policies, with current and currently projected programs for carrying out these policies;

b. Isolation;

c. War; and

d. A more rapid building up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world than provided under *a*, with the purpose of reaching, if possible, a tolerable state of order among nations without war and of preparing to defend ourselves in the event that the free world is attacked. . . .

On the basis of current programs, the United States has a large potential military capability but an actual capability which, though improving, is declining relative to the U.S.S.R., particularly in light of its probable fission bomb capability and possible thermonuclear bomb capability. The same holds true for the free world as a whole relative to the Soviet world as a whole. If war breaks out in 1950 or in the next few years, the United States and its allies, apart from a powerful atomic blow, will be compelled to conduct delaying actions, while building up their strength for a general offensive. A frank evaluation of the requirements, to defend the United States and its vital interests and to support a vigorous initiative in the cold war, on the one hand, and of present capabilities, on the other, indicates that there is a sharp and growing disparity between them. . . .

There are some who advocate a deliberate decision to isolate ourselves. Superficially, this has some attractiveness as a course of action, for it appears to bring our commitments and capabilities into harmony by reducing the former and by concentrating our present, or perhaps even reduced, military expenditures on the defense of the United States.

This argument overlooks the relativity of capabilities. With the United States in an isolated position, we would have to face the probability that the Soviet Union would quickly dominate most of Eurasia, probably without meeting armed resistance. It would thus acquire a potential far superior to our own, and would promptly proceed to develop this potential with the purpose of eliminating our power, which would, even in isolation, remain as a challenge to it and as an obstacle to the imposition of its kind of order in the world. There is no way to make ourselves inoffensive to the Kremlin except by complete submission to its will. Therefore isolation would in the end condemn us to capitulate or to fight alone and on the defensive, with drastically limited offensive and retaliatory capabilities in comparison with the Soviet Union. (These are the only possibilities, unless we are prepared to risk the future on the hazard that the Soviet Empire, because of over-extension or other reasons, will spontaneously destroy itself from within.)

The argument also overlooks the imponderable, but nevertheless drastic, effects on our belief in ourselves and in our way of life of a deliberate decision to isolate ourselves. As the Soviet Union came to dominate free countries, it is clear that many Americans would feel a deep sense of responsibility and guilt for having abandoned

their former friends and allies. As the Soviet Union mobilized the resources of Eurasia, increased its relative military capabilities, and heightened its threat to our security, some would be tempted to accept "peace" on its terms, while many would seek to defend the United States by creating a regimented system which would permit the assignment of a tremendous part of our resources to defense. Under such a state of affairs our national morale would be corrupted and the integrity and vitality of our system subverted. . . .

Some Americans favor a deliberate decision to go to war against the Soviet Union in the near future. It goes without saying that the idea of "preventive" war—in the sense of a military attack not provoked by a military attack upon us or our allies—is generally unacceptable to Americans. . . .

The ability of the United States to launch effective offensive operations is now limited to attack with atomic weapons. A powerful blow could be delivered upon the Soviet Union, but it is estimated that these operations alone would not force or induce the Kremlin to capitulate and that the Kremlin would still be able to use the forces under its control to dominate most or all of Eurasia. This would probably mean a long and difficult struggle during which the free institutions of Western Europe and many freedom-loving people would be destroyed and the regenerative capacity of Western Europe dealt a crippling blow.

Apart from this, however, a surprise attack upon the Soviet Union, despite the provocativeness of recent Soviet behavior, would be repugnant to many Americans. Although the American people would probably rally in support of the war effort, the shock of responsibility for a surprise attack would be morally corrosive. Many would doubt that it was a "just war" and that all reasonable possibilities for a peaceful settlement had been explored in good faith. Many more, proportionately, would hold such views in other countries, particularly in Western Europe and particularly after Soviet occupation, if only because the Soviet Union would liquidate articulate opponents. It would, therefore, be difficult after such a war to create a satisfactory international order among nations. Victory in such a war would have brought us little if at all closer to victory in the fundamental ideological conflict. . . .

A program for rapidly building up strength and improving political and economic conditions will place heavy demands on our courage and intelligence; it will be costly; it will be dangerous. But half-measures will be more costly and more dangerous, for they will be inadequate to prevent and may actually invite war. Budgetary considerations will need to be subordinated to the stark fact that our very independence as a nation may be at stake. . . .

The United States is currently devoting about 22 percent of its gross national product ($255 billion in 1949) to military expenditures (6 percent), foreign assistance (2 percent), and investment (14 percent), little of which is in war-supporting industries. . . .

From the point of view of the economy as a whole, the program might not result in a real decrease in the standard of living, for the economic effects of the program might be to increase the gross national product by more than the amount being absorbed for additional military and foreign assistance purposes. One of the most significant lessons of our World War II experience was that the American economy, when it operates at a level approaching full efficiency, can provide enormous resources for purposes other than civilian consumption while simultaneously providing

a high standard of living. After allowing for price changes, personal consumption expenditures rose by about one-fifth between 1939 and 1944, even though the economy had in the meantime increased the amount of resources going into Government use by $60–$65 billion (in 1939 prices). . . .

4. Secretary Acheson Defends NSC-68 (1969)

Many government officials criticized NSC-68 as too simplistic in its view of the world and too rigid and aggressive in its definition of U.S. policies. But its leading architect, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, stoutly defended the recommendations of NSC-68. In the passage from his memoirs that follows, what are his views on the relation of public opinion to foreign policy? How should one judge his admission that he and his colleagues "made our points clearer than truth"? What were the major obstacles to acceptance of NSC-68's recommendations? How were those obstacles overcome?

The purpose of NSC-68 was to so bludgeon the mass mind of "top government" that not only could the President make a decision but that the decision could be carried out. Even so, it is doubtful whether anything like what happened in the next few years could have been done had not the Russians been stupid enough to have instigated the attack against South Korea and opened the "hate America" campaign. . . .

The task of a public officer seeking to explain and gain support for a major policy is not that of the writer of a doctoral thesis. Qualification must give way to simplicity of statement, nicety and nuance to bluntness, almost brutality, in carrying home a point. It is better to carry the hearer or reader into the quadrant of one's thought than merely to make a noise or to mislead him utterly. In the State Department we used to discuss how much time that mythical "average American citizen" put in each day listening, reading, and arguing about the world outside his own country. Assuming a man or woman with a fair education, a family, and a job in or out of the house, it seemed to us that ten minutes a day would be a high average. If this were anywhere near right, points to be understandable had to be clear. If we made our points clearer than truth, we did not differ from most other educators and could hardly do otherwise. . . .

Such an analysis was decried by some liberals and some Kremlinologists. The real threat, they said, lay in the weakness of the Western European social, economic, and political structure. Correct that and the Russian danger would disappear. This I did not believe. The threat to Western Europe seemed to me singularly like that which Islam had posed centuries before, with its combination of ideological zeal and fighting power. Then it had taken the same combination to meet it: Germanic power in the east and Frankish in Spain, both energized by a great outburst of military power and social organization in Europe. This time it would need the added power and energy of America, for the drama was now played on a world stage.

If these were the intentions of the Kremlin, what were its capabilities for realizing and ours for frustrating them? Ours was demonstrably the potentially stronger society, but did it have the strength now, and would it have it in the future, to frustrate the

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[4] From *Present at the Creation, My Years in the State Department*, by Dean Acheson, with the permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright 1969 by Dean Acheson.

Kremlin design? At the end of the war we were the most powerful nation on earth, with the greatest army, navy, and air force, a monopoly of the most destructive weapon, and all supported by the most productive industry and agriculture. But now our army had been demobilized, our navy put in mothballs, and our air force no longer had a monopoly of atomic weapons. In three or four years at the most we could be threatened with devastating damage, against which no sure protection appeared. Surely we produced far more aluminum, for instance, than the Soviet Union; but while we splashed it over the front of automobiles, in Russia more went into military aircraft than here. On the other hand, our almost minute army cost many times what theirs did. A brief comparison of the pay, care, and equipment of private soldiers showed why. Half the total effort of their rival society went into creating military power, which in a short time at present rates could top ours. What relation did these facts have to foreign policy, national security, the existence of a spacious environment for free societies? How much of our national product would we need to divert, as sensible insurance, to an arms effort we loathed? The paper recommended specific measures for a large and immediate improvement of military forces and weapons, and of the economic and morale factors which underlay our own and our allies' ability to influence the conduct of other societies. . . .

In explaining to the nation the course it recommended, I made clear, also—in an address in Dallas on June 13, 1950—those it would not recommend. We should not pull down the blinds, I said, and sit in the parlor with a loaded shotgun, waiting. Isolation was not a realistic course of action. It did not work and it had not been cheap. Appeasement of Soviet ambitions was, in fact, only an alternative form of isolation. It would lead to a final struggle for survival with both our moral and military positions weakened. A third course, euphemistically called preventive war, adopted with disastrous results in other times by other types of people and governments than ours, would take the form of nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. It would not solve problems; it would multiply them. Then as now nothing seemed to me more depressing in the history of our own country than the speeches of the 1850s about "the irrepressible conflict." War is not inevitable. But talk of war's inevitability had, in the past, helped to make it occur.

While NSC-68 did not contain cost estimates, that did not mean we had not discussed them. To carry through the sort of rearmament and rehabilitation-of-forces program that we recommended, at the rate we thought necessary, for ourselves and with help for our allies, would require, our group estimated, a military budget of the magnitude of about fifty billion dollars per annum. This was a very rough guess, but, as the existing ceiling was thirteen and a half billion, the proposal—or rather the situation out of which it grew—required considerable readjustment of thinking. It seemed better to begin this process by facing the broad facts, trends, and probabilities before getting lost in budgetary intricacies. If that begins before an administration has decided what it *wants* to do, or made what diplomats used to call a decision "in principle"—in essence—the mice in the Budget Bureau will nibble to death the will to decide. . . .

[The enormous cost of NSC-68's recommendations, which called for a fourfold jump in military spending, to about $50 billion, or more than 13 percent of the United States' gross national product, posed a formidable barrier to its implementation. In

mid-1950 the document remained, in historian Walter LaFeber's words, "a policy in search of an opportunity." The needed opportunity soon appeared in the form of the Korean War, which, Acheson later admitted, "saved us" from persisting with an insufficiently aggressive foreign policy and an underfinanced military establishment. The Defense Department budget quadrupled during the Korean War and stayed at that high level even after the conclusion of hostilities, as the United States in the 1950s pursued the biggest peacetime military buildup in its history.]

F. The Sacking of General MacArthur

1. Truman Asserts Civil Supremacy (1951)

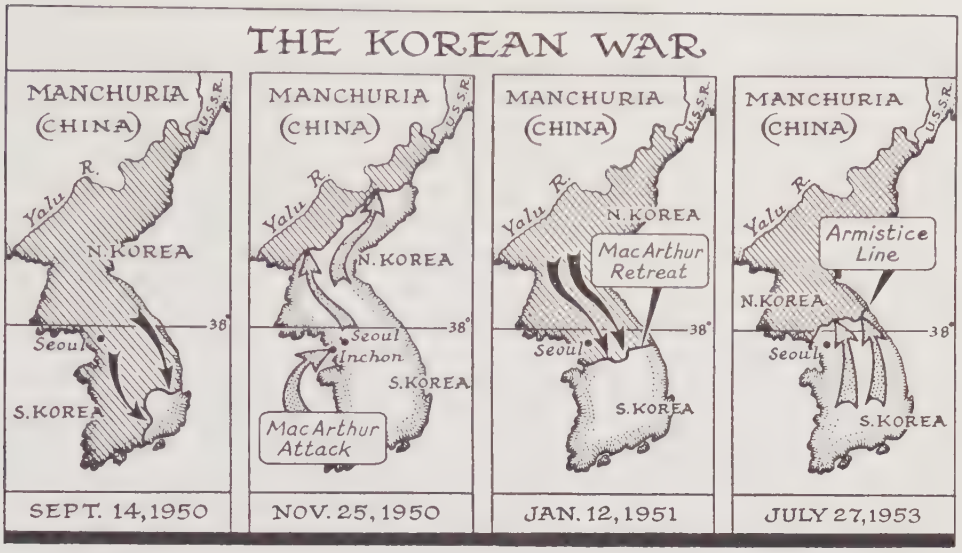
General Douglas MacArthur—handsome, proud, dramatic—served brilliantly as United Nations commander in Korea, until rocked back on his heels by the unexpected descent of hordes of Chinese "volunteers." He urged on Washington a blockade of the Chinese coast, a bombing of supply bases in China, and the use of Jiang's Formosan troops in Korea. The Soviet Union had a treaty of alliance (1950) with China, and both the Truman administration and its U.N. allies were anxious to avoid a general war in the Far East while the Soviet menace loomed large in Europe. MacArthur, who sharply disagreed with the policy of Washington, ruined Truman's proposed peace negotiations by delivering an ultimatum to the enemy (March 24, 1951). Peppery Harry Truman, who had been an army captain in World War I, would brook no such insubordination. He here expresses his views in his Memoirs. *How does he defend the view that the military must be subordinate to civil authority?*

If there is one basic element in our Constitution, it is civilian control of the military. Policies are to be made by the elected political officials, not by generals or admirals. Yet time and again General MacArthur had shown that he was unwilling to accept the policies of the administration. By his repeated public statements he was not only confusing our allies as to the true course of our policies but, in fact, was also setting his policy against the President's.

I have always had, and I have to this day, the greatest respect for General MacArthur, the soldier. Nothing I could do, I knew, could change his stature as one of the outstanding military figures of our time—and I had no desire to diminish his stature. I had hoped, and I had tried to convince him, that the policy he was asked to follow was right. He had disagreed. He had been openly critical. Now, at last, his actions [in issuing an ultimatum] had frustrated a political course decided upon, in conjunction with its allies, by the government he was sworn to serve. If I allowed him to defy the civil authorities in this manner, I myself would be violating my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution.

I have always believed that civilian control of the military is one of the strongest foundations of our system of free government. Many of our people are descended

[1] *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope* (1956), vol. 2, pp. 444–445. Published by Doubleday and Company. Copyright © 1956 by Time, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Margaret Truman Daniel.



from men and women who fled their native countries to escape the oppression of militarism. We in America have sometimes failed to give the soldier and the sailor their due, and it has hurt us. But we have always jealously guarded the constitutional provision that prevents the military from taking over the government from the authorities, elected by the people, in whom the power resides.

It has often been pointed out that the American people have a tendency to choose military heroes for the highest office in the land, but I think the statement is misleading. . . . We have chosen men who, in time of war, had made their mark, but until 1952 we had never elevated to the White House any man whose entire life had been dedicated to the military.*

One reason that we have been so careful to keep the military within its own preserve is that the very nature of the service hierarchy gives military commanders little, if any, opportunity to learn the humility that is needed for good public service. The elected official will never forget—unless he is a fool—that others as well or better qualified might have been chosen, and that millions remained unconvinced that the last choice made was the best one possible. . . .

These are things a military officer is not likely to learn in the course of his profession. The words that dominate his thinking are "command" and "obedience," and the military definitions of these words are not definitions for use in a republic.

That is why our Constitution embodies the principle of civilian control of the military. This was the principle that General MacArthur threatened. I do not believe that he purposefully decided to challenge civilian control of the military, but the result of his behavior was that this fundamental principle of free government was in danger.

It was my duty to act.

*Truman neglected to say that General Eisenhower had been president of Columbia University for four years.

2. MacArthur Calls for Victory (1951)

Joseph W. Martin, Republican House minority leader, had written to General MacArthur in March 1951, complaining about the folly of not using Jiang's several hundred thousand orphaned Chinese troops in Korea. (They were needed for the defense of Formosa; they might have defected; they would have been resented by the South Koreans.) Martin solicited MacArthur's views. The outspoken general, without labeling his reply as confidential, wrote as follows. On April 5, 1951, Martin read the letter to the House. Truman had already made up his mind to remove MacArthur, and this indiscreet statement strengthened his determination. What part of the letter reveals most clearly the military man rather than the statesman?

I am most grateful for your note of the eighth forwarding me a copy of your address of February 12. The latter I have read with much interest, and find that with the passage of years you have certainly lost none of your old-time punch.

My views and recommendations with respect to the situation created by Red China's entry into war against us in Korea have been submitted to Washington in most complete detail. Generally these views are well known and clearly understood, as they follow the conventional pattern of meeting force with maximum counter-force, as we have never failed to do in the past. Your view with respect to the utilization of the Chinese forces on Formosa is in conflict with neither logic nor this tradition.

It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to Communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable; win it, and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom.

As you point out, we must win. There is no substitute for victory.

3. Truman Looks Beyond Victory (1951)

An angered Truman abruptly dismissed MacArthur from his Far Eastern commands (April 11, 1951), but circumstances conspired to make the general's removal unduly brutal. The five-star general, "fired by a two-bit president," returned home to receive a hero's welcome. He delivered a dramatic speech before Congress in which he repeated the no-substitute-for-victory formula, and then, with tear-inducing pathos, recited the lines of the old barracks ballad: "Old soldiers never die; they just fade away." The excitement faded away, even though the general did not, and a stalemate truce came to Korea in 1953. A cocksure Truman delivered this rebuttal in his Memoirs, *taking as his text the indiscreet MacArthur letter to Representative Martin. Why, in Truman's view, was the kind of victory that the general proposed the wrong kind of victory?*

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 82d Cong., 1st sess. (April 5, 1951), p. 3380.

[3] *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope* (1956), vol. 2, 446–447. Published by Doubleday and Company. Copyright © 1956 by Time, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Margaret Truman Daniel.

Of course the third paragraph of MacArthur's letter was the real "clincher." I do not know through what channels of information the general learned that the Communists had chosen to concentrate their efforts on Asia—and more specifically on his command. . . . Actually, of course, my letter of January 13 [to MacArthur] had made it clear that Communism was capable of attacking not only in Asia but also in Europe, and that this was one reason why we could not afford to extend the conflict in Korea. But then MacArthur added a belittling comment about our diplomatic efforts, and reached his climax with the pronouncement that "there is no substitute for victory."

But there is a right kind and a wrong kind of victory, just as there are wars for the right thing and wars that are wrong from every standpoint.

As General Bradley later said: "To have extended the fighting to the mainland of Asia would have been the wrong war, at the wrong time and in the wrong place."

The kind of victory MacArthur had in mind—victory by the bombing of Chinese cities, victory by expanding the conflict to all of China—would have been the wrong kind of victory.

To some professional military men, victory—success on the battlefield alone—becomes something of an end in itself. Napoleon, during his ill-fated Moscow campaign, said, "I beat them in every battle, but it does not get me anywhere."

The time had come to draw the line. MacArthur's letter to Congressman Martin showed that the general was not only in disagreement with the policy of the government but was challenging this policy in open insubordination to his Commander in Chief.

Thought Provokers

1. What choices did Roosevelt have at Yalta? Was he justified in making the concessions that he did to the Soviet Union?
2. Why did George Kennan's views of Soviet behavior prove so influential? What is the role of ideas in the formulation of foreign policy? Was the Truman Doctrine a balanced, proportionate response to the crisis that President Truman faced in the 1940s?
3. To what extent was the Marshall Plan an act of altruism? Of self-interest?
4. Is it proper to speak of the Communist takeover in China as the "fall" of China? Why did Senator McCarthy use the China issue so viciously against the Democrats? Would a different U.S. policy have produced a different outcome in China?
5. NSC-68 has been called perhaps the single most important document of the Cold War. Comment. What difference might it have made if NSC-68 had been published in 1950 and publicly discussed?
6. Was Korea a necessary war for the United States? What would have happened if the Americans had stayed out?
7. Was Truman wise to fire General MacArthur? When is a military officer justified in disobeying orders? MacArthur believed that there was "no substitute for victory." Would his policies have brought victory or simply more bloodshed in Korea?

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The Eisenhower Era, 1953–1960

We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961

Prologue: War hero Dwight D. Eisenhower ascended triumphantly to the White House in 1953. Worried about the budget-busting implications of Truman's military buildup, Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles tried to define a new strategic doctrine. It emphasized "massive retaliation" with nuclear weapons against the Soviets if they dared to break the peace. At the same time, Eisenhower took some hesitant steps toward promoting nuclear disarmament, although he proved unable to thaw the Cold War with Russia. After Stalin's death in 1953, the more subtle Khrushchev emerged as the undisputed Soviet leader. The Soviet Union matched the U.S. hydrogen bomb in 1953, and tensions further heightened in 1956 when the Soviets crushed an uprising in Hungary and backed President Nasser of Egypt during the Suez explosion. The Soviets jolted the Americans in 1957 by shooting two satellites—"Sputniks"—into earth orbit. Eisenhower's administration, like Truman's, was badgered and embarrassed by the anticommunist crusade of Senator McCarthy. McCarthyism cruelly wounded many individuals, and left scars on the body politic that took decades to heal. The Supreme Court in 1954 ordered the desegregation of schools, notably in the South. The white South at first resisted massively, but the Court's decision imparted momentum to the rising wave of the civil rights movement, which was to crest in the 1960s. New leadership and the New Frontier arrived with the election of Senator John F. Kennedy to the presidency in 1960.

A. A New Look in Foreign Policy

1. Secretary Dulles Warns of Massive Retaliation (1954)

In 1950, NSC-68 had proposed an enormous, and enormously costly, program of U.S. military expansion to support a tougher foreign policy in the Cold War. Although Republican critics admired the toughness of Truman's and Acheson's policies, they

[1] *State Department Bulletin 30* (January 25, 1954): 107–110.

choked on the price tag. Accordingly, the new secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, announced in 1954 that the United States would henceforward rely less on conventional military forces and more on "massive retaliation" with nuclear bombs to support its international policies. In fact, the policy of massive retaliation proved scarcely less expensive and considerably less practical than reliance on an array of conventional military means. (It was impossible, for example, to imagine incinerating Moscow with atomic bombs in order to induce the Soviet Union to halt the invasion of Hungary in 1956.) Dulles announced the new doctrine in the following speech of January 12, 1954. What were his chief criticisms of the foreign policy of his predecessors? What did he see as the advantages of the massive retaliation doctrine? In the light of history, how successful was "massive retaliation" in the examples that Dulles cites—in Korea, Indochina, Germany, and Austria? Was the arms race actually accelerated by the desire to buy security "on the cheap"?

It is now nearly a year since the Eisenhower administration took office. During that year I have often spoken of various parts of our foreign policies. Tonight I should like to present an overall view of those policies which relate to our security.

First of all, let us recognize that many of the preceding foreign policies were good. Aid to Greece and Turkey had checked the Communist drive to the Mediterranean. The European Recovery Program had helped the peoples of Western Europe to pull out of the postwar morass. The Western powers were steadfast in Berlin and overcame the blockade with their airlift. As a loyal member of the United Nations, we had reacted with force to repel the Communist attack in Korea. When that effort exposed our military weakness, we rebuilt rapidly our military establishment. We also sought a quick buildup of armed strength in Western Europe.

These were the acts of a nation which saw the danger of Soviet communism; which realized that its own safety was tied up with that of others; which was capable of responding boldly and promptly to emergencies. These are precious values to be acclaimed. Also, we can pay tribute to congressional bipartisanship which puts the nation above politics.

But we need to recall that what we did was in the main emergency action, imposed on us by our enemies.

Let me illustrate.

1. We did not send our army into Korea because we judged in advance that it was sound military strategy to commit our Army to fight land battles in Asia. Our decision had been to pull out of Korea. It was Soviet-inspired action that pulled us back.

2. We did not decide in advance that it was wise to grant billions annually as foreign economic aid. We adopted that policy in response to the Communist efforts to sabotage the free economies of Western Europe.

3. We did not build up our military establishment at a rate which involved huge budget deficits, a depreciating currency, and a feverish economy because this seemed, in advance, a good policy. Indeed, we decided otherwise until the Soviet military threat was clearly revealed.

We live in a world where emergencies are always possible and our survival may depend upon our capacity to meet emergencies. Let us pray that we shall always have that capacity. But, having said that, it is necessary also to say that emergency measures—however good for the emergency—do not necessarily make good permanent

policies. Emergency measures are costly; they are superficial; and they imply that the enemy has the initiative. They cannot be depended on to serve our long-time interests.

This "long time"factor is of critical importance.

The Soviet Communists are planning for what they call "an entire historical era," and we should do the same. They seek, through many types of maneuvers, gradually to divide and weaken the free nations by overextending them in efforts which, as Lenin put it, are "beyond their strength, so that they come to practical bankruptcy." Then, said Lenin, "our victory is assured." Then, said Stalin, will be "the moment for the decisive blow."

In the face of this strategy, measures cannot be judged adequate merely because they ward off an immediate danger. It is essential to do this, but it is also essential to do so without exhausting ourselves.

When the Eisenhower administration applied this test, we felt that some transformations were needed.

It is not sound military strategy permanently to commit U.S. land forces to Asia to a degree that leaves us no strategic reserves.

It is not sound economics, or good foreign policy, to support permanently other countries; for in the long run, that creates as much ill will as good will.

Also, it is not sound to become permanently committed to military expenditures so vast that they lead to "practical bankruptcy." . . .

What the Eisenhower administration seeks is a . . . maximum deterrent at a bearable cost. . . .

The total cost of our security efforts, at home and abroad, was over $50 billion per annum, and involved, for 1953, a projected budgetary deficit of $9 billion; and $11 billion for 1954. This was on top of taxes comparable to wartime taxes; and the dollar was depreciating in effective value. Our allies were similarly weighed down. This could not be continued for long without grave budgetary, economic, and social consequences.

But before military planning could be changed, the President and his advisers, as represented by the National Security Council, had to take some basic policy decisions. This has been done. The basic decision was to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing. Now the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff can shape our military establishment to fit what is *our* policy, instead of having to try to be ready to meet the enemy's many choices. That permits of a selection of military means instead of a multiplication of means. As a result, it is now possible to get, and share, more basic security at less cost.

Let us now see how this concept has been applied to foreign policy, taking first the Far East.

In Korea this administration effected a major transformation. The fighting has been stopped on honorable terms. That was possible because the aggressor, already thrown back to and behind his place of beginning, was faced with the possibility that the fighting might, to his own great peril, soon spread beyond the limits and methods which he had selected. . . .

I have said in relation to Indochina that, if there were open Red Chinese army aggression there, that would have "grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina."

I expressed last month the intention of the United States to maintain its position in

Okinawa. This is needed to insure adequate striking power to implement the collective security concept which I describe. . . .

We have persisted, with our allies, in seeking the unification of Germany and the liberation of Austria. Now the Soviet rulers have agreed to discuss these questions. We expect to meet them soon in Berlin. I hope they will come with sincerity which will equal our own.

We have sought a conference to unify Korea and relieve it of foreign troops. So far, our persistence is unrewarded; but we have not given up.

These efforts at negotiation are normal initiatives that breathe the spirit of freedom. They involve no plan for a partnership division of world power with those who suppress freedom. . . .

2. Eisenhower Calls for "Open Skies" (1955)

The end of hostilities in Korea in 1953, Stalin's death in the same year, and the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from Austria in early 1955 brought a welcome thaw to the Cold War. Trying to take advantage of this period of apparently relaxed tensions, President Eisenhower agreed to a summit meeting with Soviet leaders in July 1955 at Geneva. There he proposed a straightforward first step toward the ultimate goal of reducing the size of military arsenals—especially the fearsome stockpiles of nuclear weapons. How realistic was Eisenhower's plan? Why did the Soviets not agree to it? What other approaches might have been tried?

Disarmament is one of the most important subjects on our agenda. It is also extremely difficult. In recent years the scientists have discovered methods of making weapons many, many times more destructive of opposing armed forces—but also of homes, and industries and lives—than ever known or even imagined before. These same scientific discoveries have made much more complex the problems of limitation and control and reduction of armament. . . .

The United States government is prepared to enter into a sound and reliable agreement making possible the reduction of armament. I have directed that an intensive and thorough study of this subject be made within our own government. . . .

No sound and reliable agreement can be made unless it is completely covered by an inspection and reporting system adequate to support every portion of the agreement.

The lessons of history teach us that disarmament agreements without adequate reciprocal inspection increase the dangers of war and do not brighten the prospects of peace.

Thus it is my view that the priority attention of our combined study of disarmament should be upon the subject of inspection and reporting. . . .

Gentlemen, since I have been working on this memorandum to present to this Conference, I have been searching my heart and mind for something that I could say here that could convince everyone of the great sincerity of the United States in approaching this problem of disarmament.

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[2] *The Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1955* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1956), pp. 713–716.

I should address myself for a moment principally to the delegates from the Soviet Union, because our two great countries admittedly possess new and terrible weapons in quantities which do give rise in other parts of the world, or reciprocally, to the fears and dangers of surprise attack.

I propose, therefore, that we take a practical step, that we begin an arrangement, very quickly, as between ourselves—immediately. These steps would include:

To give to each other a complete blueprint of our military establishments, from beginning to end, from one end of our countries to the other; lay out the establishments and provide the blueprints to each other.

Next, to provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography to the other country—we to provide you the facilities within our country, ample facilities for aerial reconnaissance, where you can make all the pictures you choose and take them to your own country to study, you to provide exactly the same facilities for us and we to make these examinations, and by this step to convince the world that we are providing as between ourselves against the possibility of great surprise attack, thus lessening danger and relaxing tension. Likewise we will make more easily attainable a comprehensive and effective system of inspection and disarmament, because what I propose, I assure you, would be but a beginning. . . .

B. The McCarthy Hysteria

1. McCarthy Upholds Guilt by Association (1952)

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, hitherto unknown to fame, rocketed into the headlines in 1950 when he declared in a political speech that there were scores of known Communists in the State Department. The collapse of Jiang's China and the bloodily indecisive Korean War gave point to his charges, while accelerating the hunt for scapegoats. A few "pinks" and Communist sympathizers were exposed and driven out of government. But persons with liberal or nonconformist ideas were indiscriminately branded as Communists, with a subsequent loss of reputation and jobs. In McCarthy's view, birds that waddled like ducks, quacked like ducks, and associated with ducks were presumed to be ducks. Anti-McCarthyites cited the axiom that it was better to let ten guilty men escape than to condemn one innocent man. McCarthy here defends his tactics. How convincing is he?

One of the safest and most popular sports engaged in today by every politician and office seeker is to "agree with McCarthy's aim of getting rid of Communists in government," but at the same time to "condemn his irresponsible charges and shotgun technique." It is a completely safe position to take. The Communist Party and their

[1] Quoted from Senator Joseph McCarthy, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1952), pp. 7, 79–80. *Webster's Third International Dictionary* (1961) defines McCarthyism as "a political attitude of the mid–twentieth century closely allied to know-nothingism, and characterized chiefly by opposition to elements held to be subversive, and by the use of tactics involving personal attacks on individuals by means of widely publicized indiscriminate allegations, especially on the basis of unsubstantiated charges."

camp followers in press and radio do not strike back as long as you merely condemn Communism in general terms. It is only when one adopts an effective method of digging out and exposing the under-cover, dangerous, "sacred cow" Communists that all of the venom and smear of the Party is loosed upon him.

I suggest to you, therefore, that when a politician mounts the speaker's rostrum and makes the statement that he "agrees with McCarthy's aims but not his methods," that you ask him what methods he himself has used against Communists. I suggest you ask him to name a single Communist or camp follower that he has forced out of the government by his methods. . . .

Is not a person presumed innocent until proven guilty?

Yes.

Why do you condemn people like Acheson, Jessup, Lattimore, Service, Vincent, and others who have never been convicted of any crime?*

The fact that these people have not been convicted of treason or of violating some of our espionage laws is no more a valid argument that they are fit to represent this country in its fight against Communism than the argument that a person who has a reputation of consorting with criminals, hoodlums, gamblers, and kidnappers is fit to act as your baby sitter because he has never been convicted of a crime.

A government job is a privilege, not a right. There is no reason why men who chum with Communists, who refuse to turn their backs upon traitors† and who are consistently found at the time and place where disaster strikes America and success comes to international Communism, should be given positions of power in government. . . .

I have not urged that those whom I have named be put in jail. Once they are exposed so the American people know what they are, they can do but little damage. . . .

Strangely enough, those who scream the loudest about what they call guilt by association are the first to endorse innocence by association.

For example, those who object most strongly to my showing Jessup's affinity for Communist causes, the Communist money used to support the publication over which he had control, and his close friendship and defense of a Communist spy [Hiss], also argue Hiss' innocence by association. The argument is that Hiss was innocent because Justices Frankfurter and Reed testified they were friends of his, because Acheson chummed and walked with him each morning, because Hiss was the top planner at the United Nations conference and helped to draft the Yalta agreement.

We are not concerned with GUILT by association because here we are not concerned with convicting any individual of any crime. We are concerned with the question of whether the individual who associates with those who are trying to destroy this nation, should be admitted to the high councils of those planning the policies of this nation: whether they should be given access to top secret material to which even Senators and Congressmen are not given access.

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*Professors Philip C. Jessup and Owen Lattimore were prominent officials or advisers who were allegedly "soft" on Communism; John S. Service and John C. Vincent were foreign service officers similary branded by McCarthy.

†After State Department official Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury in connection with Soviet espionage, his friend Secretary of State Acheson loyally but indiscreetly declared, "I do not intend to turn my back [on him]."

2. A Senator Speaks Up (1950)

The infiltration of a few Communists into government was perhaps inevitable, but the embarrassed Truman administration played into the hands of the McCarthyites by its cover-up tactics. In the interests of free debate, the Consititution exempts from libel suits anything that may be said on the floor of Congress. Senator McCarthy clearly abused this privilege. At a time when he was riding high and many Republicans regarded him as a political asset, the tall and gray-haired Republican Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, the only female U.S. senator, courageously spoke out against his excesses. (Later McCarthy vindictively invaded Maine in an unsuccessful effort to defeat her for reelection.) Why does she believe that McCarthy's tactics, whatever his aims, are contrary to the Constitution and basically un-American?

I think that it is high time for the United States Senate and its Members to do some real soul searching, and to weigh out consciences as to the manner in which we are performing our duty to the people of America, and the manner in which we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges.

I think it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

The right to criticize.

The right to hold unpopular beliefs.

The right to protest.

The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not? Otherwise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. But there have been enough proved cases, such as the *Amerasia* case, the Hiss case, the Coplon case, the Gold case,* to cause nation-wide

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[2] *Congressional Record,* 81st Cong., 2d sess. (June 1, 1950), pp. 7894–7895. Senator Smith simultaneously presented "a Declaration of Conscience" signed by six fellow senators.

**Amerasia* was a Communist-tainted magazine that acquired confidential government documents. Judith Coplon, a Justice Department employee, and Harry Gold, a Philadelphia biochemist, were both convicted in 1950 of spying for the Soviet Union.

Incipient McCarthyites regard flame in torch of Statue of Liberty as a fire. Washington Post, *1951. (From* The Herblock Book *[Boston: Beacon Press, 1952].)*

distrust and strong suspicion that there may be something to the unproved, sensational accusations. . . .

Today our country is being psychologically divided by the confusion and the suspicions that are bred in the United States Senate to spread like cancerous tentacles of "know nothing, suspect everything" attitudes. . . .

As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this [Republican] side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges which have been attempted in retaliation from the other [Democratic] side of the aisle.

I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity, and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate.

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of "confuse, divide, and conquer." As an

American, I do not want a Democratic administration whitewash or cover-up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.

As an American, I condemn a Republican Fascist just as much as I condemn a Democratic Communist. I condemn a Democratic Fascist just as much as I condemn a Republican Communist. They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American, I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves.

3. McCarthy Inspires Fear at Harvard (1954)

Senator McCarthy overplayed his hand, notably in the televised investigation of the army. To millions of viewers he exposed his vindictiveness, arrogance, and intellectual dishonesty. Apologists claimed that his anticommunist zeal, whether sincere or not, destroyed all sense of fair play. His bubble burst when the Senate "condemned" him in 1954 by a formal vote—not, curiously enough, for his abuses of U.S. citizens but for his contemptuous attitude toward the Senate itself. A petition urging the censure of McCarthy was circulated at Harvard University, and two undergraduates who refused to sign it gave their reasons in the first of the following letters to the Harvard Crimson. *An English-born student named J. C. P. Richardson, who was backing the petition, took sharp issue with them in the second letter. Who had the sounder position?*

To the Editors of the *Crimson:*

This afternoon my roommate and I were asked to sign a petition advocating the censure of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. We both refused. And yet, we both hope that the censure motion is adopted.

Discussing our actions, we came to the conclusion that we did not sign because we were afraid that sometime in the future McCarthy will point to us as having signed the petition, and, as he had done to others, question our loyalty.

We are afraid that of the thousands of petition signers, one will be proved a Communist, and as a result, McCarthy, or someone like him, will say, because we were both co-signers and classmates of the Communist, that we, too, are Reds.

The fact that two college students and others like us will not sign a petition for fear of reprisal indicates only too clearly that our democracy is in danger. It is clear that McCarthy is suppressing free speech and free actions by thrusting fear into the hearts of innocent citizens.

Let us hope that the Senators of the United States are not victims of the same fear that has infected us.

K. W. L. '58
M. F. G. '58

To the Editors of the *Crimson*:

The letter sent to you by two Harvard students and published yesterday can safely be said to represent the viewpoint of about one half of those who did not sign the anti-McCarthy petition.

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[3] Cited in *Congressional Record*, 83d Cong., 2d sess., p. A6909. Reprinted by permission of the Harvard *Crimson*. The letters appeared in the issues of November 24 and 30, 1954. The Richardson letter ended in the *Crimson* with four dots after "crowd"; the five missing lines are published in the *Congressional Record*.

The position taken by the authors is common and understandable, but it is by no means justifiable. In a free society, when opinions become unpopular and dangerous, it is most important that they be expressed. To yield to the climate of fear, to become a scared liberal, is to strengthen the very forces which one opposes. Courage must complement conviction, for otherwise each man will become a rubber-stamp, content to spend the rest of his life echoing popular beliefs, never daring to dissent, never having enough courage to say what he thinks, and never living as an individual, but only as part of the crowd.

Yes, our democracy is in danger, but as long as men are not afraid to express their view in spite of the consequences, it shall flourish. Only when fear is allowed to limit dissension does democracy falter.

The blame for America's present intellectual intolerance rests as heavily on those who have bowed to it as it does on those who encourage it.

Sincerely,
J. C. Peter Richardson '56

C. The Supreme Court and the Black Revolution

1. The Court Rejects Segregation (1954)

The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) had made blacks citizens and assured them "the equal protection of the laws." The Southern states established "separate but equal" facilities in the schools, in public toilets, and in transportation. In many instances, however, the facilities for blacks, though "separate," were not "equal" to those for whites. In 1892 a Louisianan by the name of Plessy, of one-eighth African descent, was jailed for insisting on sitting in a railroad car reserved for whites. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, where Plessy lost by a seven-to-one vote. The Court held that separate but equal public conveyances did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. This principle was applied to educational facilities until May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court, by a nine-to-zero vote, reversed its basic policy and decreed that separate educational facilities were not equal within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the heart of the decision given here, what ground is there for the white Southern complaint that this was a sociological rather than a legal decision? Are separateness and inequality inseparable?

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the [Fourteenth] Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our demo-

[1] *Brown* vs. *Board of Education of Topeka,* 347 U.S. 492–495.

cratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . .

Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications, solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children, and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segragation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

2. One Hundred Representatives Dissent (1956)

Chief Justice Earl Warren, a gray-haired, open-faced California governor turned judge, had already come under some fire for his liberal views. Bitter was the outcry of white Southerners against the "Earl Warren Communist Court." Even though the desegregation decision called for gradual implementation, the social upheaval that it foreshadowed was enormous. One hundred Southern members of Congress issued the following manifesto in 1956. The first part of it declared that since the Constitution does not mention education, the schools are solely the concern of the states under

[2] *Congressional Record,* 84th Cong., 2d sess. (March 12, 1956), pp. 4515–4516. The signers numbered nineteen senators and eighty-one House members.

reserved powers (Tenth Amendment). How persuasive is the manifesto's contention that the Court's decision would worsen, rather than improve, race relations?

In the case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* in 1896, the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the Fourteenth Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the states provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in *Lum* v. *Rice* that the "separate but equal" principle is ". . . within the discretion of the state in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the states and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through ninety years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous conditions created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the states and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the states and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them, may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the states and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision, which is contrary to the Constitution, and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people

not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

3. Eisenhower Sends Federal Troops (1957)

Following the school-desegregation decision of the "Earl Warren Court," Southern white resistance mounted. A showdown occurred in the autumn of 1957, when angry mobs in Little Rock, Arkansas, prevented nine black pupils from attending the all-white Central High School. When the governor of the state refused to provide proper protection, President Eisenhower backed up the federal court by sending in federal troops. Under their protective bayonets the black pupils attended the school, despite disagreeable incidents. This ugly episode became a hot issue in the Cold War. Little Rock rapidly became the best-known U.S. city as Communist propagandists had a field day, ignoring the fact that the federal government was trying to help the blacks. President Eisenhower addressed the American people on a nationwide radio and television hookup, explaining why he had regretfully resorted to drastic action. Was he on sound legal ground? Why was he concerned about the foreign implications of the affair?

For a few minutes this evening I want to talk to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock. To make this talk I have come to the President's office in the White House. I could have spoken from Rhode Island, where I have been staying recently, but I felt that, in speaking from the house of Lincoln, of Jackson, and of Wilson, my words would better convey both the sadness I feel in the action I was compelled today to take and the firmness with which I intend to pursue this course until the orders of the Federal Court at Little Rock can be executed without unlawful interference.

In that city, under the leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying out of proper orders from a Federal Court. Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition and, under the law, I yesterday issued a Proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying out of the Court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to that school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my Proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues. . . .

Our personal opinions about the decision have no bearing on the matter of enforcement; the responsibility and authority of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution are very clear. . . .

Mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of our courts.

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[3] *Vital Speeches,* vol. 24, pp. 11–12 (October 15, 1957; address of September 24, 1957).

The Atlanta Constitution, *though in the center of the "massive resistance" area, regarded closing the schools as a poor way to fight integration. (Atlanta* Constitution, *1959)*

Now, let me make it very clear that Federal troops are not being used to relieve local and state authorities of their primary duty to preserve the peace and order of the community. Nor are the troops there for the purpose of taking over the responsibility of the School Board and the other responsible local officials in running Central High School. The running of our school system and the maintenance of peace and order in each of our states are strictly local affairs, and the Federal Government does not interfere, except in very special cases and when requested by one of the several states. In the present case the troops are there, pursuant to law, solely for the purpose of preventing interference with the orders of the Court. . . .

In the South, as elsewhere, citizens are keenly aware of the tremendous disservice that has been done to the people of Arkansas in the eyes of the nation, and that has been done to the nation in the eyes of the world.

At a time when we face grave situations abroad because of the hatred that Communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence and, indeed, to the safety of our nation and the world.

Our enemies are gloating over this incident and using it everywhere to misrepresent our whole nation. We are portrayed as a violator of those standards of conduct

which the peoples of the world united to proclaim in the Charter of the United Nations. There they affirmed "faith in fundamental human rights" and "in the dignity and worth of the human person," and they did so "without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

And so, with deep confidence, I call upon citizens of the State of Arkansas to assist in bringing to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes. If resistance to the Federal Court order ceases at once, the further presence of Federal troops will be unnecessary and the city of Little Rock will return to its normal habits of peace and order—and a blot upon the fair name and high honor of our nation will be removed.

Thus will be restored the image of America and of all its parts as one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

4. *The* Arkansas Democrat *Protests (1958)*

Occupying federal troops—the first in the South since 1877—remained eight months, until the nine black pupils could attend the high school without serious molestation. Many white Southerners who were resigned to gradual integration of the schools bitterly resented President Eisenhower's armed intervention. In the light of the following article in a Little Rock newspaper, explain why. Where is the editor on the weakest ground? the strongest ground?

Little Rock's Central High School is still under military occupation. The troops are still there—on the campus, in the building.

The troops are still there, despite the fact that their presence is resented by the big majority of the students, the parents, and the people in general throughout the South.

The troops continue to stand guard during school hours, on the grounds and within the corridors and classrooms, despite the fact that there is no law or precedent—Federal or State—that permits them to do so.

There is not even an order, or so much as a sanction, from the U.S. Supreme Court that makes its own "laws" on mixing of races in the public schools.

Federal troops continue to occupy Central High—in defiance of the Constitution, law, and precedent—while the Congress of the United States sits out the sessions and does nothing.

Never before in the history of America has any area of our so-called Free Republic been so shamefully treated.

When two sections of this country were at war with each other, no troops ever patrolled the public school buildings and grounds from day to day. After the South had been beaten down, Federal forces kept the vanquished under the iron heel for the duration of the "Reconstruction" period. But not once did they molest the public schools with troop occupation.

Education, or attempted education, under the scrutiny of armed troops is un-American, un-Godly.

It is not even Communistic. Russia, in all her cruelty, has never bothered school children in occupied territory by stationing armed soldiers on the grounds and in the buildings. Germany never did it.

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[4] *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock), March 10, 1958. By Karr Shannon. Reprinted by permission.

No other nation, however barbaric and cruel and relentless, ever—in the history of the human race—resorted to such tactics—only the United States, which sets itself up as a world example of peace, freedom, and democracy, forces the military upon a free school.

How much longer will Congress sit idly by and let such brazen violation of American principle and law continue on and on and on?

5. A Black Newspaper Praises Courage (1958)

The conduct of the nine black pupils at Central High School, in the face of the sneers, jeers, jostling, spitting, and other insults, evoked praise in varied places. A black newspaper in Chicago paid them the following tribute. What parts of their ordeal must have taken the most courage?

Few incidents in recent American history can match the courage shown by the nine teen-age Negroes of Little Rock. They risked their lives for the sake of establishing a principle: the right to attend an integrated high school. They did it in the face of ugly and determined opposition; they did it under circumstances that would have caused many stout-hearted grownups to withdraw behind the protective shield of their own homes.

This was the most severe test of the law. The Federal courts paved the way; Federal troops held the angry mob at bay. But the nine Negro pupils did not have to march through the guardsmen to enter Little Rock's Central High School. They could have waited until public indignation had subsided; or they could have decided to attend a nearby Negro school rather than avail themselves of their legal rights. They didn't. Instead they went ahead, despite jeers and bitter invectives.

How many of us would have had the fortitude to do what these youngsters have done? How often have we failed to take advantage of victories won for us? It is therefore the more remarkable that these young Negroes, living in the Deep South, fearlessly implemented the Court's action by their daily presence at Central High School.

Though their lot was not a happy one even inside the high school building, though they were pushed around, insulted, and beaten by some of the white students, the Negro pupils held their ground. The Supreme Court's integration ruling would have been meaningless had these Negro boys and girls failed to follow the course mapped out for them by the law. They should be applauded by all of us.

D. Eisenhower Says Farewell (1961)

Dwight Eisenhower, the war hero, presided over neary eight years of peaceful U.S. relations with the rest of the world. Yet Eisenhower also presided over the largest peacetime buildup of armaments in U.S. history up to that time. In his final message to

[5] Chicago *Daily Defender,* May 28, 1958. Reprinted by permission.
From *Public Papers of the President: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1960–1961* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1961), pp. 1036–1039.

the American people as president, the popular ex-soldier sounded a surprising warning about the economic, political, and social consequences of the garrison state that the United States was apparently becoming. His speech is justly remembered as one of the most telling criticisms of the domestic consequences of the Cold War. What are the most worrisome aspects of the "military-industrial complex" that Eisenhower described? Why did he wait until he was on his way out of office to express his alarm?

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

First, let me express my gratitude to the radio and television networks for the opportunity to express myself to you during these past eight years and tonight.

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional solemn ceremony, the authority of the President is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen. . . .

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential, and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches, and material strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement; and to enhance liberty, dignity, and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our chartered course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national problems—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped for advantage—

balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well, in the face of stress and threat. But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. I mention two only.

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men in World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvision of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must ot fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the federal government.

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment,

project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we—you and I, and our government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as we do, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

So—in this my last good night to you as your President—I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and peace. I trust that in that service you find some things worthy; as for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

You and I—my fellow citizens—need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the nation's great goals.

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing aspiration:

We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensi-

tive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth, and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

Now on Friday noon I am to become a private citizen. I am proud to do so. I look forward to it.

Thought Provokers

1. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the "massive retaliation" doctrine? Did Eisenhower's foreign policies ease or intensify Cold War tensions?
2. Did Senator McCarthy help or hinder the cause of anticommunism? Is U.S. society peculiarly vulnerable to his kind of demagoguery? What finally stopped McCarthy? Did McCarthyism perish with Joseph McCarthy?
3. Progressives and liberals have historically argued that the courts should take a hands-off policy toward legislation in the economic realm, yet they applauded the Supreme Court's activist role in civil rights matters. Were they being inconsistent? What were the greatest obstacles to the success of the civil rights movement? What were its greatest assets?
4. How prophetic was Eisenhower's warning about the "military-industrial complex"? Is that complex more or less powerful now than in Eisenhower's day? To what extent was it an inevitable product of the Cold War?

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The Stormy Sixties

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

President John F. Kennedy, 1961

Prologue: Youthful President John F. Kennedy launched his administration with high hopes and great vigor. Young people seemed particularly attracted to the tough-minded yet idealistic style of Kennedy's presidency. Yet Kennedy's record in office, before his tragic assassination in 1963, was spotty. He presided over a botched invasion of Cuba in 1961, and in the same year took the first fateful steps into the Vietnam quagmire. In 1962 he emerged victorious from a tense standoff with the Russians over the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Sobered by this brush with the prospect of nuclear holocaust, Kennedy initiated a new policy of realistic accommodation with the Soviets—while the Soviets, determined never again to be so humiliated, began a massive military buildup. At home, the black revolution, led most conspicuously by Martin Luther King, Jr., exploded with a vengeance. Lyndon Johnson, ascending to the presidency after Kennedy's death, won election in his own right in 1964 and promptly threw his support behind the cause of civil rights. In a remarkable burst of political leadership, Johnson persuaded the Congress to pass a vast array of social welfare legislation, known collectively as the Great Society programs. But Johnson's dreams for a happier America were blasted by the mounting unpopularity of the war in Vietnam, which had drawn half a million U.S. troops by the mid-1960s. Bedeviled by the Vietnam problem, Johnson withdrew from the 1968 presidential race, paving the way for the election of Richard Nixon.

A. The Cuban Missile Crisis

1. Kennedy Proclaims a "Quarantine" (1962)

After the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the United States watched Castro's Cuba for further trouble. Officials in Washington knew that the Soviet Union was sending Castro immense quantities of weapons, which Moscow repeatedly claimed were defensive. In mid-October 1962, high-flying U.S. spy planes returned with star-*

[1] *Public Papers of the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy: 1962* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1963), pp. 807–808 (October 22, 1962).

*The Soviets were correct in the sense that so-called offensive weapons aimed at the United States were defensive in that they would deter an invasion of Cuba.

tling photographic evidence that Soviet technicians were installing about forty nuclear missiles with a striking range of about 2,200 miles. Rather than forewarn Premier Krushchev in Moscow, Kennedy quietly consulted with members of Congress, and then went on radio and television with a bombshell address that caught the Soviets off guard. In this excerpt, what options did he leave for himself if the initial "quarantine" should fail? What were the risks in Kennedy's strategy? Were they worth it?

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, . . . I have directed that the following *initial* steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life, as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close [aerial] surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. . . .

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo [Cuba], evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke Articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. . . . Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man.

2. Khrushchev Proposes a Swap (1962)

During the tense six days after Kennedy's proclamation of a "quarantine," Soviet technicians in Cuba worked feverishly to emplace the missiles. A number of approaching Soviet merchant ships, presumably loaded with "offensive" weapons, turned back. Several, not carrying such cargoes, were allowed to reach Cuba. Premier Khrushchev,

[2] *Department of State Bulletin* 47 (November 12, 1962): 742.

at first disposed to give some ground in a letter of October 26 to Kennedy, took a tougher stand in the following message of October 27 and proposed a swap. The U.S. missiles in Turkey were so obsolete that two months earlier President Kennedy had given orders for their withdrawal, but they were still there. He and his advisers felt that to remove them, as Khrushchev asked, on an exchange basis would weaken the morale of Turkey, the eastern anchor of NATO. Was Kennedy right to risk nuclear incineration for the sake of Turkey? How much plausibility was there in Khrushchev's proposal?

Our purpose has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can challenge the humanity of our motives aimed at allowing Cuba to live peacefully and develop as its people desire. You want to relieve your country from danger and this is understandable. However, Cuba also wants this. All countries want to relieve themselves from danger.

But how can we, the Soviet Union and our government, assess your actions which, in effect, mean that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases, surrounded our allies with military bases, set up military bases literally around our country, and stationed your rocket weapons at them? This is no secret. High-placed American officials demonstratively declare this. Your rockets are stationed in Britain and in Italy and pointed at us. Your rockets are stationed in Turkey.

You are worried over Cuba. You say that it worries you because it lies at a distance of 90 miles across the sea from the shores of the United States. However, Turkey lies next to us. Our sentinels are pacing up and down and watching each other. Do you believe that you have the right to demand security for your country and the removal of such weapons that you qualify as offensive, while not recognizing this right for us? . . .

This is why I make this proposal: We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey. Let us reach an understanding on what time you and we need to put this into effect.

After this, representatives of the U.N. Security Council could control on-the-spot the fulfillment of these commitments.

3. Kennedy Advances a Solution (1962)

President Kennedy skillfully avoided an argument over a missile swap by ignoring his opponent's suggestion. Referring to Khrushchev's more promising letter of the previous day, he advanced the following proposals on October 27. The tension was building up, and an air strike against Cuba was scheduled for three days later, before the nuclear missiles could become fully operative. In this letter, what restrictions was Kennedy prepared to place on the United States?

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have read your letter of October 26th with great care and welcomed the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba

[3] *Department of State Bulletin* 47 (November 12, 1962): 743.

and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements.

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them to work out this weekend—in cooperation with the Acting Secretary General and your representative—an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban problem along the lines suggested in your letter of October 26th. As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals—which seem generally acceptable as I understand them—are as follows:

1) You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2) We, on our part, would agree—upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments—(a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.

If you will give your representative similar instructions, there is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days.

[The next day, October 28, 1962, Khrushchev consented to Kennedy's terms, and a great sense of relief swept over the world. Kennedy himself had privately reckoned that the odds in favor of a nuclear blowup ran as high as fifty-fifty.]

4. The Soviets Save Face (1962)

The Soviets, claiming that they had achieved their objective of preventing an invasion of Cuba, gathered up and (ostensibly) shipped home their forty-two nuclear missiles. The United States in truth had won only a partial diplomatic victory. Thousands of Soviet workers stayed behind, and Castro remained defiant with Soviet weapons and backing. The official Soviet newspaper Izvestia *put the best possible face it could on the diplomatic setback. What gains for Soviet diplomacy did it claim were achieved?*

The threat to peace was created by hostile, adventurist schemes aimed at the very existence of the Cuban Republic. The Soviet Union could not disregard Cuba's predicament in the face of the imperialistic provocations. Our country, fulfilling its international duty, came to the fraternal assistance of the Cuban people, and in these troubled days of the provocational aggravation . . . it has stood, stands, and will continue to stand firmly with Cuba.

The contemplated scheme of aggression against Cuba was built upon a very shaky foundation, but the danger with which Cuba was threatened was not thereby diminished. The pretext that was advanced in the U.S.A. for action against Cuba was the presence of Soviet weapons in Cuba that the United States termed "offensive." These weapons were depicted as representing a "threat" to America and the whole Western

[4]Translation copyright 1962 by *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* published weekly at The Ohio State University; reprinted by permission.

Hemisphere, although neither Cuba nor the Soviet Union was threatening the United States with its actions, while at the same time extremist, militant circles in the U.S. revealed . . . a desire to end the independence of the Cuban Republic.

In that tense moment the Soviet government, which had displayed the utmost self-control, calm and firmness, took speedy and efficient action to prevent the outbreak of the imminent conflict and thereby preserve universal peace.

The progression of events showed that the far-seeing, wise course of the Soviet government was the only correct one in the situation that had developed and led in a short time to the start of the normalization of the situation and the creation of conditions in which the interests of universal peace and of the . . . integrity of the Cuban Republic will be assured.

The decisive step of the Soviet Union—which foiled the aggressive plans of an attack on Cuba and deprived the authors of these plans of a reason and pretext for military action—was the indication that appropriate measures were being taken to stop the build-up in Cuba of objectives depicted by the United States as threatening American security, to dismantle these objectives and return them to the Soviet Union.

This step by the Soviet government was made possible as a result of the statement made by U.S. President Kennedy in his message of Oct. 27 to N.S. Khrushchev. The message states that there will be no attacks on Cuba, no invasion, not only on the part of the United States but on the part of the other countries of the Western Hemisphere as well, if the weapons termed "offensive" by the U.S.A. are shipped out of Cuba.

Thus reason and wisdom prevailed. At present, all conditions exist for the total elimination of the conflict and for further efforts toward the strengthening of peace and security. All honest people, anxious over the fate of peace, render their due to our Communist Party, to the Soviet government and to Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev for the fact that the forces of aggression and war have been restrained and reason in international relations has prevailed over folly.

These days telegrams are being received in Moscow, in the Kremlin, from all corners of the globe. They express the impassioned voices of people of good will, conveying their support of the peace-loving position of the Soviet Union. . . .

B. The "Great Society"

1. President Johnson Declares War on Poverty (1964)

The United States in the 1960s continued to present appalling contrasts in wealth. An official government report in 1964 declared that one-fifth of the families in the country—9.3 million in all—"enjoyed" annual incomes of less than $3,000. Under President Kennedy, Congress made a modest beginning by passing several laws providing for self-help and job retraining. President Johnson threw his full weight behind the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which a Democratic Congress approved and implemented with an initial appropriation of $947.5 million. This legislation in-

[1] *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963–1964* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 376–377 (March 16, 1964).

cluded provisions for a Job Corps that would provide training for unskilled young men and women, aid for education, and a domestic Peace Corps to work with Native Americans and other disadvantaged groups. In a part of his message to Congress the president made the following plea. Was he convincing in his argument that these heavy outlays would in the long run help the taxpayer?

I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory.

There are millions of Americans—one fifth of our people—who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed.

What does this poverty mean to those who endure it?

It means a daily struggle to secure the necessities for even a meager existence. It means that the abundance, the comforts, the opportunities they see all around them are beyond their grasp.

Worst of all, it means hopelessness for the young.

The young man or woman who grows up without a decent education, in a broken home, in a hostile and squalid environment, in ill health or in the face of racial injustice—that young man or woman is often trapped in a life of poverty.

He does not have the skills demanded by a complex society. He does not know how to acquire those skills. He faces a mounting sense of despair which drains initiative and ambition and energy. . . .

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others.

It is a struggle to give people a chance.

It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have been allowed to develop and use ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this nation.

We do this, first of all, because it is right that we should.

From the establishment of public education and land grant colleges through agricultural extension and encouragement to industry, we have pursued the goal of a nation with full and increasing opportunities for all its citizens.

The war on poverty is a further step in that pursuit.

We do it also because helping some will increase the prosperity of all.

Our fight against poverty will be an investment in the most valuable of our resources—the skills and strength of our people.

And in the future, as in the past, this investment will return its cost many fold to our entire economy.

If we can raise the annual earnings of 10 million among the poor by only $1,000 we will have added 14 billion dollars a year to our national output. In addition we can make important reductions in public assistance payments which now cost us 4 billion dollars a year, and in the large costs of fighting crime and delinquency, disease and hunger.

This is only part of the story.

Our history has proved that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings and better income for all.

Giving new opportunity to those who have little will enrich the lives of all the rest.

Because it is right, because it is wise, and because, for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty, I submit, for the consideration of the Congress and the country, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Act does not merely expand old programs or improve what is already being done.

It charts a new course.

It strikes at the causes, not just the consequences of poverty.

It can be a milestone in our one-hundred-eighty year search for a better life for our people.

2. War on the Antipoverty War

President Johnson's antipoverty scheme aroused the dogs of criticism, especially among conservatives. They declared that it was contrived to catch votes; that it would undermine individual initiative; that it would inject big government into private affairs; that it was socialistic; that it was a revival of Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps; and that it would burden the taxpayers. In truth, the cost of keeping a high school dropout in one of the fresh-air training camps was estimated to be about three times that of keeping a student in Harvard University. The executive editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer *here speaks out plainly against some of the weaknesses of the scheme. What are his most telling points?*

The political astuteness of President Johnson is nowhere better illustrated than by his proposal described as the "antipoverty program" or the "war on poverty." It has more than a faint odor of hokum about it, but its implications are that anyone bold enough to question or peer deeply into it must be in favor of poverty—and that's politically and socially disastrous.

The present level of extravagance in the American uppercrust, affluence in the middle class, and considerable comfort even in the lower pay brackets is so widely taken for granted these days that a campaigner against poverty has to hunt around for groups and areas to help. . . .

But there are increasingly large numbers of Negro dropouts from high school and teenage unemployment. And small farmers who can't seem to get ahead. And inhabitants of "Appalachia," the mountains where coal mining has gone to pot. These are areas with average incomes of $3,000 a year or under. They've got to be saved from themselves by the Federal Government. Hence, the "war on poverty," a colorful phrase much favored by newspapers, TV, and radio.

There's really no war on anything. The Johnson proposal is an attempt to sop up some unemployed teens by giving them jobs in conservation camps, to lend some money to the hardscrabble farmers, to produce some loan help for college students—and, just as important, add some new bureaucrats to the payroll.

The objective is good, particularly the movement of dropouts from the street corner to the forest. But the only way to solve the Appalachia problem is to transplant whole families and villages to places where there are jobs—but they won't leave. And

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[2] Philip W. Porter, Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* March 28, 1964. By permission of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer.*

lending money to marginal farmers is fruitless; the quicker they give up small uneconomical "family" units, and try to earn money elsewhere, the better off they'll be.

Some individuals will be helped, no doubt. The politicians have something new to promise. But eradicating all poverty is about as unlikely an attainment as entering the Kingdom of Heaven, which our grandmothers talked so much about.

The objective, though vague and built of goober feathers, is good. But will it work on those of low mentality who are not educable, or those who lack desire to improve themselves? And in reverse, is it really needed by the determined individual, the man already moonlighting to go to law school, or waiting table to pay for college?

Has the Horatio Alger, Jr., concept, the bootblack who became a tycoon, vanished completely? Andrew Carnegie built a fortune from little. So did Henry Ford. Lyndon Johnson himself started from scratch. . . .

But today the Federal Government has got to get into the act. And anyone who asks questions or objects is automatically a stinker.

[The war against poverty, although it improved the quality of life for many underprivileged Americans, fell far short of the roseate forecasts of its sponsors. The war in Vietnam began to siphon away billions of dollars, and the national budget could not fully support both wars. Bureaucratic bungling, political favoritism, and outright graft combined to bring the antipoverty program into considerable disrepute and to undermine its nobler purposes.]

C. The Black Revolution Erupts

1. Martin Luther King, Jr., Writes from a Birmingham Jail (1963)

The year 1963 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, yet millions of American blacks remained enchained by racism. Although racial prejudice was a national curse, it worked most viciously in the South, the ancient homeland of slavery. Nearly a decade after the Supreme Court's desegregation order, fewer than 10 percent of black children in the South attended classes with white children. The problem was especially acute in Birmingham, Alabama, the most segregated big city in the United States. Segregation was the rule in schools, restaurants, rest rooms, ball parks, libraries, and taxicabs. Though blacks were nearly half the city's residents, they constituted fewer than 15 percent of the city's voters. More than fifty cross-burnings and eighteen racial bombings between 1957 and 1963 had earned the city the nickname of "Bombingham" among blacks . Thus Birmingham was a logical choice—and a courageous one—as the site of a mass protest by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Arrested during a protest demonstration on Good Friday, 1963, King penned the

[1] From pp. 74–94, 98–100 in "Letter from Birmingham Jail," April 16, 1963—from *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Copyright © 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr. By permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

June 1963 The Moment Seems to be Now
(© The London Daily Mail. *Illingworth.)*

following letter from jail, writing on scraps of paper smuggled to him by a prison trusty. He was responding to criticism from eight white Alabama clergymen who had deplored his tactics as "unwise and untimely"—though King throughout his life preached the wisdom of nonviolence. Why does King believe that black Americans could wait no longer for their civil rights? How does he view himself in relation to white "moderates" and black extremists?

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

• • •

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative. . . .

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has

almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience. . . .

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best-known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black

nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black-nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. . . .

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing secularity of stained-glass windows. . . .

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its dogs sinking their teeth into unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department. . . .

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judaeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug

deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood,
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

2. President Johnson Supports Civil Rights (1965)

Prompted largely by the mass outpouring of sentiment inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr., Congress passed a major Civil Rights Act in 1964. It prohibited discrimination in most public places, forbade employers or unions to discriminate on the basis of race, and created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to provide enforcement. Yet King and other black leaders were determined not to rest until they had secured federal legislation protecting the right of black people to vote. Once again, King chose Alabama as the stage for demonstrations designed to force the Johnson administration's hand. On March 7, 1965, demonstrators marching from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital at Montgomery were brutally beaten and dispersed by state troopers and hastily deputized "possemen." Millions of Americans witnessed the violent assault on television, and within days hundreds of clergymen and clergywomen of all faiths had poured into Selma to aid Reverend King. One of them, a Boston Unitarian minister, died after having been clubbed by a gang of white hooligans. The pressure on Washington to act mounted to irresistible proportions, and on March 15 President Johnson addressed Congress and the nation, as follows, to plead for a voting rights bill. Although Johnson had in fact tried to discourage King from marching in Alabama, he now threw the full moral and legal weight of his office behind the cause of black voting rights. In what broader context does he try to set the black civil rights movement? How do his personal feelings and experiences influence his political action?

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress:

I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy.

I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause.

At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.

There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed.

There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight.

For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great Government—the Government of the greatest Nation on earth.

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[2] *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965,* vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1966), pp. 281–287.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.

In our time we have come to live with moments of great crisis. Our lives have been marked with debate about great issues; issues of war and peace, issues of prosperity and depression. But rarely in any time does an issue lay bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved Nation.

The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue. And should we defeat every enemy, should we double our wealth and conquer the stars, and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people and as a nation.

For with a country as with a person, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans—we are met here as Americans to solve that problem.

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: "All men are created equal"—"government by consent of the governed"—"give me liberty or give me death." Well, those are not just clever words, or those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.

Those words are a promise to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions; it cannot be found in his power, or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall share in freedom, he shall choose his leaders, educate his children, and provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

To apply any other test—to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, his religion or the place of his birth—is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.

The Right to Vote

Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country, in large measure, is the history of the expansion of that right to all of our people.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if he persists, and if he manages to

present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

And if he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire Constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of State law. And even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read and write.

For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin.

Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and ingenious discrimination. No law that we now have on the books—and I have helped to put three of them there—can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it.

In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

Guaranteeing the Right to Vote

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

The broad principles of that bill will be in the hands of the Democratic and Republican leaders tomorrow. After they have reviewed it, it will come here formally as a bill. I am grateful for this opportunity to come here tonight at the invitation of the leadership to reason with my friends, to give them my views, and to visit with my former colleagues.

I have had prepared a more comprehensive analysis of the legislation which I had intended to transmit to the clerk tomorrow but which I will submit to the clerks tonight. But I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution.

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting.

I will welcome the suggestions from all of the Members of Congress—I have no doubt that I will get some—on ways and means to strengthen this law and to make it effective. But experience has plainly shown that this is the only path to carry out the command of the Constitution.

To those who seek to avoid action by their National Government in their own communities; who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple:

Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

The Need for Action

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong—deadly wrong—to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

I have not the slightest doubt what will be your answer. . . .

This time, on this issue, there must be no delay, no hesitation and no compromise with our purpose.

We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in. And we ought not and we cannot and we must not wait another 8 months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more, and the time for waiting is gone. . . .

We Shall Overcome

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome.

As a man whose roots go deeply into Southern soil I know how agonizing racial feelings are. I know how difficult it is to reshape the attitudes and the structure of our society.

But a century has passed, more than a hundred years, since the Negro was freed. And he is not fully free tonight.

It was more than a hundred years ago that Abraham Lincoln, a great President of another party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but emancipation is a proclamation and not a fact.

A century has passed, more than a hundred years, since equality was promised. And yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise. And the promise is unkept.

The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American.

For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear, because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

So I say to all of you here, and to all in the Nation tonight, that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future.

This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all: black and white, North and South, sharecropper and city dweller. These are the enemies: poverty, ignorance, disease. They are the enemies and not our fellow man, not our neighbor. And these enemies too, poverty, disease and ignorance, we shall overcome. . . .

The Purpose of this Government

My first job after college was as a teacher in Cotulla, Texas, in a small Mexican-American school. Few of them could speak English, and I couldn't speak much Spanish. My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry. They knew even in their youth the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often walked home late in the afternoon, after the classes were finished, wishing there was more that I could do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might be help them against the hardships that lay ahead.

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country.

But now I do have that chance—and I'll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use it with me.

This is the richest and most powerful country which ever occupied the globe. The might of past empires is little compared to ours. But I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion.

I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of their world. I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of taxeaters.

I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of every citizen to vote in every election.

I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellow men and who promoted love among the people of all races and all regions and all parties.

I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth. . . .

Beyond this great chamber, out yonder in 50 States, are the people that we serve. Who can tell what deep and unspoken hopes are in their hearts tonight as they sit there and listen. We all can guess, for our own lives, how difficult they often find their own pursuit of happiness, how many problems each little family has. They look most of all to themselves for their futures. But I think that they also look to each of us.

Above the pyramid on the great seal of the United States it says—in Latin—"God has favored our undertaking."

God will not favor everything that we do. It is rather our duty to divine His will. But I cannot help believing that He truly understands and that He really favors the undertaking that we begin here tonight.

3. A Conservative Denounces Black Rioters (1965)

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act in the summer of 1965, the civil rights movement seemed to stand triumphant, and the Johnson administration seemed at last to have fulfilled the promises of emancipation made a century earlier. But the moment of satisfaction was brief. Just five days after President Johnson signed the

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[3] *National Review 17* (September 7, 1965): 769–770. 150 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. By permission.

Voting Rights Act, a rampaging riot swept through the black Los Angeles ghetto of Watts, leaving some thirty-four persons dead. Moderates were shocked and disillusioned; conservatives were angry. They turned their rage on black leaders like Martin Luther King. In the following selection Dr. Will Herberg, a noted conservative intellectual of the day, denounces the Watts rioters and blames King for their actions. Is his assessment of King's role fair?

The country is still reeling from the shock of what happened in Los Angeles. Six days of "racial" rioting, of violence uncontrolled and uncontrollable. Thousands of Negroes running wild, burning, destroying, looting, spreading from the Negro section outward, on a scale that made a senior officer of the National Guard, which finally quelled the rioting, describe it as veritable insurrection.

The fury of hatred and violence revealed in these six dreadful days has engendered a profound uneasiness through every part of the country. How could it have happened? After all, Los Angeles is not the Congo—or is it?

Of course, the politicians and the professional bleeding hearts immediately began to mumble the tired old phrases about "poverty" and "frustration," as though nobody was, or ever had been, poor or frustrated except the Los Angeles Negroes. (The living standards and conditions of life of the Negroes in Los Angeles, bad as they are, would have seemed something near to heaven to most of the immigrants who came to this country in earlier years.). . .

Internal order is the first necessity of every society. Even justice is secondary to order, because without order there can be no society and no justice, however partial and fragmentary. . . .

But the internal order of a community, which is so primary and precious to it, is always precarious. . . .

It is preserved by force—by the naked force of police . . . but more immediately by the force of custom and respect for constituted authority. It is these two—custom and respect for constituted authority—that do the everyday work of maintaining order and security. When these are weakened or destroyed, hell breaks loose—whether it is in the Congo or in Los Angeles, whether it is Negroes or whites who do the devil's work. . . .

This internal order is now in jeopardy; and it is in jeopardy because of the doings of such highminded, self-righteous "children of light" as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and his associates in the leadership of the "civil rights" movement. If you are looking for those ultimately responsible for the murder, arson, and looting in Los Angeles, look to them: they are the guilty ones, these apostles of "non-violence."

For years now, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and his associates have been deliberately undermining the foundations of internal order in this country. With their rabble-rousing demagoguery, they have been cracking the "cake of custom" that holds us together. With their doctrine of "civil disobedience," they have been teaching hundreds of thousands of Negroes—particularly the adolescents and the children—that it is perfectly all right to break the law and defy constituted authority if you are a Negro-with-a-grievance; in protest against injustice. And they have done more than talk. They have on occasion after occasion, in almost every part of the country, called out their mobs on the streets, promoted "school strikes," sit-ins, lie-ins, in explicit violation of the law and in explicit defiance of the public authority. They have taught

anarchy and chaos by word and deed—and, no doubt, with the best of intentions—and they have found apt pupils everywhere, with intentions *not* of the best. Sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind. But it is not they alone who reap it, but we as well; the entire nation.

It is worth noting that the worst victims of these high-minded rabble-rousers are not so much the hated whites, but the great mass of the Negro people themselves. The great mass of the Negro people cannot be blamed for the lawlessness and violence in Harlem, Chicago, Los Angeles, or elsewhere. All they want to do is what decent people everywhere want to do: make a living, raise a family, bring up their children as good citizens, with better advantages than they themselves ever had. The "civil rights" movement and the consequent lawlessness has well nigh shattered these hopes; not only because of the physical violence and insecurity, but above all because of the corruption and demoralization of the children, who have been lured away from the steady path of decency and self-government to the more exhilarating road of "demonstrating"—and rioting. An old friend of mine from Harlem put it to me after the riots last year: "For more than fifteen years we've worked our heads off to make something out of these boys. Now look at them—they're turning into punks and hoodlums roaming the streets."

Shall we wreak our wrath upon such "punks" and "hoodlums," the actual rioters, and allow those ultimately responsible, the Martin Luther Kings, the inciters to law-defiance in the name of "conscience," to go immune in their self-righteousness? They stand horrified at the rioting and violence. But isn't it all the handiwork of the demons they themselves raised? They are the guilty ones—despite the best intentions. If they have any conscience left besides that which they use as justification for the violation of law, let them search it now.

4. A Christian Journal Takes the Long View (1965)

A long-established weekly religious magazine, the nondenominational Christian Century, *judged the Watts riots with more compassion than many. In the light of its views, why is the answer to the black disorders not simply bigger and better police forces?*

Respectable, law-abiding white and Negro America condemns the arson, pillage and vandalism which erupted in Los Angeles and to a lesser degree in other cities in mid-August. In that condemnation there is more fear and contempt than there is compassion, more haughty bigotry than understanding, more irritation with the rampaging Negro mobs than concern about them. Does comfortable, secure white and Negro America also deplore the circumstances which make explosions in the black ghettos of the nation's megalopolises inevitable? Does it lament the ghettos' filth and stench, the vermin-infested tenements, the broken families, the legacy of cultural blight, the unemployment, the dropouts? Does it understand, does it want to understand people whose despair runs so deep that they sense no identity with any of the social structures and view all of them as enemies? Whence this wild hatred which

[4] Copyright 1965 by Christian Century Foundation. Reprinted by permission from the August 25, 1965, issue of *The Christian Century*.

roves the streets crying "Let's kill whitey"? Are we willing to ask that question? Are we able to face the answer?

Responsible whites and Negroes know that when such riots break out, adequate restraints must be employed to replace anarchy with order. But if we do nothing more than this, if policemen and soldiers are our only reply to the rebellion bred in the slums, then we merely intensify the pressures which produce riots. Peaceful citizens want themselves and their property protected by the law and by law enforcement agencies—a reasonable desire. But out of the steaming slums comes a hysteria to which such reasonableness is wholly alien. What appeal do the standards of an orderly society have for a poor, ignorant man who believes himself cut off from all the benefits of a good society? . . . Do we not have the right to demand that riots cease, to insist and to enforce our insistence that there be law and order in the streets? We do. But we might as well accept the realities of the situation, one of which is that the systems we trust and defend have impregnated some Negroes with a deep, implacable contempt for those systems. . . .

The riots are painful warnings that the nation faces major catastrophes in its industrial and commercial centers. The slums of these centers are tightly packed with Negroes and other minorities who are condemned to unemployment or underemployment, to bad housing at high cost, to poor schools, to the enticements and intimidations of criminals, to the incitements of rabble rousers and to all the miseries which attend human congestion.

In these settings—as in Los Angeles—minor incidents inexplicably explode long-accumulated charges of frustration, bitterness and hatred. The slums of the great cities are a multifaceted problem for which there is no cure-all, no quick and easy remedy. The problems are too big for the cities to handle alone, particularly since the cities are usually surrounded by white suburbs which view with horror what occurs at the metropolitan core but which resist all efforts to change the circumstances producing race riots.

It is a state problem and a national one. Nothing done yet at these levels acknowledges the gravity of the situation. The nation must now with its full strength relieve the plight of the Negroes in urban slums or turn its metropolises into garrisoned cities. The best way for the Negro and for the general society is long and hard; but we must take it.

D. Vietnam Troubles

1. The Joint Chiefs of Staff Propose a Wider War (1964)

U.S. involvement in Vietnam went back at least as far as 1950, when President Truman began aiding the French in their effort to suppress a nationalist insurgency in their Indochinese colony. Despite U.S. help, the French forces collapsed in 1954. An international conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1954 divided Vietnam at the

[1] *The Pentagon Papers, New York Times* edition (1971), pp. 274–277.

17th parallel, and called for elections in all *of Vietnam in 1956. The elections were never held, primarily because the government in South Vietnam, encouraged by the United States, feared that the Communists in the North, led by Ho Chi Minh, would score a massive victory. President Eisenhower pledged in 1954 to provide military assistance to the government of South Vietnam, and by the end of Eisenhower's term in office about seven hundred U.S. "advisers" were helping to bolster the Vietnamese military. President Kennedy thus inherited a risky but limited commitment to South Vietnam. Meanwhile, Communist-led nationalist forces, abetted by the Communist regime in North Vietnam, were stepping up the pressure on the shaky South Vietnamese government in Saigon. A bloody military coup in late 1963 brought a new, apparently tougher, government to Saigon, setting the stage for increasing U.S. involvement. A few months later, General Maxwell D. Taylor, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sent the following memorandum to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, proposing intensified U.S. military actions in Vietnam. What reasons does he offer for such actions? How persuasive are his reasons?*

1. National Security Action Memorandum No. 273 makes clear the resolve of the President to ensure victory over the externally directed and supported communist insurgency in South Vietnam. In order to achieve that victory, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are of the opinion that the United States must be prepared to put aside many of the self-imposed restrictions which now limit our efforts, and to undertake bolder actions which may embody greater risks.

2. The Joint Chiefs of Staff are increasingly mindful that our fortunes in South Vietnam are an accurate barometer of our fortunes in all of Southeast Asia. It is our view that if the U.S. program succeeds in South Vietnam it will go far toward stabilizing the total Southeast Asia situation. Conversely, a loss of South Vietnam to the communists will presage an early erosion of the remainder of our position in that subcontinent.

3. Laos, existing on a most fragile foundation now, would not be able to endure the establishment of a communist—or pseudo neutralist—state on its eastern flank. Thailand, less strong today than a month ago by virtue of the loss of Prime Minister Sarit would probably be unable to withstand the pressures of infiltration from the north should Laos collapse to the communists in its turn. Cambodia apparently has estimated that our prospects in South Vietnam are not promising and, encouraged by the actions of the French, appears already to be seeking an accommodation with the communists. Should we actually suffer defeat in South Vietnam, there is little reason to believe that Cambodia would maintain even a pretense of neutrality.

4. In a broader sense, the failure of our programs in South Vietnam would have heavy influence on the judgments of Burma, India, Indonesia, Malayasia, Japan, Taiwan, the Republic of Korea, and the Republic of the Philippines with respect to U.S. durability, resolution, and trustworthiness. Finally, this being the first real test of our determination to defeat the communist wars of national liberation formula, it is not unreasonable to conclude that there would be a corresponding unfavorable effect upon our image in Africa and in Latin America.

5. All of this underscores the pivotal position now occupied by South Vietnam in our world-wide confrontation with the communists and the essentiality that the conflict there would be brought to a favorable end as soon as possible. However, it would

be unrealistic to believe that a complete suppression of the insurgency can take place in one or even two years. The British effort in Malaya is a recent example of a counterinsurgency effort which required approximately ten years before the bulk of the rural population was brought completely under control of the government, the police were able to maintain order, and the armed forces were able to eliminate the guerrilla strongholds.

6. The Joint Chiefs of Staff are convinced that, in keeping with the guidance in NSAM 273, the United States must make plain to the enemy our determination to see the Vietnam campaign through to a favorable conclusion. To do this, we must prepare for whatever level of activity may be required and, being prepared, must then proceed to take actions as necessary to achieve our purposes surely and promptly.

7. Our considerations, furthermore, cannot be confined entirely to South Vietnam. Our experience in the war thus far leads us to conclude that, in this respect, we are not now giving sufficient attention to the broader area problems of Southeast Asia. The Joint Chiefs of Staff believe that our position in Cambodia, our attitude toward Laos, our actions in Thailand, and our great effort in South Vietnam do not comprise a compatible and integrated U.S. policy for Southeast Asia. U.S. objectives in Southeast Asia cannot be achieved by either economic, political, or military measures alone. All three fields must be integrated into a single, broad U.S. program for Southeast Asia. The measures recommended in this memorandum are a partial contribution to such a program.

8. Currently we and the South Vietnamese are fighting the war on the enemy's terms. He has determined the locale, the timing, and the tactics of the battle while our actions are essentially reactive. One reason for this is the fact that we have obliged ourselves to labor under self-imposed restrictions with respect to impeding external aid to the Viet Cong. These restrictions include keeping the war within the boundaries of South Vietnam, avoiding the direct use of U.S. combat forces, and limiting U.S. direction of the campaign to rendering advice to the Government of Vietnam. These restrictions, while they may make our international position more readily defensible, all tend to make the task in Vietnam more complex, time-consuming, and in the end, more costly. In addition to complicating our own problem, these self-imposed restrictions may well now be conveying signals of irresolution to our enemies—encouraging them to higher levels of vigor and greater risks. A reversal of attitude and the adoption of a more aggressive program would enhance greatly our ability to control the degree to which escalation will occur. It appears probable that the economic and agricultural disappointments suffered by Communist China, plus the current rift with the Soviets, could cause the communists to think twice about undertaking a large-scale military adventure in Southeast Asia.

9. In adverting to actions outside of South Vietnam, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are aware that the focus of the counterinsurgency battle lies in South Vietnam itself, and that the war must certainly be fought and won primarily in the minds of the Vietnamese people. At the same time, the aid now coming to the Viet Cong from outside the country in men, resources, advice, and direction is sufficiently great in the aggregate to be significant—both as help and as encouragement to the Viet Cong. It is our conviction that if support of the insurgency from outside South Vietnam in terms of operational direction, personnel, and material were stopped completely, the character of the war in South Vietnam would be substantially and favorably altered. Because of

this conviction, we are wholly in favor of executing the covert actions against North Vietnam which you have recently proposed to the President. We believe, however, that it would be idle to conclude that these efforts will have a decisive effect on the communist determination to support the insurgency; and it is our view that we must therefore be prepared fully to undertake a much higher level of activity, not only for its beneficial tactical effect, but to make plain our resolution, both to our friends and to our enemies.

10. Accordingly, the Joint Chiefs of Staff consider that the United States must make ready to conduct increasingly bolder actions in Southeast Asia; specifically as to Vietnam to:

a. Assign to the U.S. military commander responsibilities for the total U.S. program in Vietnam.

b. Induce the Government of Vietnam to turn over to the United States military commander, temporarily, the actual tactical direction of the war.

c. Charge the United States military commander with complete responsibility for conduct of the program against North Vietnam.

d. Overfly Laos and Cambodia to whatever extent is necessary for acquisition of operational intelligence.

e. Induce the Government of Vietnam to conduct overt ground operations in Laos of sufficient scope to impede the flow of personnel and material southward.

f. Arm, equip, advise, and support the Government of Vietnam in its conduct of aerial bombing of critical targets in North Vietnam and in mining the sea approaches to that country.

g. Advise and support the Government of Vietnam in its conduct of large-scale commando raids against critical targets in North Vietnam.

h. Conduct aerial bombing of key North Vietnam targets, using U.S. resources under Vietnamese cover, and with the Vietnamese openly assuming responsibility for the actions.

i. Commit additional U.S. forces, as necessary, in support of the combat action within South Vietnam.

j. Commit U.S. forces as necessary in direct actions against North Vietnam.

11. It is our conviction that any or all of the foregoing actions may be required to enhance our position in Southeast Asia. The past few months have disclosed that considerably higher levels of effort are demanded of us if U.S. objectives are to be attained.

12. The governmental reorganization which followed the coup d'etat in Saigon should be completed very soon, giving basis for concluding just how strong the Vietnamese Government is going to be and how much of the load they will be able to bear themselves. Additionally, the five-month dry season, which is just now beginning, will afford the Vietnamese an opportunity to exhibit their ability to reverse the unfavorable situation in the critical Mekong Delta. The Joint Chiefs of Staff will follow these important developments closely and will recommend to you progressively the execution of such of the above actions as are considered militarily required, providing, in each case, their detailed assessment of the risks involved.

13. The Joint Chiefs of Staff consider that the strategic importance of Vietnam and of Southeast Asia warrants preparations for the actions above and recommend that the substance of this memorandum be discussed with the Secretary of State.

2. President Johnson Asserts His War Aims (1965)

On August 2–4, 1964, two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin were reportedly fired on by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. President Johnson, concealing the fact that the destroyers had been engaging in provocative raids on North Vietnam, used the incident to secure from Congress a sweeping mandate for U.S. military intervention (the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution). Then, in February 1965, Viet Cong guerrillas attacked a U.S. base at Pleiku, South Vietnam, and Johnson seized the occasion to begin an enormous escalation of the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia. He ordered virtually continuous bombing of North Vietnam, and sharply increased the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam (to nearly two hundred thousand by the end of 1965). On April 7, 1965, in a major address at Johns Hopkins University, Johnson set forth his reasons for the increasing U.S. commitment. Just two weeks earlier, the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs had noted in a private memorandum that U.S. war aims were "70%—to avoid a humiliating U.S. defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor), 20%—to keep South Vietnam (and the adjacent) territory from Chinese hands, 10%—to permit the people of South Vietnam to enjoy a better, freer way of life. Also—to emerge from crisis without unacceptable taint from methods used. Not—to 'help a friend.'" Was Johnson's speech consistent with that thinking?

. . . Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence.

And I intend to keep that promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well being rests in part on the belief that they can count on us [to honor some forty defensive alliances] if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. . . .

Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves—only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way.

We will do everything necessary to reach that objective and we will do only what is absolutely necessary.

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[2] *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1966), p. 395.

3. The British Prime Minister Criticizes U.S. Bombing (1965)

Operation Rolling Thunder—large-scale bombing raids on North Vietnam—evoked worldwide criticism in 1965. Even U.S. allies grew restive. On June 3, 1965, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson sent the following cable to President Johnson, gently but firmly taking issue with U.S. policy in Vietnam. What did Wilson find most objectionable?

I was most grateful to you for asking Bob McNamara to arrange the very full briefing about the two oil targets near Hanoi and Haiphong that Col. Rogers gave me yesterday. . . .

I know you will not feel that I am either unsympathetic or uncomprehending of the dilemma that this problem presents for you. In particular, I wholly understand the deep concern you must feel at the need to do anything possible to reduce the losses of young Americans in and over Vietnam; and Col. Rogers made it clear to us what care has been taken to plan this operation so as to keep civilian casualties to the minimum.

However, . . . I am bound to say that, as seen from here, the possible military benefits that may result from this bombing do not appear to outweigh the political disadvantages that would seem the inevitable consequence. If you and the South Vietnamese Government were conducting a declared war on the conventional pattern . . . this operation would clearly be necessary and right. But since you have made it abundantly clear—and you know how much we have welcomed and supported this—that your purpose is to achieve a negotiated settlement, and that you are not striving for total military victory in the field, I remain convinced that the bombing of these targets, without producing decisive military advantage, may only increase the difficulty of reaching an eventual settlement. . . .

The last thing I wish is to add to your difficulties, but, as I warned you in my previous message, if this action is taken we shall have to dissociate ourselves from it, and in doing so I should have to say that you had given me advance warning and that I had made my position clear to you. . . .

Nevertheless I want to repeat . . . that our reservations about this operation will not affect our continuing support for your policy over Vietnam, as you and your people have made it clear from your Baltimore speech onwards. But, while this will remain the Government's position, I know that the effect on public opinion in this country—and I believe throughout Western Europe—is likely to be such as to reinforce the existing disquiet and criticism that we have to deal with.

4. Defense Secretary McNamara Foresees a Stalemate (1965)

Despite intense air attacks on North Vietnam, and swelling contingents of U.S. troops, the United States and its South Vietnamese allies made little headway in Vietnam. At home, conservative critics demanded that the military be given a free

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[3] *Pentagon Papers, New York Times* edition (1971), pp. 448–449.

[4] *Pentagon Papers, New York Times* edition (1971), pp. 489–490.

hand to deliver a knockout blow to the Communist forces. The government's policy, however, was to increase its application of force only in carefully measured increments. In an assessment of the war effort in December 1965, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara suggested one reason for this policy of cautious escalation. What did he see as the greatest restraint on U.S. ability to raise the stakes in Vietnam?

. . . We believe that, whether or not major new diplomatic initiatives are made, the U.S. must send a substantial number of additional forces to VN [Vietnam] if we are to avoid being defeated there. (30 Nov program; concurred in by JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff])

IV. Prognosis assuming the recommended deployments

Deployments of the kind we have recommended will not guarantee success. Our intelligence estimate is that the present Communist policy is to continue to prosecute the war vigorously in the South. They continue to believe that the war will be a long one, that time is their ally, and that their own staying power is superior to ours. They recognize that the U.S. reinforcements of 1965 signify a determination to avoid defeat, and that more U.S. troops can be expected. Even though the Communists will continue to suffer heavily from GVN [government of Vietnam] and U.S. ground and air action, we expect them, upon learning of any U.S. intentions to augment its forces, to boost their own commitment and to test U.S. capabilities and will to persevere at higher level of conflict and casualties (U.S. KIA [killed in action] with the recommended deployments can be expected to reach 1000 a month).

If the U.S. were willing to commit enough forces—perhaps 600,000 men or more—we could ultimately prevent the DRV/VC [Democratic Republic of Vietnam/ Viet Cong] from sustaining the conflict at a significant level. When this point was reached, however, the question of Chinese intervention would become critical. (We are generally agreed that the Chinese Communists will intervene with combat forces to prevent destruction of the Communist regime in the DRV. It is less clear whether they would intervene to prevent a DRV/VC defeat in the South.) The intelligence estimate is that the chances are a little better than even that, at this stage, Hanoi and Peiping would choose to reduce the effort in the South and try to salvage their resources for another day; but there is an almost equal chance that they would enlarge the war and bring in large numbers of Chinese forces (they have made certain preparations which could point in this direction).

It follows, therefore, that the odds are about even that, even with the recommended deployments, we will be faced in early 1967 with a military standoff at a much higher level, with pacification still stalled, and with any prospect of military success marred by the chances of an active Chinese intervention. . . .

5. Secretary McNamara Opposes Further Escalation (1966)

By the end of 1966 Vietnam was begining to look like a bottomless pit into which the United States was dumping precious money and more precious men. Secretary of Defense McNamara, one of the original architects of U.S. involvement, was among the

[5] *Pentagon Papers, New York Times* edition (1971), pp. 542–551.

first high-level officials to grow disenchanted with the course of the war. In his report to the president, given here, he gives his increasingly pessimistic assessment of U.S. prospects in Southeast Asia. Such views did not endear him to Johnson, who clung to the hope that the United States could salvage some kind of victory from the Vietnam quagmire, and McNamara soon left the cabinet. But when military men in the spring of 1968 requested an additional 200,000 troops for Vietnam, Johnson at last drew the line. He put a ceiling on U.S. troop commitments, and withdrew from the 1968 presidential race so as to pursue peace more effectively. For Johnson, it was too little too late. There was no peace in 1968 (the war dragged on five more years), and his party lost the White House in that year to the Republican Richard M. Nixon. Nixon soon announced a policy of "Vietnamization"—increasing the role of the Vietnamese in their own war, while simultaneously decreasing the U.S. role. In what ways does McNamara's 1966 report foreshadow Nixon's approach? Why was McNamara pessimistic? What was his view of the bombing operation over North Vietnam?

1. Evaluation of the situation. In the report of my last trip to Vietnam almost a year ago, I stated that the odds were about even that, even with the then-recommended deployments, we would be faced in early 1967 with a military stand-off at a much higher level of conflict and with "pacification" still stalled. I am a little less pessimistic now in one respect. We have done somewhat better militarily than I anticipated. We have by and large blunted the communist military initiative—any military victory in South Vietnam the Viet Cong may have had in mind 18 months ago has been thwarted by our emergency deployments and actions. And our program of bombing the North has exacted a price.

My concern continues, however, in other respects. This is because I see no reasonable way to bring the war to an end soon. Enemy morale has not broken—he apparently has adjusted to our stopping his drive for military victory and has adopted a strategy of keeping us busy and waiting us out (a strategy of attriting our national will). He knows that we have not been, and he believes we probably will not be, able to translate our military successes into the "end products"—broken enemy morale and political achievements by the GVN [government of Vietnam].

The one thing demonstrably going for us in Vietnam over the past year has been the large number of enemy killed-in-action resulting from the big military operations. Allowing for possible exaggeration in reports, the enemy must be taking losses—deaths in and after battle—at the rate of more than 60,000 a year. The infiltration routes would seem to be one-way trails to death for the North Vietnamese. Yet there is no sign of an impending break in enemy morale and it appears that he can more than replace his losses by infiltration from North Vietnam and recruitment in South Vietnam.

Pacification is a bad disappointment. We have good grounds to be pleased by the recent elections, by Ky's 16 months in power, and by the faint signs of development of national political institutions and of a legitimate civil government. But none of this has translated itself into political achievements at Province level or below. Pacification has if anything gone backward. As compared with two, or four, years ago, enemy full-time regional forces and part-time guerrilla forces are larger; attacks, terrorism and sabotage have increased in scope and intensity; more railroads are closed and highways cut; the rice crop expected to come to market is smaller; we control little, if any, more

"We are Winning the War"
The wasteland refrain of Presidents Johnson and Ho in 1967 (Courtesy, the Boston Globe. Cartoonist Paul Szep.)

of the population; the VC political infrastructure thrives in most of the country, continuing to give the enemy his enormous intelligence advantage; full security exists nowhere (not even behind the U.S. Marines' lines and in Saigon); in the countryside, the enemy almost completely controls the night.

Nor has the Rolling Thunder program of bombing the North either significantly affected infiltration or cracked the morale of Hanoi. There is agreement in the intelligence community on these facts. . . .

In essence, we find ourselves—from the point of view of the important war (for the complicity of the people)—no better, and if anything, worse off. This important war must be fought and won by the Vietnamese themselves. We have known this from the beginning. But the discouraging truth is that, as was the case in 1961 and 1963 and 1965, we have not found the formula, the catalyst, for training and inspiring them into effective action.

2. Recommended actions. In such an unpromising state of affairs, what should we do? We must continue to press the enemy militarily; we must make demonstrable progress in pacification; at the same time, we must add a new ingredient forced on us by the facts. Specifically, we must improve our position by getting ourselves into a military posture that we credibly would maintain indefinitely—a posture that makes

The Vietnam Nightmare
(Cartoon by Paul Szep. Courtesy The Swann Collection of Caricatures and Cartoons, Library of Congress.)

trying to "wait us out" less attractive. I recommend a five-pronged course of action to achieve those ends.

a. Stabilize U.S. force-levels in Vietnam. It is my judgment that, barring a dramatic change in the war, we should limit the increase in U.S. forces in SVN in 1967 to 70,000 men and we should level off at the total of 470,000 which such an increase would provide.* It is my view that this is enough to punish the enemy at the large-unit operations level and to keep the enemy's main forces from interrupting pacification. I believe also that even many more than 470,000 would not kill the enemy off in such numbers as to break their morale so long as they think they can wait us out. It is possible that such a 40 percent increase over our present level of 325,000 will break the enemy's morale in the short term; but if it does not, we must, I believe, be prepared for and have underway a long-term program premised on more than breaking the morale of main force units. A stabilized U.S. force level would be part of such a long-term program. It would put us in a position where negotiations would be more likely to be productive, but if they were not we could pursue the all-important pacification task with proper attention and resources and without the spectre of apparently endless escalation of U.S. deployments.

b. Install a barrier. A portion of the 470,000 troops—perhaps 10,000 to 20,000—should be devoted to the construction and maintenance of an infiltration barrier. Such a barrier would lie near the 17th parallel—would run from the sea, across the neck of South Vietnam (choking off the new infiltration routes through the DMZ

*Admiral Sharp has recommended a 12/31/67 strength of 570,000. However, I believe both he and General Westmoreland recognize that the danger of inflation will probably force an end 1967 deployment limit of about 470,000.

[demilitarized zone] and across the trails in Laos. This interdiction system (at an approximate cost of $1 billion) would compromise to the east a ground barrier of fences, wire, sensors, artillery, aircraft and mobile troops; and to the west—mainly in Laos—an interdiction zone covered by air-laid mines and bombing attacks pinpointed by air-laid acoustic sensors.

The barrier may not be fully effective at first, but I believe that it can be effective in time and that even the threat of its becoming effective can substantially change to our advantage the character of the war. It would hinder enemy efforts, would permit more efficient use of the limited number of friendly troops, and would be persuasive evidence both that our sole aim is to protect the South from the North and that we intend to see the job through.

c. Stabilize the Rolling Thunder program against the North. Attack sorties in North Vietnam have risen from about 4,000 per month at the end of last year to 6,000 per month in the first quarter of this year and 12,000 per month at present. Most of our 50 percent increase of deployed attack-capable aircraft has been absorbed in the attacks on North Vietnam. In North Vietnam, almost 84,000 attack sorties have been flown (about 25 percent against fixed targets), 45 percent during the past seven months.

Despite these efforts, it now appears that the North Vietnamese–Laotian road network will remain adequate to meet the requirements of the Communist forces in South Vietnam—this is so even if its capacity could be reduced by one-third and if combat activities were to be doubled. North Vietnam's serious need for trucks, spare parts and petroleum probably can, despite air attacks, be met by imports. The petroleum requirement for trucks involved in the infiltration movement, for example, has not been enough to present significant supply problems, and the effects of the attacks on the petroleum distribution system, while they have not yet been fully assessed, are not expected to cripple the flow of essential supplies. Furthermore, it is clear that, to bomb the North sufficiently to make a radical impact upon Hanoi's political, economic and social structure, would require an effort which we could make but which would not be stomached either by our own people or by world opinion; and it would involve a serious risk of drawing us into open war with China.

The North Vietnamese are paying a price. They have been forced to assign some 300,000 personnel to the lines of communication in order to maintain the critical flow of personnel and material to the South. Now that the lines of communication have been manned, however, it is doubtful that either a large increase or decrease in our interdiction sorties would substantially change the cost to the enemy of maintaining the roads, railroads, and waterways or affect whether they are operational. It follows that the marginal sorties—probably the marginal 1,000 or even 5,000 sorties—per month against the lines of communication no longer have a significant impact on the war. . . .

When this marginal inutility of added sorties against North Vietnam and Laos is compared with the crew and aircraft losses implicit in the activity (four men and aircraft and $20 million per 1,000 sorties), I recommend, as a minimum, against increasing the level of bombing of North Vietnam and against increasing the intensity of operations by changing the areas or kinds of targets struck.

Under these conditions, the bombing program would continue the pressure and would remain available as a bargaining counter to get talks started (or to trade off in

talks). But, as in the case of a stabilized level of U.S. ground forces, the stabilization of Rolling Thunder would remove the prospect of ever escalating bombing as a factor complicating our political posture and distracting from the main job of pacification in South Vietnam.

At the proper time, as discussed . . . below, I believe we should consider terminating bombing in all of North Vietnam, or at least in the Northeast zones, for an indefinite period in connection with covert moves toward peace.

d. Pursue a vigorous pacification program. As mentioned above, the pacification (Revolutionary Development) program has been and is thoroughly stalled. The large-unit operations war, which we know best how to fight and where we have had our successes, is largely irrelevant to pacification as long as we do not lose it. By and large, the people in rural areas believe that the GVN when it comes will not stay but that the VC [Viet Cong] will; that cooperations with the GVN will be punished by the VC; that the GVN is really indifferent to the people's welfare; that the low-level GVN are tools of the local rich; and that the GVN is ridden with corruption.

Success in pacification depends on the interrelated functions of providing physical security, destroying the VC apparatus, motivating the people to cooperate and establishing responsive local government. An obviously necessary but not sufficient requirement for success of the Revolutionary Development cadre and police is vigorously conducted and adequately prolonged clearing operations by military troops, who will "stay" in the area, who behave themselves decently and who show some respect for the people.

This elemental requirement of pacification has been missing.

In almost no contested area designated for pacification in recent years have ARVN [Army of the Republic of Viet Nam] forces actually "cleared and stayed" to a point where cadre teams, if available, could have stayed overnight in hamlets and survived, let alone accomplish their mission. VC units of company and even battalion size remain in operation, and they are more than large enough to overrun anything the local security forces can put up.

Now that the threat of a Communist main-force military victory has been thwarted by our emergency efforts, we must allocate far more attention and a portion of the regular military forces (at least half of the ARVN and perhaps a portion of the U.S. forces) to the task of providing an active and permanent security screen behind which the Revolutionary Development teams and police can operate and behind which the political struggle with the VC infrastructure can take place.

The U.S. cannot do this pacification security job for the Vietnamese. All we can do is "Massage the heart." For one reason, it is known that we do not intend to stay; if our efforts worked at all, it would merely postpone the eventual confrontation of the VC and GVN infrastructures. The GVN must do the job; and I am convinced that drastic reform is needed if the GVN is going to be able to do it. . . .

3. The prognosis. The prognosis is bad that the war can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion within the next two years. The large-unit operations probably will not do it; negotiations probably will not do it. *While we should continue to pursue both of these routes in trying for a solution in the short run, we should recognize that success from them is a mere possibility, not a probability.* [Emphasis in original.]

The solution lies in girding, openly, for a longer war and in taking actions immediately which will in 12 to 18 months give clear evidence that the continuing

costs and risks to the American people are acceptably limited, that the formula for success has been found, and that the end of the war is merely a matter of time. All of my recommendations will contribute to this strategy, but the one most difficult to implement is perhaps the most important one—enlivening the pacification program. The odds are less than even for this task, if only because we have failed consistently since 1961 to make a dent in the problem. But, because the 1967 trend of pacification will, I believe, be the main talisman of ultimate U.S. success or failure in Vietnam, extraordinary imagination and effort should go into changing the stripes of that problem.

President Thieu and Prime Minister Ky are thinking along similar lines. They told me that they do not expect the Enemy to negotiate or to modify his program in less than two years. Rather, they expect that enemy to continue to expand and to increase his activity. They expressed agreement with us that the key to success is pacification and that so far pacification has failed. They agree that we need clarification of GVN and U.S. roles and that the bulk of the ARVN should be shifted to pacification. Ky will, between January and July 1967, shift all ARVN infantry divisions to that role. And he is giving Thang, a good Revolutionary Development director, added powers. Thieu and Ky see this as part of a two-year (1967–68) schedule, in which offensive operations against enemy main force units are continued, carried on primarily by the U.S. and other Free-World forces. At the end of the two-year period, they believe the enemy may be willing to negotiate or to retreat from his current course of action. . . .

6. The Soldiers' War (1966)

Hundreds of thousands of young Americans served in Vietnam; more than fifty thousand lost their lives there during the decade-long conflict (it was the United States' longest war). Much of the fighting was not conventional warfare, with front lines and well-identified foes facing one another. Instead, the Americans faced guerrilla adversaries and their civilian supporters, who were indistinguishable from the "friendly" South Vietnamese. In the absence of a defined front, there was no "rear," and U.S. troops often felt themselves to be adrift in a hostile sea of treacherous enemies. Brutality was inevitable in this kind of environment. Two wartime letters from U.S. servicemen follow. What opinion did the writers have of the war? of their own role in it? of antiwar protesters at home?

Dear Mom, . . .

Yesterday I witnessed something that would make any American realize why we are in this war. At least it did me. I was on daylight patrol. We were on a hill overlooking a bridge that was out of our sector. I saw a platoon of Vietcong stopping traffic from going over the bridge. They were beating women and children over the head with rifles, clubs, and fists. They even shot one woman and her child. They were taking rice, coconuts, fish, and other assorted foods from these people. The ones that didn't give they either beat or shot. I think you know what I tried to do. I wanted to go down and kill all of those slant-eyed bastards. I started to and it took two men to stop me. Those slobs have to be stopped, even if it takes every last believer in a democracy

[6]Glenn Munson, ed., *Letters from Viet Nam* (New York: Parallax Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 104, 118.

and a free way of life to do it. I know after seeing their brave tractics I'm going to try my best. So please don't knock [President] Johnson's policy in Vietnam. There is a good reason for it. I'm not too sure what it is myself, but I'm beginning to realize, especially after yesterday. . . .

Love, *Bill*

How are the people taking to the war in Portland? I've read too much . . . about the way some of those cowardly students are acting on campuses. They sure don't show me much as far as being American citizens. They have the idea that they are our future leaders. Well, I won't follow nobody if he isn't going to help fight for my freedom.

A few weeks ago, I had the chance to talk with some Marines who had come to Okinawa for four (lousy) days of leave. They were more than happy because they had been fighting for six months with no let-up. We sat in a restaurant all the time, and I wish I could have taped it on my recorder. What they had to say would have had an impact on the people back home. One showed me where he had been shot. I asked if it hurt, and he didn't feel it. Not until after he got the _____ that shot him. He was more angry than hurt. They told me of some of their patrols and how they would be talking to a buddy one minute and watch him die the next. Or wake up in the morning and see a friend hung from a tree by hooks in his armpits with parts of his body cut and shoved into his mouth. From what they said, the Vietcong aren't the only ruthless ones. *We* have to be, too. *Have* to. You'd be surprised to know that a guy you went to school with is right now shooting a nine-year-old girl and her mother. He did it because if they got the chance they would kill him. Or throwing a Vietcong out of helicopter because he wouldn't talk.

One guy (who had broke down and cried) and that his one desire is to get enough leave to go home and kick three of those demonstrators in a well-suited place and bring him back. I tell you, it's horrible to read a paper and see your own people aren't backing you up.

E. The Politics of Protest in the 1960s

1. Students for a Democratic Society Issues a Manifesto (1962)

The civil rights struggle and the continuing Cold War inspired many young people who came of age in the 1960s to take a radically critical look at U.S. society—even before the worsening Vietnam imbroglio made radical disenchantment almost fashionable among the young. One of the earliest and most thoughtful expressions of this incipient youthful radicalism was the Port Huron Statement, drafted by Tom Hayden and adopted by the fledgling Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (then in a relatively moderate phase of development) at its national convention at Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962. This statement later proved enormously influential in shaping the political views of many young activists. What aspects of the U.S. situation does it find most deplorable? How truly "radical" are the sentiments it expresses?

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by,

[1] From the Port Huron Statement. Reprinted by permission of Tom Hayden, a founding member of Students for a Democratic Society and principal author of the Port Huron Statement. He was elected to the California legislature in 1982.

and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and because our own subjective concern, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal . . ." rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology—these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority—the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well.

Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repeal the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity—but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world? And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe there *is* an alternative to the present, that something *can* be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government? It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

2. A War Protester Decides to Resist the Draft (1966)

No issue did more to breed disenchantment among young people in the 1960s than the Vietnam War. As revelations spread about the deepening U.S. involvement there, and as the government in Washington proved increasingly unable to justify the conflict to the American public, countless people, especially college youths, expressed their disaffection. For many young men of draft age, their relationship with the Selective Service System became both a political and a moral issue. One young man who decided to resist the draft was David Harris, a former Boy-of-the-Year from Fresno, California, and, in 1966, president of the student body at Stanford University. With his friend Dennis Sweeney—who a decade and a half later would be convicted of murdering former Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, another antiwar activist—Harris helped to organize a draft resistance movement among college students. In the following passage, Harris describes his own decision to become a draft resister. (He would later spend nearly two years in a federal penitentiary as a consequence.) What were his motives? Was he justified in reaching his decision?

The more we learned about the war, the worse it seemed. Late in July, Cooley Street attended a lecture by a Canadian journalist who had just returned from North Vietnam. Dennis and the Channing Street group were at the lecture as well.

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[2]*Dreams Die Hard: Three Men's Journey Through the Sixties* by David Harris. Copyright © 1982 by David Harris. Reprinted by permission of St. Martin's/Marek, New York.

With what amounted to only a fledgling air defense system, explained the journalist, North Vietnam had no hope of turning the American Air Force back. Theoretically, strategic air power destroys the enemy's industrial, logistic, and transportation systems, but North Vietnam possessed little centralized industry and only a rudimentary transportation system. Consequently, the target increasingly became the population itself. The American strategy's starting point was a calculation by Defense Department planners that it took only two Vietnamese to deal with one of their dead countrymen, but one wounded required five. Mass woundings, it was assumed, would tie the enemy's hands, and the American arsenal had developed wounding devices in great variety.

The CBU 46 was a small explosive package stuffed with hundreds of one-inch steel darts, each shaped with fins, designed to "peel off" the outer flesh, make "enlarged wounds," and "shred body organs" before "lodging in the blood vessels." They were dropped a thousand at a time from 30,000 feet. The BLU 52 was 270 pounds of "riot control" chemical that induced vomiting, nausea, and muscle spasms, occasionally fatal to old people and children. The M-36 was an 800-pound casing containing 182 separate "incendiary bomblets," the most horrendous of which were manufactured from phosphorus, commonly lodging in the flesh and continuing to burn for as long as fifteen days, causing its victims' wounds to glow with an eerie green light.

The two antipersonal weapons then in most common use were versions of the BLU 24/26. The "pineapple bomb" was the earliest model. A yellow cylinder, it contained 250 steel ball-bearing pellets packed around an explosive charge. On impact, its pellets fired out horizontally. A batch of a thousand pineapples would cover an area the size of four football fields, leaving anything above ground level a casualty. The "guava bomb" was the pineapple's successor. Gray and round, it doubled the number of pellets and had a fuse that let it either explode at a set altitude or on impact. Since it fired its pellets diagonally instead of on the horizontal, the Guava also fired into the holes where people might be hiding.

After the program was over, we all decided to proceed to a place we called End of the World Beach. It was the edge of a causeway supporting the eastern approach to the Dunbarton Bridge, where beer bottles, old tires, two-by-fours, tennis shoes, condoms, dead fish, and seaweed were strung out for half a mile. It captured the devastation still haunting everyone's thinking. At one point, Dennis and I stood next to each other, staring across the refuse at the blinking lights of civilization on the other side of the bay.

Without looking at Dennis, I spoke up.

"You know," I said, "those bastards have got to be stopped."

When I turned to Sweeney, he was nodding his head like he knew exactly what I meant.

Three weeks later I sat at my typewriter and wrote local Draft Board 71 in Fresno, California, a letter "To whom it may concern." I enclosed a Selective Service classification card indicating that the bearer, David Victor Harris, possessed a student deferment. The letter informed my draft board that I could no longer in good conscience carry the enclosed document or accept the deferment it signified. It was a privilege I found unwarranted for any student. It also signified tacit assent on my part for both the task the Selective Service System was performing and the power it had assumed over my life. Being even implicitly a party to the destruction of Indochina

was not part of my plans. If they ordered me for induction, I warned them, I would refuse to comply.

I feel as though I have explained that act of defiance a million times in the intervening years without ever quite capturing it. The repetition eventually burdened my explanation with a shell of distance and matter-of-factness that distorts what I did. It was an act of wonderment and impulse, taken in the calmest and most practical frame of mind. I was prepared to abandon what seemed a promising future and pit myself against the war one on one, believing I would redeem my country and realize myself in the process. It seemed that to do anything else would have dishonored both. There was nothing matter-of-fact or distant about it that August. I took my life in my hands and it was the bravest I have ever been. It was also, I think, the most right. That I have never doubted. Times change and I am no longer the same person, but my past and I are still directly related.

I remember mailing that letter at the mailbox next to the neighborhood store, scuffing along in the dust at the road edge, wearing Levis, moccasins, and a brown khaki work shirt. My moustache had become a full beard and my hair covered the top of my ears. I was both frightened and exhilarated. The last barrier was down. Henceforth, I was my own soldier advancing in my own kind of war.

My adrenaline didn't diminish until long after midnight. Lying in my bed, I pictured the penitentiary as a very cold and lonely place that I planned to endure for the sake of us all.

3. George Kennan Chastises the Student Left (1968)

George F. Kennan, the noted scholar, Soviet specialist, and diplomat (see p. 361), gave a controversial speech at the ceremonies dedicating a new library at Swarthmore College on December 11, 1967. Later published as "Rebels without a Program," Kennan's remarks drew angry responses from many student activists and their (mostly junior) faculty allies. Kennan later replied to his critics in the book from which the following selections are taken. Written in the tumultuous year of 1968, which saw the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., riots in the black ghettos of several cities, and increasingly disruptive antiwar protests on many college campuses, Kennan's opinions are perhaps most remarkable for their comparatively calm, reasoned tone. Many other members of his generation were far less restrained in their hostility to the radical student left. (At Kent State University, in Ohio, National Guardsmen in the spring of 1970 fired at a group of antiwar demonstrators, killing four students; President Nixon shortly thereafter referred to student protesters as "bums.") Yet Kennan makes clear his abundant disagreement with the motives, methods, and goals of the student left. What did he find most objectionable? How fair is his criticism? On what matters did he agree with the student radicals?

The world seems to be full, today, of embattled students. The public prints are seldom devoid of the record of their activities. Photographs of them may be seen daily:

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[3]George F. Kennan, *Democracy and the Student Left* (1968), pp. 7–9, 17–18, 224–227. Reprinted by permission of Harriet Wasserman Literary Agency, as agent for the author. Copyright © 1968 by George F. Kennan.

screaming, throwing stones, breaking windows, overturning cars, being beaten or dragged about by police and, in the case of those on other continents, burning libraries. That these people are embattled is unquestionable. That they are really students, I must be permitted to doubt. I have heard it freely confessed by members of the revolutionary student generation of Tsarist Russia that, proud as they were of the revolutionary exploits of their youth, they never really learned anything in their university years; they were too busy with politics. The fact of the matter is that the state of being *enragé* is simply incompatible with fruitful study. It implies a degree of existing emotional and intellectual commitment which leaves little room for open-minded curiosity.

I am not saying that students should not be concerned, should not have views, should not question what goes on in the field of national policy and should not voice their questions about it. Some of us, who are older, share many of thieir misgivings, many of their impulses. Some of us have no less lively a sense of the dangers of the time, and are no happier than they are about a great many things that are now going on. But it lies within the power as well as the duty of all of us to recognize not only the possibility that we might be wrong but the virtual certainty that on some occasions we are bound to be. The fact that this is so does not absolve us from the duty of having views and putting them foward. But it does make it incumbent upon us to recognize the element of doubt that still surrounds the correctness of these views. And if we do that, we will not be able to lose ourselves in transports of moral indignation against those who are of opposite opinion and follow a different line; we will put our views forward only with a prayer for forgiveness for the event that we prove to be mistaken.

I am aware that inhibitions and restraints of this sort on the part of us older people would be attributed by many members of the student left to a sweeping corruption of our moral integrity. Life, they would hold, has impelled us to the making of compromises; and these compromises have destroyed the usefulness of our contribution. Crippled by our own cowardice, prisoners of the seamy adjustments we have made in order to be successfully a part of the American establishment, we are regarded as no longer capable of looking steadily into the strong clear light of truth.

In this, as in most of the reproaches with which our children shower us, there is of course an element of justification. There is a point somewhere along the way in most of our adult lives, admittedly, when enthusiasms flag, when idealism becomes tempered, when responsibility to others, and even affection for others, compels greater attention to the mundane demands of private life. There is a point when we are even impelled to place the needs of children ahead of the dictates of a defiant idealism, and to devote ourselves, pusillanimously, if you will, to the support and rearing of these same children—precisely in order that at some future date they may have the privilege of turning upon us and despising us for the materialistic faintheartedness that made their maturity possible. This, no doubt, is the nature of the compromise that millions of us make with the imperfections of government and society in our time. Many of us could wish that it might have been otherwise—that the idealistic pursuit of public causes might have remained our exclusive dedication down into later life. . . .

. . . Some people, who accept our political system, believe that they have a right to disregard it and to violate the laws that have flowed from it so long as they are

prepared, as a matter of conscience, to accept the penalties established for such behavior.

I am sorry; I cannot agree. The violation of law is not, in the moral and philosophic sense, a privilege that lies offered for sale with a given price tag, like an object in a supermarket, available to anyone who has the price and is willing to pay for it. It is not like the privilege of breaking crockery in a tent at the county fair for a quarter a shot. Respect for the law is not an obligation which is exhausted or obliterated by willingness to accept the penalty for breaking it.

To hold otherwise would be to place the privilege of lawbreaking preferentially in the hands of the affluent, to make respect for law a commercial proposition rather than a civic duty and to deny any authority of law independent of the sanctions established against its violation. It would then be all right for a man to create false fire alarms or frivolously to pull the emergency cord on the train, or to do any number of other things that endangered or inconvenienced other people, provided only he was prepared to accept the penalties of so doing. Surely, lawlessness and civil disobedience cannot be condoned or tolerated on this ground; and those of us who care for the good order of society have no choice but to resist attempts at its violation, when this is their only justification. . . .

I said at the outset of this treatise that it would not be addressed to the students themselves. But perhaps I may attempt now, in conclusion, to sum up what I might say to a composite student activist if I had him before me and if he would listen that long. It would be something like this:

> I am not as critical of you, when all is said and done, as you think. There is much to be said on your side. Our society *is* endangered. So is world peace. So, indeed, is the very survival of Western civilization—in both the spiritual and physical sense. For all of this your government, and the generation which has supported that government, bear a heavy measure of responsibility. You may well have a sense of grievance over the fact that you have been propelled into such a world.
>
> Your understanding, on the other hand, both of what it is that is wrong and of the elements of responsibility involved, is shallow and inadequate—lacking in historical depth, lacking in understanding for what the human predicament really is, lacking in appreciation for the element of tragedy in human affairs, lacking in feeling for the importance of such things as continuity, custom and familiarity as components in any process of mass adjustment to new conditions. That is why I made the suggestion that so many of you resented: that you take advantage of the opportunity you have now, at college, and will never have again, to do some studying and to deepen understanding in all these respects, so that when you do come to a responsible involvement in public affairs you will be better prepared for it. So long as your analysis of the problem is shallow, the remedies that commend themselves to you are almost bound to suffer from the same distortion, and they are not likely to be effective.
>
> I recognize that the draft, more than any other single factor, causes you to feel that it is not you who have involved yourselves in the affairs of the government, but the government that has involved you. I concede your point, here, and give you my sympathy. I would ask you, however, not to exaggerate and overdramatize your plight. It will not be made easier by your doing so. And I think you should not make such heavy sledding of it from the standpoint of conscience. It was not you who started this war; it is not really you who can stop it. The decision is not yours, nor is the responsibility.
>
> If you are drafted and unhappy about it, I do not think you should go to prison or flee the country. I think it would be in order for you to tell your draft board, without disrespect, that you consider this a foolish and unjust war, and that you go under protest, without enthusiasm, only as a mark of respect for what your country once was and could

someday again be. But I don't think you should defy completely the decision of your government, however foolish and shortsighted, that brings you before that board. To be so lacking in patience is not fair to the country, as a political entity of nearly two hundred years' standing; it is not fair to all the people who are struggling in other, and perhaps more effective, ways for things you care about; just as Thoreau's futile gesture of spending a night by his own insistence in the little Concord jail was scarcely fair to his friends in the New England abolitionist movement who were moving in other ways, and more effective ones, to achieve the same ends, and to whom his gesture came as an unnecessary reproach and claim to moral superiority.

It is perhaps not fair to ask of you that you try to recognize in yourselves the children of a generation of people disoriented by a process of technological change far too sudden and precipitous for human power of adaptation. Such a burden of self-recognition is not usually placed upon people of your age. But you will be well advised to attempt the feat. And if you attempt it, you will draw the consequence: which will be a feeling of less anger and more sadness; of less self-righteousness and greater understanding and pity for others; of a greater patience, relaxation, resignation and good humor in the face of the ordeals and choices with which our society now confronts you.

Thought Provokers

1. Was the Cuban missile crisis a turning point in the Cold War? Who actually "won" the confrontation over the missiles? Was President Kennedy's diplomacy in the crisis courageous or foolhardy?
2. In what ways was Lyndon Johnson an innovative political leader? What did the Great Society program owe to the New Deal? Can the United States afford the kinds of programs that Johnson dreamed of?
3. Was Martin Luther King, Jr., a "radical"? King took part of his inspiration from the nonviolent tactics of Mohandas Gandhi's campaign for independence in India. What conditions are necessary for nonviolence to succeed as a political technique? Who deserves more credit for the civil rights advances of the 1960s, Martin Luther King or Lyndon Baines Johnson?
4. Why did the United States become involved in Vietnam? Why did it fight the war in the gradually escalating way that it did? Why did the war last so long? In what ways did the Vietnam imbroglio alter the U.S. role in the world?
5. Why did a radical movement well up in the 1960s? How truly radical was it? What legacy has the 1960s movement left behind? Are the issues on which it focused dead?

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The Stalemated Seventies

I pledge to you the new leadership will end the war and win the peace in the Pacific.

Presidential Candidate Richard Nixon, 1968

Prologue: Richard Nixon, elected by a minority of voters in the bitterly contested election of 1968, gave his highest priority to foreign affairs, especially to ending the war in Vietnam. He sought "peace with honor"—a combination that took him nearly five years to achieve. When Nixon sent U.S. troops into Cambodia in the spring of 1970, the nation's already seething college campuses erupted. Nixon weathered the subsequent storm of unpopularity and finally succeeded in extricating the United States from Vietnam. In the process he established diplomatic contact with the People's Republic of China and initiated a period of *détente*, or relaxed relations, with the Soviet Union. Nixon also had the opportunity to appoint several Supreme Court justices. He expected them to share his conservative judicial philosophy, which emphasized "law and order" and frowned on the kind of judicial activism on behalf of minorities that had characterized the court in the 1950s and 1960s under Chief Justice Earl Warren. Nixon handily won reelection in 1972 but was soon ensnared in a controversy concerning his role in a break-in at the Democratic party offices in Washington's Watergate apartment complex. Threatened with formal impeachment and trial, Nixon resigned the presidency in August 1974. Gerald Ford, who had been appointed vice-president after Nixon's original running mate, Spiro Agnew, had resigned amid scandalous accusations, became the first person ever elevated to the presidency solely by act of Congress. He speedily lost the public's confidence when he extended an unconditional pardon to the fallen Nixon. Little-known Jimmy Carter of Georgia, promising that he "would never lie," capitalized on public disgust with Nixon and Ford to win the presidency in 1976. But Carter, though intelligent and well-meaning, seemed unable to master the art of exercising the power of the presidency. He negotiated an arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union but failed to secure its approval by the Senate. He scored some diplomatic gains in arranging for the peaceful relinquishment of the Panama Canal and in facilitating the peace process in the Middle East. But his presidency was soon engulfed by the problems of runaway inflation, a global energy crisis, and the capture of some fifty American hostages by Iranian revolutionaries. Crippled by these blows, Carter was no match for Ronald Reagan, the attractive, conservative candidate nominated by the Republicans in 1980.

A. Nixon's Cambodian Coup

1. The President Defends His Incursion (1970)

Nixon's scheme for ending the Vietnam War and winning the peace came to be known as Vietnamization. Pursuant to his "Guam Doctrine" or "Nixon Doctrine" of turning over Asia's wars to Asians, he announced on November 3, 1969, that he would gradually withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam in the expectation that an ever-stronger South Vietnam would take up the slack and hold its own. On April 30, 1970, Nixon dramatically appeared on nationwide television. Pointing out that areas along the border of supposedly neutral Cambodia were being used as hideouts from which enemy troops had long been attacking U.S. and South Vietnamese forces, Nixon announced that he was taking steps to wipe out these sanctuaries. Which of the reasons that he gives for doing so seem the most valid and which the least valid? How could an extension of the fighting save American lives?

Cambodia . . . has sent out a call to the United States, to a number of other nations, for assistance. Because if this enemy effort succeeds, Cambodia would become a vast enemy staging area and a springboard for attacks on South Vietnam along 600 miles of frontier—a refuge where enemy troops could return from combat without fear of retaliation.

North Vietnamese men and supplies could then be poured into that country, jeopardizing not only the lives of our own men but the people of South Vietnam as well.

Now confronted with this situation, we have three options.

First, we can do nothing. Well, the ultimate result of that course of action is clear. Unless we indulge in wishful thinking, the lives of Americans remaining in Vietnam after our next withdrawal of 10,000 would be gravely threatened. . . .

Our second choice is to provide massive military assistance to Cambodia itself. Now unfortunately, while we deeply sympathize with the plight of 7 million Cambodians whose country is being invaded, massive amounts of military assistance could not be rapidly and effectively utilized by the small Cambodian Army against the immediate threat. . . .

Our third choice is to go to the heart of the trouble. That means cleaning out major North Vietnamese and Vietcong occupied territories, these sanctuaries which serve as bases for attacks on both Cambodia and American and South Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. Some of these, incidentally, are as close to Saigon as Baltimore is to Washington. . . .

In cooperation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border. . . .

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw. . . .

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[1] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 6 (1970): 597 ff.

(Courtesy Buffalo Evening News, *Cartoonist Bruce Shanks.)*

Now let me give you the reasons for my decision.

A majority of the American people, a majority of you listening to me, are for the withdrawal of our forces from Vietnam. The action I have taken tonight is indispensable for the continuing success of that withdrawal program.

A majority of the American people want to end this war rather than to have it drag on interminably. The action I have taken tonight will serve that purpose.

A majority of the American people want to keep the casualties of our brave men in Vietnam at an absolute minimum. The action I take tonight is essential if we are to accomplish that goal.

We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam and winning the just peace we all desire. We have made and we will continue to make every possible effort to end this war through negotiation at the conference table rather than through more fighting on the battlefield. . . .

Tonight, I again warn the North Vietnamese that if they continue to escalate the fighting when the United States is withdrawing its forces, I shall meet my responsibility as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces to take the action I consider necessary to defend the security of our American men.

The action that I have announced tonight puts the leaders of North Vietnam on notice that we will be patient in working for peace, we will be conciliatory at the conference table, but we will not be humiliated. We will not be defeated. We will not allow American men by the thousands to be killed by an enemy from privileged sanctuaries. . . .

If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.

It is not our power but our will and character that is being tested tonight. The question all Americans must ask and answer tonight is this: Does the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world have the character to meet a direct challenge by a group which rejects every effort to win a just peace, ignores our warning, tramples on solemn agreements, violates the neutrality of an unarmed people, and uses our prisoners as hostages?

If we fail to meet this challenge, all other nations will be on notice that despite its overwhelming power the United States, when a real crisis comes, will be found wanting.

During my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to bring Americans home from Vietnam. They are coming home.

I promised to end this war. I shall keep that promise.

I promised to win a just peace. I shall keep that promise.

We shall avoid a wider war. But we are also determined to put an end to this war.

2. *The St. Louis* Post-Dispatch *Dissents (1970)*

The sudden invasion of "neutral" Cambodia by U.S. troops, at a time when Nixon was supposedly winding down the war rather than widening it, provoked an angry uproar in the United States. No doubt taken aback by the furor, Nixon gave assurances that U.S. forces would withdraw within two months (as they did) and penetrate no farther than about twenty miles (which they did). Some stores of rice, arms, and trucks were captured. The assumption was that the enemy forces would return, as they did, when the Americans left. Nixon was widely upbraided for having turned the Vietnam War into an Indochina war (which to a degree it already was), and this charge was redoubled when, in February 1971, a U.S.-supported South Vietnamese force invaded Laos and was quickly driven back. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *a prominent Democratic newspaper, found the Cambodian incursion illogical and deceptive. Which of its various criticisms seems most trenchant in the light of subsequent events?*

President Nixon now has his own Indochina war and his own credibility gap. Neither one is inherited any longer. In asking the American people to support the expansion of the Vietnam war to Cambodia, as he has already expanded it to Laos, he asks them to believe the same false promises which have repeatedly betrayed them against their will into ever deeper involvement on the mainland of Asia.

They are asked to seek peace by making war; to seek withdrawal of our troops by enlarging the arena of combat; to diminish American casualties by sending more young men to their death; to save the lives of 450,000 American troops by one more round of escalation. And all this Mr. Nixon asks in the name of preserving the credibility of America as a great power!

Such an exercise in double-think and double-talk would be unbelievable if the whole nation had not seen an uneasy President floundering in illogic and misrepresentation before its very eyes. It is still hard to understand how a President who saw

[2] St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* May 3, 1970. By permission of the publisher.

his predecessor destroyed by manipulating the people into an unwanted war would now attempt to manipulate them into enlarging the war he promised to end.

When all of Mr. Nixon's patchwork rationalizations are stripped away, it is quite clear what has happened. His policy of Vietnamization is a failure. It always was a fatuous assumption that as American troops withdrew the South Vietnamese would become stronger and Hanoi would be intimidated into accepting defeat. Now that the assumption has been exposed as false—now that the Communists refuse to give up fighting on Mr. Nixon's command—the Pentagon has sold him the bill of goods that escalation will rescue a bankrupt policy.

It is the same bill of goods, slightly worn, that the generals sold Lyndon Johnson. First they promised that a merciless air war would bring Hanoi to its knees; and it didn't. Then, 500,000 ground troops would cow the Viet Cong; and they didn't. Now, "cleaning out" the bases on the Cambodian border, which our forces have lived with for five years, will suddenly win the war—and who can believe, honestly, that it will?

Nor can rational men honestly believe that sending American troops into Cambodia is necessary to save the lives of our garrison in Vietnam. The 450,000 men there, equipped and armed to the hilt, are perfectly able to protect themselves and Mr. Nixon knows it. So he fuzzes up the argument by saying that the object is to protect the lives of those Americans who will be left in Vietnam after mid-1971, when the current withdrawal schedule has been fulfilled.

This adds up to an interesting confession that Mr. Nixon intends to leave some 300,000 troops in Vietnam after his third year in office, but it is no more persuasive than the other. The plain truth is that Vietnamization has failed, the withdrawal schedule is threatened, Mr. Nixon because of his marriage to the Thieu-Ky regime [in South Vietnam] refuses to negotiate a compromise political settlement, and so he buys the old, battered nostrum of escalation. . . .

It is no wonder that moderate and thoughtful men like Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon are coming to the conclusion that the only way left to carry out the public will is to exercise the constitutional powers of Congress in a way that guarantees an end to the war. . . . Senator Hatfield is proposing that Congress stipulate a cut-off date after which no more funds will be appropriated for military operations in Indochina.

We favor such a measure. The cut-off date could be set far enough ahead to avoid any perils of precipitate withdrawal. It would not interfere with, but would reinforce, an orderly and secure disengagement. It would do no more than to write into law what Mr. Nixon claims to be his policy of ending the war. Its most immediate effect, we imagine, would be to compel Mr. Nixon to negotiate a reasonable political settlement based on a coalition government, to be followed by elections in which the Vietnamese people determine their own future. And what is wrong with that?

3. Kissinger Dissects the Dissenters

Henry Kissinger, a brilliant, German-born former Harvard professor, was serving in 1970 as President Nixon's national security assistant—a powerful position from which he exerted great influence on foreign policy. (He would later exercise still more

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[3] From *White House Years*, by Henry Kissinger. Copyright © 1979 by Henry A. Kissinger. By permission of Little, Brown and Company.

power as secretary of state in both the second Nixon administration and the short-lived Ford administration.) In the following passage from his memoirs, he offers his view of the antiwar protesters who convulsed the country in the wake of the Cambodian incursion. How does he judge the behavior of the Nixon administration toward the protesters? What is his assessment of their motives? of their effect on policy? What did the crisis do to his relations with his one-time academic colleagues?

. . . I had entered government with the hope that I could help heal the schisms in my adopted country by working to end the war. I sympathized with the anguish of the students eager to live the American dream of a world where ideas prevailed by their purity without the ambiguities of recourse to power. The war in Vietnam was the first conflict shown on television and reported by a largely hostile press. The squalor and suffering and confusion inseparable from any war became part of the living experience of Americans; too many ascribed its agony to the defects of their own leaders.

Repellent as I found the self-righteousness and brutality of some protestors, I had a special feeling for the students. They had been brought up by skeptics, relativists, and psychiatrists; now they were rudderless in a world from which they demanded certainty without sacrifice. My generation had failed them by encouraging self-indulgence and neglecting to provide roots. I spent a disproportionate amount of time in the next months with student groups—ten in May alone. I met with protesters at private homes. I listened, explained, argued. But my sympathy for their anguish could not obscure my obligation to my country as I saw it. They were, in my view, as wrong as they were passionate. Their pressures delayed the end of the war, not accelerated it; their simplifications did not bring closer the peace, of the yearning for which they had no monopoly. Emotion was not a policy. We had to end the war, but in conditions that did not undermine America's power to help build the new international order upon which the future of even the most enraged depended. . . .

. . . The President's statements, oscillating between the maudlin and the strident, did not help in a volatile situation where everything was capable of misinterpretation. His May 1 off-the-cuff reference to "bums . . . blowing up campuses," a gibe overheard by reporters during a visit to the Pentagon, was a needless challenge, although it was intended to refer only to a tiny group of students who had firebombed a building and burned the life's research of a Stanford professor. When on May 4, four students at Kent State University were killed by rifle fire from National Guardsmen dispatched by Ohio Governor James Rhodes to keep order during several days of violence, there was a shock wave that brought the nation and its leadership close to psychological exhaustion.

The Administration responded with a statement of extraordinary insensitivity. Ron Ziegler was told to say that the killings "should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy."

The momentum of student strikes and protests accelerated immediately. Campus unrest and violence overtook the Cambodian operation itself as the major issue before the public. Washington took on the character of a besieged city. A pinnacle of mass public protest was reached by May 9 when a crowd estimated at between 75,000 and 100,000 demonstrated on a hot Saturday afternoon on the Ellipse, the park to the south of the White House. Police surrounded the White House; a ring of sixty buses was used to shield the grounds of the President's home. . . .

All this accelerated the processes of disenchantment. Conservatives were de-

moralized by a war that had turned into a retreat and liberals were paralyzed by what they themselves had wrought—for they could not completely repress the knowledge that it was a liberal Administration that had sent half a million Americans to Indochina. They were equally reluctant to face the implications of their past actions or to exert any serious effort to maintain calm. There was a headlong retreat from responsibility. Extraordinarily enough, all groups, dissenters and others, passed the buck to the Presidency. It was a great joke for undergraduates when one senior professor proclaimed "the way to get out of Vietnam is by ship." The practical consequence was that in the absence of any serious alternative the government was left with only its own policy or capitulation.

The very fabric of government was falling apart. The Executive Branch was shell-shocked. After all, their children and their friends' children took part in the demonstrations. Some two hundred and fifty State Department employees, including fifty Foreign Service Officers, signed a statement objecting to Administration policy. The ill-concealed disagreement of Cabinet members showed that the Executive Branch was nearly as divided as the country. Interior Secretary Walter Hickel protested in public. The *New York Times* on May 9 reported that the Secretary of State had prohibited any speculation on his own attitude—hardly a ringing endorsement of the President. A group of employees seized the Peace Corps building and flew a Viet Cong flag from it. Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, refused to disagree publicly with his President and old friend—as indeed he did privately—and a large number of his officials occupied the department's auditorium in protest. The President saw himself as the firm rock in this rushing stream, but the turmoil had its effect on him as well. Pretending indifference, he was deeply wounded by the hatred of the protestors. He would have given a great deal to gain a measure of the affection in which the students held the envied and admired Kennedys. In his ambivalence Nixon reached a point of exhaustion that caused his advisers deep concern. His awkward visit to the Lincoln Memorial to meet students at 5:00 A.M. on May 9 was only the tip of the psychological iceberg.

Exhaustion was the hallmark of us all. I had to move from my apartment ringed by protesters into the basement of the White House to get some sleep. Despite the need to coordinate the management of the crisis, much of my own time was spent with unhappy, nearly panicky, colleagues; even more with student and colleague demonstrators. I talked at some length to Brian McDonnell and Thomas Mahoney, two young pacifists who announced they would fast in Lafayette Park until all American troops had been withdrawn. I talked in the Situation Room with groups of students from various colleges and graduate schools about the root causes, as I saw them, of their despair, which I thought deeper than anxiety about the war.

I found these discussions with students rather more rewarding than those with their protesting teachers. When I had lunch in the Situation Room with a group of Harvard professors, most of whom had held high governmental posts, at their request, I offered to engage in a candid discussion of the reasoning behind the decision, but on an off-the-record basis. Most had been my close colleagues and friends. They would not accept this offer. They were there not as eminent academicians but as political figures representing a constituency at home, a campus inflamed by the Kent State tragedy as much as by the war. They had proclaimed to the newspapers beforehand—but not to me—that they were there to confront me; they announced that they would henceforth refuse any research or advisory relationship with the government.

Their objections to the Cambodian decision illustrated that hyperbole was not confined to the Administration. One distinguished professor gave it as his considered analysis that "somebody had forgotten to tell the President that Cambodia was a country; he acted as if he didn't know this. Had we undertaken a large commitment to Cambodia? If we had, this was rotten foreign policy. If we hadn't, this was rotten foreign policy." He was convinced that this action "clearly jeopardized American withdrawals"—though in fact it did the opposite. This professor was prepared to believe, on the basis of no evidence whatsoever, that Secretary of Defense Laird had been unaware of the military operations before the President announced them. He held the amazing view that "it was a gamble that shouldn't have been taken even if it succeeds on its own terms." Others said the decision was "incomprehensible," "more horrible than anything done by LBJ," "dreadful." One professor advanced the extraordinary hypothesis that an operation lasting eight weeks to a distance of twenty-one miles might lead our military commanders to believe that the use of nuclear weapons was now conceivable. Another declared that we had provoked all the actions of the other side.

The meeting completed my transition from the academic world to the world of affairs. These were the leaders of their fields; men who had been my friends, academicians whose lifetime of study should have encouraged a sense of perspective. That they disagreed with our decision was understandable; I had myself gone through a long process of hesitation before I became convinced that there was no alternative. But the lack of compassion, the overweening righteousness, the refusal to offer an alternative, reinforced two convictions: that for the internal peace of our country the war had to be ended, but also that in doing so on terms compatible with any international responsibility we would get no help from those with whom I had spent my professional life. The wounds would have to be healed after the war was over; in the event, these were not.

Cambodia was *not* a moral issue; neither Nixon nor his opponents should ever have presented it in those terms. What we faced was an essentially tactical choice: whether the use of American troops to neutralize the sanctuaries for a period of eight weeks was the best way to maintain the established pace and security of our exit from Vietnam and prevent Hanoi from overrunning Indochina. Reasonable men might differ; instead, rational discussion ended. The President's presentation that elevated his decision to the same level of crisis as some of the crucial choices of World War II was countered by the critics with the image of an out-of-control President acting totally irrationally, who had provoked the enemy and whose actions were immoral even if they *succeeded*.

But it was not the incursion into Cambodia that was the real subject of debate. It was the same issue that had torn the country during the Moratorium the previous year: whether there were any terms that the United States should insist on for its honor, its world position, and the sacrifices already made, or whether it should collapse its effort immediately and unconditionally. A political settlement as urged by Senator Fulbright—other than the quick imposition of a Communist government in Saigon—was precisely what Hanoi had always rejected, as Le Duc Tho had confirmed to me in the most unqualified terms not three weeks earlier. What none of the moderate critics was willing to admit was that if we followed their recommendations of refusing aid to Cambodia, we would soon have no choice but to accept Hanoi's terms, which none of them supported. Our opponents kept proclaiming an assumption for which there did

not exist the slightest evidence—that there was some unspecified political alternative, some magic formula of neutrality, which was being willfully spurned. The panicky decision to set a June 30 deadline for the removal of our forces from Cambodia was one concrete result of public pressures. . . .

Unfortunately, the arguments for a withdrawal deadline had not improved with age. Either the deadline was compatible with Vietnamization, in which case it coincided with our own policy but would deprive us of negotiating leverage. Or it was arbitrary, in which case it was euphemism for a collapse; and it would have been nearly impossible to justify risking lives in the interval before the deadline expired. So we ended the Cambodia operation still on the long route out of Vietnam, confronting an implacable enemy and an equally implacable domestic opposition.

B. Winding Down the Vietnam War

1. Nixon's Grand Plan in Foreign Policy (1968–1969)

Richard Nixon built his prepresidential career on a strong reputation as a hawkish cold warrior—and thus, ironically, he was in a particularly favorable position to bring some thaw to the chilly Cold War. As a certified conservative, he had a freedom of maneuver that would not have been available to a liberal Democrat, who would have been vulnerable to criticism from the very right wing that Nixon could easily control. Nixon shrewdly saw the implications of the split between China and the Soviet Union that had developed in the 1960s, and he was determined to turn that split to U.S. advantage. In the following passage from his memoirs, Nixon describes his thinking about global affairs as he embarked upon his presidency. What does he mean when he says that "the key to a Vietnam settlement lay in Moscow and Peking rather than in Hanoi"?

In the late 1940s and during the 1950s I had seen communism spread to China and other parts of Asia, and to Africa and South America, under the camouflage of parties of socialist revolution, or under the guise of wars of national liberation. And, finally, during the 1960s I had watched as Peking and Moscow became rivals for the role of leadership in the Communist world.

Never once in my career have I doubted that the Communists mean it when they say that their goal is to bring the world under Communist control. Nor have I ever forgotten Whittaker Chambers's chilling comment that when he left communism, he had the feeling he was leaving the winning side. But unlike some anticommunists who think we should refuse to recognize or deal with the Communists lest in doing so we imply or extend an ideological respectability to their philosophy and their system, I have always believed that we can and must communicate and, when possible, negotiate with Communist nations. They are too powerful to ignore. We must always remember that they will never act out of altruism, but only out of self-interest. Once this is

[1] Reprinted by permission of Grosset and Dunlap, Inc. from *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon,* copyright © 1978 by Richard Nixon.

understood, it is more sensible—and also safer—to communicate with the Communists than it is to live in icy cold-war isolation or confrontation. In fact, in January 1969 I felt the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union would probably be the single most important factor in determining whether the world would live at peace during and after my administration.

I felt that we had allowed ourselves to get in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis the Soviets. They had a major presence in the Arab states of the Middle East, while we had none; they had Castro in Cuba; since the mid-1960s they had supplanted the Chinese as the principal military suppliers of North Vietnam; and except for Tito's Yugoslavia they still totally controlled Eastern Europe and threatened the stability and security of Western Europe.

There were, however, a few things in our favor. The most important and interesting was the Soviet split with China. There was also some evidence of growing, albeit limited, independence in some of the satellite nations. There were indications that the Soviet leaders were becoming interested in reaching an agreement on strategic arms limitation. They also appeared to be ready to hold serious talks on the anomalous situation in Berlin, which, almost a quarter century after the war had ended, was still a divided city and a constant source of tension, not just between the Soviets and the United States, but also between the Soviets and Western Europe. We sensed that they were looking for a face-saving formula that would lessen the risk of confrontation in the Mideast. And we had some solid evidence that they were anxious for an expansion of trade.

It was often said that the key to a Vietnam settlement lay in Moscow and Peking rather than in Hanoi. Without continuous and massive aid from either or both of the Communist giants, the leaders of North Vietnam would not have been able to carry on the war for more than a few months. Thanks to the Sino-Soviet split, however, the North Vietnamese had been extremely successful in playing off the Soviets and the Chinese against each other by turning support for their war effort into a touchstone of Communist orthodoxy and a requisite for keeping North Vietnam from settling into the opposing camp in the struggle for domination within the Communist world. This situation became a strain, particularly for the Soviets. Aside from wanting to keep Hanoi from going over to Peking, Moscow had little stake in the outcome of the North Vietnamese cause, especially as it increasingly worked against Moscow's own major interests vis-à-vis the United States. While I understood that the Soviets were not entirely free agents where their support for North Vietnam was concerned, I nonetheless planned to bring maximum pressure to bear on them in this area.

I was sure that Brezhnev and Kosygin had been no more anxious for me to win in 1968 than Khrushchev had been in 1960. The prospect of having to deal with a Republican administration—and a Nixon administration at that—undoubtedly caused anxiety in Moscow. In fact, I suspected that the Soviets might have counseled the North Vietnamese to offer to begin the Paris talks in the hope that the bombing halt would tip the balance to Humphrey in the election—and if that was their strategy, it had almost worked.

After the election Johnson proposed that as President and President-elect he and I attend a summit meeting with the Soviets in the period before my inauguration. I understood his desire to make one last dramatic demonstration of his dedication to peace, but I saw no solid basis for concluding that the Soviet leaders were prepared to

negotiate seriously on any critical issue. Nor did I want to be boxed in by any decisions that were made before I took office.

The most that might come from such a last-minute summit would be a "spirit," like the "Spirit of Glassboro" that followed Johnson's meeting with Kosygin in New Jersey in 1967 or the "Spirit of Camp David" that followed Eisenhower's meeting with Khrushchev in 1959. It was my feeling that such "spirits" were almost entirely spurious and that they actually worked heavily to the Soviets' advantage. Since public opinion played no role whatever in the Communist system, such summit "spirit" was a one-way street in their direction, because the optimistic attitudes that characterized American public opinion after a summit made it harder for us to assume a tough line in our postsummit dealings with the Soviets.

During the transition period Kissinger and I developed a new policy for dealing with the Soviets. Since U.S.–Soviet interests as the world's two competing nuclear superpowers were so widespread and overlapping, it was unrealistic to separate or compartmentalize areas of concern. Therefore we decided to link progress in such areas of Soviet concern as strategic arms limitation and increased trade with progress in areas that were important to us—Vietnam, the Mideast, and Berlin. This concept became known as linkage.

Lest there by any doubt of my seriousness in pursuing this policy, I purposely announced it at my first press conference when asked a question about starting SALT talks. I said, "What I want to do is to see to it that we have strategic arms talks in a way and at a time that will promote, if possible, progress on outstanding political problems at the same time—for example, on the problem of the Mideast and on other outstanding problems in which the United States and the Soviet Union acting together can serve the cause of peace."

Linkage was something uncomfortably new and different for the Soviets, and I was not surprised when they bridled at the restraints it imposed on our relationship. It would take almost two years of patient and hard-nosed determination on our part before they would accept that linkage with what we wanted from them was the price they would have to pay for getting any of the things they wanted from us.

We made our first contacts with the Soviets during the transition period. In mid-December Kissinger met with a Soviet UN diplomat who was, as we knew, actually an intelligence officer. I wanted it made clear that I was not taken in by any of the optimistic rhetoric that had characterized so much of recent Soviet–American relations. Kissinger therefore stated that while the tendency during the last few years had been to emphasize how much our two nations supposedly had in common, the Nixon administration felt that there were real and substantial differences between us and that an effort to lessen the tension created by these differences should be the central focus of our relationship. Kissinger also said that I did not want a pre-inauguration summit meeting and that if they held one with Johnson I would have to state publicly that I would not be bound by it. Nothing was heard about this summit project.

We received a prompt reply from Moscow. Our UN contact reported that the Soviet leadership was "not pessimistic" because of the election of a Republican President. He said that the Soviet leadership had expressed an interest in knowing if I desired to "open channels of communication." It was with this in mind that I said in my inaugural address, "After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open."

2. Nixon's Address to the Nation (1973)

President Nixon had inherited the unwanted Vietnam War, but he kept the bloodshed going for more than four years—longer than the United States' participation in either World War I or World War II. When the North Vietnamese balked at the peace table in Paris in 1972, Nixon launched his awesome "Christmas blitz" against the North Vietnamese capital, thus prompting the so-called cease-fire that Nixon hailed as "peace with honor." By its terms the United States retrieved some 560 prisoners of war and withdrew its remaining 27,000 troops. The South Vietnamese government of dictatorial President Thieu was permitted to receive replacements of weapons from the United States, as well as other kinds of nontroop support. Yet the North Vietnamese forces still occupied about 30 percent of South Vietnam, and they were allowed to retain there about 145,000 troops that were in a position to renew hostilities. Such was the "honorable" peace that North Vietnam immediately flouted and that vanished in about two years. To what extent does Nixon gloss over the truth in this section of his televised report to the nation on January 23, 1973?

Good evening. I have asked for this radio and television time tonight for the purpose of announcing that we today have concluded an agreement to end the war and bring peace with honor in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia. . . .

We must recognize that ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace. All parties must now see to it that this is a peace that lasts, and also a peace that heals, and a peace that not only ends the war in Southeast Asia, but contributes to the prospects of peace in the whole world.

This will mean that the terms of the agreement must be scrupulously adhered to. We shall do everything the agreement requires of us and we shall expect the other parties to do everything it requires of them. We shall also expect other interested nations to help insure that the agreement is carried out and peace is maintained.

As this long and very difficult war ends, I would like to address a few special words to each of those who have been parties in the conflict.

First, to the people and Government of South Vietnam: By your courage, by your sacrifice, you have won the precious right to determine your own future and you have developed the strength to defend that right. We look forward to working with you in the future, friends in peace as we have been allies in war.

To the leaders of North Vietnam: As we have ended the war through negotiations, let us now build a peace of reconciliation. For our part, we are prepared to make a major effort to help achieve that goal. But just as reciprocity was needed to end the war, so, too, will it be needed to build and strengthen the peace.

To the other major powers [China, the Soviet Union] that have been involved even indirectly: Now is the time for mutual restraint so that the peace we have achieved can last.

And finally, to all of you who are listening, the American people: Your steadfastness in supporting our insistence on peace with honor has made peace with honor possible. I know that you would not have wanted that peace jeopardized. With our secret negotiations at the sensitive stage they were in during this recent period, for me to have discussed publicly our efforts to secure peace would not only have violated

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[2] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 9 (1973): 43–44.

The Cease-fire That was Never Kept
(Reprinted with permission of the Toronto Star. Cartoonist Doug Sneyd.)

our understanding with North Vietnam, it would have seriously harmed and possibly destroyed the chances for peace. Therefore, I know that you now can understand why, during these past several weeks, I have not made any public statements about those efforts.

The important thing was not to talk about peace, but to get peace and to get the right kind of peace. This we have done.

Now that we have achieved an honorable agreement, let us be proud that America did not settle for a peace that would have betrayed our allies, that would have abandoned our prisoners of war, or that would have ended the war for us but would have continued the war for the 50 million people of Indochina. Let us be proud of the 2½ million young Americans who served in Vietnam, who served with honor and distinction in one of the most selfless enterprises in the history of nations. And let us be proud of those who sacrificed, who gave their lives so that the people of South Vietnam might live in freedom and so that the world might live in peace.

3. Canadians See Neither Peace nor Honor (1973)

Much of the free world, in addition to the Communist countries, had deplored the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Canada, to which many draft dodgers had fled, was conspicuous among the critics. The "peace with honor" that Nixon announced was

[3]The Toronto *Star,* January 24, 1973. Reprinted with permission of the Toronto *Star.*

actually violated in a wholesale fashion by both sides from the day of signing in January 1973 until the disgraceful rout in April 1975. During the first year of "peace" alone, an estimated fifty thousand Vietnamese were killed. To what extent does the following editorial from the Toronto Star *seem justified in light of the facts?*

It's evidently impossible for a president of the United States to come clean about Viet Nam; there is too much shame and failure in the American record there to be even hinted at. Thus President Nixon kept proclaiming the achievement of "peace with honor" last night, when all he can really promise is that the Americans are going to pull out of that wretched war in fairly good order, with their prisoners returned, instead of fleeing in abject humiliation.

"Exit with face saved" would have been a more accurate phrase than peace with honor; for, whatever the terms of the Paris agreement may say, it's obvious that there is no guarantee of peace between North and South Viet Nam. Hanoi maintains its goal of unifying all Viet Nam under Communist rule, while the government of South Viet Nam and a considerable number of its people mean to resist that dubious blessing.

The president felt obliged to insist that the principal war aim of the United States had been achieved; he told the South Vietnamese that their right to determine their own future has been won. That's uncertain, to put it mildly, since they have so far been incapable of defeating the Communists with the full participation of the United States on their side.

It would have been enough good news for Nixon to say what he can say credibly, that the United States is getting out. Not that the basic purpose of the American intervention—to keep South Viet Nam from being taken over by the Communists—was dishonorable. But the way the Americans fought the war has been calamitous for both Viet Nam and the United States.

The United States waged war with incredible stupidity and callousness. Counting social as well as material and human destruction, it probably harmed its ally South Viet Nam more than its enemy North Viet Nam. The land was transformed from one of hamlets and villages to one of shantytown cities living off the American war machine. Bombing and clearance orders—in South Viet Nam—created millions of refugees and caused hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties. In terms of military efficiency, the profligate American operation was comparable to shooting mosquitoes with a machine-gun. The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese troops were equally callous, but couldn't match the American power to destroy and disrupt.

Let us hope that peace is indeed near for the tortured people of Viet Nam. But the prospects are highly doubtful, and depend heavily on the willingness of the Soviet Union and China on one side, and the United States on the other, to restrain their respective allies. For now, it is sufficient to know that the most blunderingly destructive element of all—the American presence—is to be removed.

4. The Expulsion from Vietnam (1975)

Early in 1975 the North Vietnamese launched a furious assault, and the South Vietnamese defenses crumpled like cardboard. As Saigon was caving in, helicopters airlifted out U.S. personnel and also rescued an estimated 140,000 Vietnamese who

[4]Des Moines *Register,* April 30, 1975. Reprinted with permission of the Des Moines *Register.*

were supposedly marked for extermination by the victors. The escape from Vietnam was a defeat not so much for the United States as it was for the U.S. policy of supporting Communist-threatened regimes in distant parts of the globe. The U.S. forces had fought the enemy to a standstill and had withdrawn "with honor" after fighting to at least a stalemate in 1973. The South Vietnamese, with continued U.S. military supplies, lost the war, and the United States consequently lost face. In the light of these circumstances, was the Des Moines Register *unduly critical in its assessment?*

The war in Vietnam, like the war in Cambodia, has ended with a victory for the Communist-led revolutionary forces and a defeat for the upholders of the old ruling classes. That includes the United States, which for 25 years—since the first aid to France in support of that country's effort to maintain its Indochina colony—has been upholding the old regimes.

The incredible thing, still, is the stubborn failure of United States leaders to see what was going on, to see the hopelessness of their cause and to get out. A quarter of a century!

The American public and press must share the blame for this disaster of American foreign policy. With rare and honorable exceptions, Americans went along, bemused by the concept of American leadership of a "free world" struggle against Communism.

A succession of American presidents, secretaries of state, defense secretaries and generals told the people over and over that America was winning. They distorted the evidence; they told outright lies. The facts were that the side America was supporting was losing.

Each American president since Eisenhower has had the opportunity to move toward a political compromise in Vietnam. Each one lacked the courage to take a step which he feared might look like an American "defeat" or, as President Ford and Secretary Kissinger have been putting it, like a failure to make good on a commitment.

In the end, this policy led to a much worse defeat and a much worse discrediting of America's international behavior than early withdrawal would have meant.

The fear of Communist takeovers, of a phony "domino" theory of collapsing "democracies", has been dominant in U.S. policy—even after the moves toward détente with the big communist countries.

The misguided quarter century is now behind America, as President Ford said recently, although not in those words. Instead of losing face or encouraging Communism or losing confidence of the rest of the world, the United States probably will gain in these respects from finally ending its military role in Asia.

The nation would have gained respect sooner if the government had acted on its own—10, 15 or more years ago. Instead, action to end the Indochina connection came only after the arousal of public opinion which drove one president out of public life, and led to the near-impeachment of another on charges of abuse of constitutional power. Even the ending was a foot-dragging business with Ford, Kissinger and Ambassador Graham Martin holding the line in Saigon.

But public opinion finally did prevail; the machinery of democracy did work, though slowly. The country will be stronger, wiser and more effective in world affairs, we believe, as a result of ending this misadventure. The illusions of imperialism, of world leadership in terms of military power, of executive primacy in foreign affairs—those illusions, we hope and believe, are vanishing.

(Lou Grant, Copyright © 1975, The Oakland Tribune. *Reprinted with permission Los Angeles* Times *Syndicate.)*

C. The Supreme Court "Coddles" Criminals

1. The Outlawing of Third-Degree Confessions (1966)

In the 1960s and even earlier, the Supreme Court was a target for abuse by conservative groups. The more vocal extremists raised the insulting cry "Impeach Earl Warren" against the liberal chief justice. Conservatives were first outraged by a series of rulings that extended constitutional guarantees to Communists and that ordered desegregation in the schools. Then, in 1962 and 1963, came two decisions banning the recitation of prayers in the public schools. Such a practice was declared to be in violation of the First Amendment, which required a separation of church and state.

In 1963 an epochal decision held that accused criminals must be provided with lawyers in noncapital offenses. In 1964 and 1966 other decisions decreed that confessions obtained by the police in private (and hence under suspicion of physical force) could not be used to convict. The Fifth Amendment had long barred self-

[1] *Official Reports of the Supreme Court,* vol. 384 U.S. pt. 3 (Preliminary Print), pp. 444–481, passim. The Court also decreed reapportionment in the state legislatures (1962) and in the congressional districts (1964) on the basis of "one man, one vote" rather than on the lopsided basis that often gave agricultural areas greater voting power than more populous urban areas.

incrimination. Finally, on June 13, 1966, the Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, reversed the conviction of a confessed kidnapper-rapist, Ernesto Miranda, together with three men accused of other felonies. Chief Justice Warren, speaking for the majority, ruled in part as follows. In view of the fact that the crime rate was rising alarmingly and that this decision would make convictions harder to obtain, was the Court to be commended for emphasizing the rights of the individual at the expense of social order?

Prior to any questioning, the person must be warned that he has a right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has a right to the presence of an attorney, either retained or appointed.

The defendant may waive effectuation of these rights, provided the waiver is made voluntarily, knowingly and intelligently.

If, however, he indicates in any manner and at any stage of the process that he wishes to consult with an attorney before speaking, there can be no questioning.

Likewise, if the individual is alone and indicates in any manner that he does not wish to be interrogated, the police may not question him. The mere fact that he may have answered some questions or volunteered some statements on his own does not deprive him of the right to refrain from answering any further inquiries until he has consulted with an attorney and thereafter consents to be questioned.

The constitutional issue we decide in each of these [four] cases is the admissibility of statements obtained from a defendant questioned while in custody and deprived of his freedom of option. In each, the defendant was questioned by police officers, detectives, or a prosecuting attorney in a room in which he was cut off from the outside world. In none of these cases was the defendant given a full and effective warning of his rights at the outset of the interrogation process. In all the cases, the questioning elicited oral admissions, and in three of them, signed statements as well which were admitted at their trials.

They all thus share salient features—incommunicado * interrogation of individuals in a police-dominated atmosphere, resulting in self-incriminating statements without full warnings of constitutional rights. . . .

From extensive factual studies undertaken in the early [19]30s . . . it is clear that police violence and the "third degree" flourished at that time. In a series of cases decided by this Court long after these studies, the police resorted to physical brutality—beatings, hanging, whipping—and to sustained and protracted questioning incommunicado in order to extort confessions. The 1961 Commission on Civil Rights found much evidence to indicate that "some policemen still resort to physical force to obtain confessions."

The use of physical brutality and violence is not, unfortunately, relegated to the past or to any part of the country. Only recently in Kings County, N.Y., the police brutally beat, kicked and placed lighted cigarette butts on the back of a potential witness under interrogation for the purpose of securing a statement incriminating a third party. . . .

The examples given above are undoubtedly the exception now, but they are sufficiently widespread to be the object of concern. . . .

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*That is, without outside communication.

Even without employing brutality, the "third degree" or the specific stratagems described above, the very fact of custodial interrogation exacts a heavy toll on individual liberty and trades on the weakness of individuals. . . .

If an individual indicates that he wishes the assistance of counsel before any interrogation occurs, the authorities cannot rationally ignore or deny his request on the basis that the individual does not have or cannot afford a retained attorney.

The financial ability of the individual has no relationship to the scope of the rights involved here. The privilege against self-incrimination secured by the Constitution applies to all individuals. The need for counsel in order to protect the privilege exists for the indigent as well as the affluent. . . .

This does not mean, as some have suggested, that each police station must have a "station-house lawyer" present at all times to advise prisoners. It does mean, however, that if police propose to interrogate a person they must make known to him that he is entitled to a lawyer and that, if he cannot afford one, a lawyer will be provided for him prior to any interrogation. . . .

Our decision is not intended to hamper the traditional function of police officers in investigating crime. . . . When an individual is in custody on probable cause, the police may, of course, seek out evidence in the field to be used at trial against him. Such investigation may include inquiry of persons not under restraint.

General on-the-scene questioning as to facts surrounding a crime or other general questioning of citizens in the fact-finding process is not affected by our holding. It is an act of responsible citizenship for individuals to give whatever information they may have to aid in law enforcement. In such situations the compelling atmosphere inherent in the process of in-custody interrogation is not necessarily present.

In dealing with statements obtained through interrogation, we do not purport to find all confessions inadmissible. Confessions remain a proper element in law enforcement. Any statement given freely and voluntarily without any compelling influence is, of course, admissible in evidence. . . .

In announcing these principles, we are not unmindful of the burdens which law-enforcement officials must bear, often under trying circumstances. We also fully recognize the obligation of all citizens to aid in enforcing the criminal laws.

2. The Minority Supports the Police (1966)

An angered, fist-pounding Mr. Justice Harlan, speaking for three of the four dissenters, put his finger on some of the weaknesses of the majority opinion. In these excerpts from his dissent, is he more realistic than the majority in his approach to the problem, and if so, in what respects?

I believe the decision of the Court represents poor constitutional law and entails harmful consequences for the country at large. How serious these consequences may prove to be only time can tell. But the basic flaws in the Court's justification seem to me readily apparent, now once all sides of the probelm are considered. . . .

The new rules are not designed to guard against police brutality or other unmistakably banned forms of coercion. Those who use "third degree" tactics and deny

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[2] *Official Reports of the Supreme Court,* vol. 384 U.S. pt. 3 (Preliminary Print), pp. 504–517, passim.

them in court are equally able and destined to lie as skillfully about warnings and waivers.

Rather, the thrust of the new rules is to negate all pressures, to reinforce the nervous or ignorant suspect, and ultimately to discourage any confession at all. The aim, in short, is toward "voluntariness" in a utopian sense, or, to view it from a different angle, voluntariness with a vengeance.

To incorporate this notion into the Constitution requires a strained reading of history and precedent and a disregard of the very pragmatic concerns that alone may on occasion justify such strains. . . .

What the Court largely ignores is that its rules impair, if they will not eventually serve wholly to frustrate, an instrument of law enforcement that has long and quite reasonably been thought worth the price paid for it.

There can be little doubt that the Court's new code would markedly decrease the number of confessions. To warn the suspect that he may remain silent and remind him that his confession may be used in court are minor obstructions. To require also an express waiver by the suspect and an end to questioning whenever he demurs must heavily handicap questioning. And to suggest or provide counsel for the suspect simply invites the end of the interrogation.

How much harm this decision will inflict on law enforcement cannot fairly be predicted with accuracy. Evidence on the role of confessions is notoriously incomplete. . . .

We do know that some crimes cannot be solved without confessions, that ample expert testimony attests to their importance in crime control, and that the Court is taking a real risk with society's welfare in imposing its new regime on the country. The social costs of crime are too great to call the new rules anything but a hazardous experimentation.

3. A Green Light for Criminals (1966)

The increase of crimes of violence in the large cities had become frightening, particularly stabbings, "muggings" (assaults to commit robbery), rapes, and murders. In Washington, D.C., where citizens were frequently attacked within sight of the Capitol dome, one newspaper responded to the Miranda *decision under the heading "Green Light for Criminals." In what additional respects does this commentary strengthen the view of the Court's minority as to the visionary character of the majority decision?*

The Supreme Court's 5 to 4 ruling on police questioning of criminal suspects will be received with rejoicing by every thug in the land. For without a doubt it is a ruling which will grievously handicap the police and make it much easier for a criminal to beat the rap.

The murky torrent of words embodied in Chief Justice Warren's opinion tends to obscure some aspects of the ruling. But the salient points come through clearly enough.

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[3] From The Washington *Star,* June 15, 1966. Copyright 1966 by The Washington Star; reprinted by permission of The Washington *Post.*

"Mum's the Word, Bub"
(Courtesy of The News, New York's Picture Newspaper. Cartoonist Warren King.)

Henceforth, once the police have taken a suspect into custody, they cannot lawfully ask him any questions unless four warnings have been given. (1) The suspect must be plainly advised that he need not make any statement. (2) He must be informed that anything he says may be used against him in a trial. (3) He must be told that he has a right to have an attorney *present* throughout the questioning. (4) If the suspect is an indigent, he must be assured that he will be furnished a lawyer free of charge. Unless all of these conditions are met no confession or other evidence obtained during an interrogation can be used against the suspect.

The Chief Justice makes the remarkable observation that "our decision is not intended to hamper the traditional function of police officers in investigating crime." Intent aside, he must know that this is in fact a decision which will not only hamper but will largely destroy the traditional police function, at least as far as interrogation is concerned.

Why? Because any lawyer called in to sit beside a guilty prisoner is going to tell him to say nothing to the police. He would be derelict in his duty were he to do otherwise. In the face of this, the Chief Justice blandly suggests that there is nothing in the decision which requires "that police stop a person who enters a police station and

states that he wishes to confess to a crime." How true! And how often in the proverbial blue moon will this happen?

The deplorable fact is that this ruling, as far as the public is concerned, will most directly affect the vicious types of crime—the murders, the yokings, the robberies and the rapes where it often is impossible to assemble enough evidence, without a confession, to obtain convictions. All the criminal need do is to demand a lawyer—and then the police, under the practical effect of this decision, will be unable to ask him question No. 1. What was it the President said about ridding our cities of crime so law-abiding citizens will be safe in their homes, on the streets and in their places of business?

The dissents by Justices Harlan, Clark, Stewart and White were sharply-worded. It is necessary to read them to understand the frailty of the grounds upon which the majority rests this unprecedented ruling.

[An extreme case of the application of the Miranda *ruling came in February 1967. In Brooklyn a factory worker had confessed to stabbing to death his common-law wife and her five children. But he had not been advised of his "right to silence," and, in the absence of concrete evidence, he was turned loose. The presiding judge remarked, "Even an animal such as this one . . . must be protected with all legal safeguards. It is repulsive to let a thing like this out on the streets." (*Time, *March 3, 1967, p. 49.)]*

4. President Nixon Outlines His Judicial Philosophy (1971)

Before his election, Nixon made clear his determination to change the complexion of the liberal Warren Court. He clearly wished to reverse some recent landmark decisions. Two of his early appointees, Justices Burger and Blackmun, were distinguished conservatives. Two other nominees, both rejected by the Senate, were of a similar stripe, though conspicuously less able and obviously chosen to discharge a political debt to the South. The next nominees were Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist, both rock-ribbed conservative lawyers with noteworthy intellectual qualifications. In presenting these two nominees, the president set forth at length his judicial philosophy. How did it differ from the values that animated the Warren Court?

These are the criteria I believe should be applied in naming people to the Supreme Court.

First, the Supreme Court is the highest judicial body in this country. Its members, therefore, should, above all, be among the very best lawyers in the Nation. Putting it another way: In the legal profession, the Supreme Court is the fastest track in the Nation, and it is essential that the Justices on that Court be able to keep up with the very able lawyers who will appear before that Court arguing cases. The two individuals I am nominating to the Court meet that standard of excellence to an exceptional degree.

The second consideration is the judicial philosophy of those who are to serve on the Court. Now, I emphasize the word "judicial" because whether an individual is a Democrat or a Republican cannot and should not be a decisive factor in determining whether he should be on the Court.

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[4] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 7 (1971): 1431–1432.

By "judicial philosophy" I do not mean agreeing with the President on every issue. It would be a total repudiation of our constitutional system if judges on the Supreme Court, or any other Federal court, for that matter, were like puppets on a string pulled by the President who appointed them.

When I appointed Chief Justice Burger, I told him that from the day he was confirmed by the Senate, he could expect that I would never talk to him about a case that was before the Court.

In the case of both Chief Justice Burger and Mr. Justice Blackmun and in the case of the two nominees that I shall be sending to the Senate tomorrow, their sole obligation is to the Constitution and to the American people and not to the President who appointed them to their positions.

As far as judicial philosophy is concerned, it is my belief that it is the duty of a judge to interpret the Constitution and not to place himself above the Constitution or outside the Constitution.

He should not twist or bend the Constitution in order to perpetuate his personal political and social views.

Now, this does not mean that judges who adhere to this philosophy that I have just described will find that they always agree on their interpretation of the Constitution. You seldom find two lawyers who will agree on any close question.

We have an excellent example of this in the record of the two judges whose vacancies I now have the duty to fill, Mr. Justice Black, Mr. Justice Harlan. When they retired from the Court a month ago, most observers labeled Mr. Justice Black as a liberal and Mr. Justice Harlan as a conservative. There was a measure of truth in this, but I would say that both were constitutionalists.

It is true, they disagreed sharply in many cases, but as I learned, not only from reading their opinions over the years, but from appearing twice before them and arguing a case before the Supreme Court, both were great judges with the brilliant ability to ask questions that went to the heart of a matter and then to make a decision based on their honest interpretation of the Constitution.

In the debate over the confirmation of the two individuals I have selected, I would imagine that it may be charged that they are conservatives. This is true, but only in a judicial, not in a political sense.

You will recall, I am sure, that during my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to nominate to the Supreme Court individuals who shared my judicial philosophy, which is basically a conservative philosophy.

Now, let me give you an example of what that philosophy means.

Twenty-one months ago, Mr. Walter Lippmann wrote, ". . . the balance of power within our society has turned dangerously against the peace forces—against governors and mayors and legislatures, against the police and the courts." I share this view.

Over the past few years, many cases have come before the court involving that delicate balance between the rights of society and the rights of defendants accused of crimes against society. And honest and dedicated constitutional lawyers have disagreed as to where and how to maintain that balance.

As a judical conservative, I believe some court decisions have gone too far in the past in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in our society. In maintaining, as it must be maintained, the delicate balance between the rights of society and defendants accused of crimes, I believe the peace forces must not be denied the legal tools they need to protect the innocent from criminal elements. And

I believe we can strengthen the hand of the peace forces without compromising our precious principle that the rights of individuals accused of crimes must always be protected.

It is with these criteria in mind that I have selected the two men whose names I will send to the Senate tomorrow.

D. The Move to Impeach Nixon

1. The First Article of Impeachment (1974)

During the Nixon–McGovern campaign of 1972, a bungled burglary had occurred in the Democratic Watergate headquarters in Washington. After Nixon's reelection, evidence turned up that the culprits, with close White House connections, had been working for the Republican Committee for the Reelection of the President (which came to be known as CREEP). A Senate investigating committee uncovered proof that the president had secretly recorded relevant White House conversations on tape. After much foot-dragging and legal obstruction by Nixon, enough of the damning tapes were surrendered to prove beyond doubt that he had known of the attempted cover-up from an early date and had actively participated in it. After extensive hearings, the House Judiciary Committee voted three articles of impeachment, of which the following, relating to the crime of obstructing justice, was the first. This article was approved on July 27, 1974, by a committee vote of 27 to 11, with all the Democrats being joined by 6 Republicans. Assuming that these charges were true, did they add up to "high crimes and misdemeanors" as specified by the Constitution?

Article I

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice, in that:

On June 17, 1972, and prior thereto, agents of the Committee for the Re-election of the President committed unlawful entry of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, District of Columbia, for the purpose of securing political intelligence. Subsequent thereto, Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his high office, engaged personally and through his subordinates and agents, in a course of conduct or plan designed to delay, impede, and obstruct the investigation of such unlawful entry; to cover up, conceal and protect those responsible; and to conceal the existence and scope of other unlawful covert activities.

The means used to implement this course of conduct or plan included one or more of the following:

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[1] *House of Representatives Report No. 93-1305* (House Calendar No. 426), 93d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–2.

1. making or causing to be made false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States;
2. withholding relevant and material evidence or information from lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States;
3. approving, condoning, acquiescing in, and counseling witnesses with respect to the giving of false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States and false or misleading testimony in duly instituted judicial and congressional proceedings;
4. interfering or endeavoring to interfere with the conduct of investigations by the Department of Justice of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and Congressional Committees;
5. approving, condoning, and acquiescing in, the surreptitious payment of substantial sums of money for the purpose of obtaining the silence or influencing the testimony of witnesses, potential witnesses or individuals who participated in such unlawful entry and other illegal activites;
6. endeavoring to misuse the Central Intelligence Agency, an agency of the United States;
7. disseminating information received from officers of the Department of Justice of the United States to subjects of investigations conducted by lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States, for the purpose of aiding and assisting such subjects in their attempts to avoid criminal liability;
8. making false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted with respect to allegations of misconduct on the part of personnel of the executive branch of the United States and personnel of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, and that there was no involvement of such personnel in such misconduct; or
9. endeavoring to cause prospective defendants, and individuals duly tried and convicted, to expect favored treatment and consideration in return for their silence or false testimony, or rewarding individuals for their silence or false testimony.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

2. Impeachment as a Partisan Issue (1974)

The second and third articles of impeachment approved by the House Judiciary Committee related to (a) repeated abuses of presidential power and to (b) prolonged contempt of Congress. The second article passed the committee by a tally of 28 to 10;

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[2] *House of Representatives Report No. 93-1305* (House Calendar No. 426), 93d Congress, 2d sess., p. 361.

all the Democrats, as well as 7 Republicans, voted yea. The third article charged Nixon with contempt of Congress for refusing to comply with eight subpoenas for the White House tapes. It was regarded as the least damaging of the three, for it failed to gain broad partisan backing when it squeezed through by a narrow vote of 21 to 17. Even after his complete disgrace, Nixon had millions of supporters who believed that his removal was unjustified. The following is a part of the minority report of the House Committee, signed by 10 of its 17 Republican members, and dated August 20, 1974, eleven days after Nixon's formal resignation. What light does it throw on the alleged partisanship of the impeachment move?

Richard Nixon served his country in elective office for the better part of three decades and, in the main, he served it well. Each of the undersigned voted for him, worked for and with him in election campaigns, and supported the major portion of his legislative program during his tenure as President. Even at the risk of seeming paradoxical, since we were prepared to vote for his impeachment on proposed Article I had he not resigned his office, we hope that in the fullness of time it is his accomplishments—and they were many and significant—rather than the conduct to which this Report is addressed for which Richard Nixon is primarily remembered in history.

We know that it has been said, and perhaps some will continue to say, that Richard Nixon was "hounded from office" by his political opponents and media critics. We feel constrained to point out, however, that it was Richard Nixon who impeded the FBI's investigation of the Watergate affair by wrongfully attempting to implicate the Central Intelligence Agency; it was Richard Nixon, who created and preserved the evidence of that transgression and who, *knowing that it had been subpoenaed by this Committee and the Special Prosecutor,* concealed its terrible import, even from his own counsel, until he could do so no longer. And it was a unanimous Supreme Court of the United States which, in an opinion authored by the Chief Justice whom he appointed, ordered Richard Nixon to surrender that evidence to the Special Prosecutor, to further the ends of justice. [Emphasis in original.]

The tragedy that finally engulfed Richard Nixon had many facets. One was the very self-inflicted nature of the harm. It is striking that such an able, experienced and perceptive man, whose ability to grasp the global implications of events little noticed by others may well have been unsurpassed by any of his predecessors, should fail to comprehend the damage that accrued daily to himself, his Administration, and to the Nation, as day after day, month after month, he imprisoned the truth about his role in the Watergate cover-up so long and so tightly within the solitude of his Oval Office that it could not be unleashed without destroying his Presidency.

3. Nixon Incriminates Himself (1972)

By August 5, 1974, much evidence of presidential misconduct and wrongdoing had been uncovered, but where was the high crime? Where was the "smoking pistol"? It finally surfaced on that day, when Nixon, forced by a unanimous decision of the

[3] *Statement of Information,* Appendix 3, *Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary,* House of Representatives, 93d Cong., 2d sess., pursuant to H.R. 803, p. 39.

Supreme Court to yield crucial tape recordings, revealed a White House conversation of June 23, 1972. In it the president was heard instructing his chief aide to use the Central Intelligence Agency to quash an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Obstruction of justice of this type was a clear-cut crime. Support for Nixon in Congress collapsed, and he was faced with the dilemma of resigning or being thrown out of office without retirement benefits amounting to more than $150,000 a year. He wisely chose to announce his resignation on August 8. How damning is the evidence in the following transcript of the conversation of June 23, 1972?

Transcript of a Recording of a Meeting Between the President and H. R. Haldeman, the Oval Office, June 23, 1972, from 10:04 to 1:39 A.M.

Haldeman. Okay—that's fine. Now, on the investigation, you know, the Democratic break-in thing, we're back to the—in the, the problem area because the FBI is not under control, because Gray doesn't exactly know how to control them, and they have, their investigation is now leading into some productive areas, because they've been able to trace the money, not through the money itself, but through the bank, you know, sources—the banker himself. And, and it goes in some directions we don't want it to go. Ah, also there have been some things, like an informant came in off the street to the FBI in Miami, who was a photographer or has a friend who is a photographer who developed some films through this guy, Barker, and the films had pictures of Democratic National Committee letter head documents and things. So I guess, so it's things like that are gonna, that are filtering in. Mitchell came up with yesterday, and John Dean analyzed very carefully last night and concludes, concurs now with Mitchell's recommendation that the only way to solve this, and we're set up beautifully to do it, ah, in that and that . . . the only network that paid any attention to it last night was NBC . . . they did a massive story on the Cuban . . .

President. That's right.

Haldeman. . . . thing.

President. Right.

Haldeman. That the way to handle this is for us to have Walters call Pat Gray and just say, "Stay the hell out of this . . . this is ah, business here we don't want you to go any further on it." That's not an unusual development, . . .

President. Um huh.

Haldeman. . . . and, uh, that would take care of it.

President. What about Pat Gray, ah, you mean he doesn't want to?

Haldeman. Pat does want to. He doesn't know how to, and he doesn't have, he doesn't have any basis for doing it. Given this, he will then have the basis. He'll call Mark Felt in, and the two of them . . . and Mark Felt wants to cooperate because . . .

President. Yeah.

Haldeman. . . . he's ambitious . . .

President. Yeah.

Haldeman. Ah, he'll call him in and say, "We've got the signal from across the river to, to put the hold on this." And that will fit rather well because the FBI agents who are working the case, at this point, feel that's what it is. This is CIA.

President. But they've traced the money to 'em.

Haldeman. Well they have, they've traced to a name, but they haven't gotten to the guy yet.
President. Would it be somebody here?
Haldeman. Ken Dahlberg.
President. Who the hell is Ken Dahlberg?
Haldeman. He's ah, he gave $25,000 in Minnesota and ah, the check went directly in to this, to this guy Barker.
President. Maybe he's a . . . bum.

President. He didn't get this from the committee though, from Stans.
Haldeman. Yeah. It is. It's directly traceable and there's some more through some Texas people in—that went to the Mexican bank which they can also trace to the Mexican bank . . . they'll get their names today. And [*pause*].
President. Well, I mean, ah, there's no way . . . I'm just thinking if they don't cooperate, what do they say? They they, they were approached by the Cubans. That's what Dahlberg has to say, the Texans too. Is that the idea?
Haldeman. Well, if they will. But then we're relying on more and more people all the time. That's the problem. And ah, they'll stop if we could, if we take this other step.
President. All right. Fine.
Haldeman. And, and they seem to feel the thing to do is get them to stop?
President. Right, fine.
Haldeman. They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions. And it's got to be to Helms and, ah, what's his name . . . ? Walters.
President. Walters.
Haldeman. And the proposal would be that Ehrlichman [*coughs*] and I call them in . . .
President. All right, fine.
Haldeman. . . . and say, ah . . .
President. How do you call him in, I mean you just, well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things.
Haldeman. That's what Ehrlichman says.
President. Of course, this is a, this is a Hunt, you will—that will uncover a lot of things. You open that scab there's a hell of a lot of things and that we just feel that it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further. This involves these Cubans, Hunt, and a lot of hanky-panky that we have nothing to do with ourselves. Well what the hell, did Mitchell know about this thing to any much of a degree?
Haldeman. I think so. I don't think he knew the details, but I think he knew.
President. He didn't know how it was going to be handled though, with Dahlberg and the Texans and so forth? Well who was the asshole that did? [*unintelligible*] Is it Liddy? Is that the fellow? He must be a little nuts.
Haldeman. He is.
President. I mean he just isn't well screwed on is he? Isn't that the problem?
Haldeman. No, but he was under pressure, apparently, to get more information, and as he got more pressure, he pushed the people harder to move harder on . . .
President. Pressure from Mitchell?
Haldeman. Apparently.

President. Oh, Mitchell, Mitchell was at the point that you made on this, that exactly what I need from you is on the—

Haldeman. Gemstone, yeah.

President. All right, fine, I understand it all. We won't second-guess Mitchell and the rest. Thank God it wasn't Colson.

Haldeman. The FBI interviewed Colson yesterday. They determined that would be a good thing to do.

President. Um hum.

Haldeman. Ah, to have him take a . . .

President. Uh hum.

Haldeman. An interrogation, which he did, and that, the FBI guys working the case had concluded that there were one or two possibilities, one, that this was a White House, they don't think that there is anything at the Election Committee, they think it was either a White House operation and they had some obscure reasons for it, nonpolitical. . . .

President. Uh huh.

Haldeman. . . . or it was a . . .

President. Cuban thing—

Haldeman. Cubans and the CIA. And after their interrogation of, of . . .

President. . . . Colson.

Haldeman. Colson, yesterday, they concluded it was not the White House, but are now convinced it is a CIA thing, so the CIA turnoff would . . .

President. Well, not sure of their analysis, I'm not going to get that involved. I'm [*unintelligible*].

Haldeman. No, sir. We don't want you to.

President. You call them in.

President. Good. Good deal. Play it tough. That's the way they play it and that's the way we are going to play it.

Haldeman. O.K. We'll do it.

President. Yeah, when I saw that news summary item, I of course knew it was a bunch of crap, but I thought, ah, well it's good to have them off on this wild hair thing because when they start bugging us, which they have, we'll know our little boys will not know how to handle it. I hope they will though. You never know. Maybe, you think about it. Good!

President. When you get in these people . . . when you get these people in, say: "Look, the problem is that this will open the whole, the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that" ah, without going into the details . . . don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say there is no involvement, but just say this is sort of a comedy of errors, bizarre, without getting into it, "the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again. And, ah because these people are plugging for, for keeps and that they should call the FBI in and say that we wish for the country, don't go any further into this case," period!

Haldeman. O.K.

President. That's the way to put it, do it straight [*unintelligible*].

Haldeman. Get more done for our cause by the opposition than by us at this point.
President. You think so?
Haldeman. I think so, yeah.

Transcript of a Recording of a Meeting Between the President and H. R. Haldeman, the Oval Office, June 23, 1972, from 1:04 to 1:13 P.M.

[*Background noise, sound of writing and some unintelligible conversation*]
Haldeman. [*On the phone*] [*Unintelligible*] Where are they? Okay. I'll be up in just a minute.
[*40-second pause, with sounds of writing*]
Haldeman. I see a time way back [*unintelligible*] might find out about that report before we do anything.
President. [Unintelligible]
[*35-second pause*]
President. Okay [*unintelligible*] and, ah, just, just postpone the [*unintelligible, with noises*] hearings [*15-second unintelligible, with noises*] and all that garbage. Just say that I have to take a look at the primaries [*unintelligible*] recover [*unintelligible*] I just don't [*unintelligible*] very bad, to have this fellow Hunt, ah, you know, ah, it's, he, he knows too damn much and he was involved, we happen to know that. And that it gets out that the whole, this is all involved in the Cuban thing, that it's a fiasco, and it's going to make the FB, ah CIA look bad, it's going to make Hunt look bad, and it's likely to blow the whole, uh, Bay of Pigs thing which we think would be very unfortunate for CIA and for the country at this time, and for American foreign policy, and he just better tough it and lay it on them. Isn't that what you . . .
Haldeman. Yeah, that's, that's the basis we'll do it on and just leave it at that.
President. I don't want them to get any ideas we're doing it because our concern is political.
Haldeman. Right.
President. And at the same time, I wouldn't tell them it is not political . . .
Haldeman. Right.
President. I would just say "Look, it's because of the Hunt involvement," just say [*unintelligible, with noise*] sort of thing, the whole cover is, uh, basically this [*unintelligible*].
Haldeman. [Unintelligible] Well they've got some pretty good ideas on this need thing.
President. George Schultz did a good paper on that, I read it . . .
[*Unintelligible voices heard leaving the room*]

4. A Critical Canadian Viewpoint (1974)

From the objective vantage point of Canada, the Toronto Star *newspaper pronounced this judgment on Nixon's resignation. Is it unduly harsh?*

Richard Nixon leaves the presidency the way he operated it—dishonestly.
The man who approved the Watergate cover-up six days after the break-in con-

[4]The Toronto *Star*, August 9, 1974. Reprinted with permission of the Toronto *Star*.

tinued to hide his guilt right to the end. In his resignation speech last night, there was no admission of wrong-doing, no acceptance of personal responsibility for the scandal that ripped apart U.S. society, paralyzed its government and, for a time, threatened to destroy public confidence in the democratic system.

It is happily true that ultimately the process that forced Nixon from office was a triumph of the system he tried to subvert. A free press in its role as watchdog uncovered the scandal and an independent judiciary affirmed the principle that under the rule of law, no men are above the law. The checks and balances needed to make democracy work came through when it counted.

All this is the positive side of Watergate, and its significance is great. An open society has openly met its problems and emerged healthier and stronger. The American system has shown that it could meet stern tests. The confidence of ordinary people in the institutions that govern them has been restored, and they can make a fresh start with a fresh president. The western world, which depends on U.S. leadership, is grateful.

But it wasn't the rule of law and his own personal culpability that Nixon cited as his reason for leaving office. No one would know from his speech last night that he had done anything wrong. Oh, some errors in judgment, sure. But nothing serious. The reason he gave for leaving rested on the narrow base that he had lost the political support in Congress that he needed both to stay in office and to fight the attempts to oust him.

If 20 or so senators hadn't changed their minds, he'd still be in there fighting.

That in effect is what he was saying.

This manner of leaving does not satisfy the rule of law, for if it is true that no man is above the law, it must also be true that all men are equal before it.

So what is Richard Nixon's punishment for breaking the law? The $60,000 pension that he gets because he resigned and which he would have lost if he had been ousted by impeachment? Where is the equality in a jail sentence for John Dean, the former presidential counsel whose Watergate testimony first accused Nixon, while the man who gave him his orders goes free? Where is equality in proceeding with cover-up charges against former presidential chief-of-staff H. R. Haldeman with the prime evidence a tape on which Nixon is approving the cover-up?

If Nixon had openly admitted his guilt and responsibility, then it would at least be clear that his resignation was his punishment. This was the formula followed by Spiro Agnew when he resigned as vice-president. He pleaded guilty but avoided jail. One might then argue whether the punishment fitted the crime, but at least the record would be clear about guilt.

At present there is no such clear-cut record. Nixon is out, but he has admitted nothing. Congress, by halting the impeachment process, has not declared its judgment of his actions.

This judgment may yet come. Leon Jaworski, the special Watergate prosecutor, has made it clear he is prevented by no agreement or understanding from bringing charges against Nixon. State courts or even private citizens could bring suits against him. More taped conversations are to be made public and some of the material may have an impact on the public's judgment about whether a former president should be pursued like a common criminal.

But don't count on it. The Americans have been sweating through Watergate for a

long time and many are tired of it. There is a strong feeling that a man shouldn't be kicked when he is down. Many undoubtedly will argue that every effort should go towards a fresh start rather than try further to cleanse the past.

If this is the course then America will be whole again, but the stain will remain. Nixon's manipulations will have succeeded. The phony transcripts. The lies. The obstruction. They did not save his office but they saved him from the law.

He left politics as he arrived. Tricky Dick.

[Despite the three long categories of accusations voted by the House Judiciary Committee, Nixon was not impeached by the full House, tried by the Senate, or even convicted in the courts of any crime. The closest he came to conviction was his uncontested disbarment as a lawyer by the appellate division of the state supreme court of New York. The decision (July 8, 1976), by a 4 to 1 vote, was the most severe punishment that this body could impose. As for obstruction of justice, the court found Nixon guilty on five specifications, including improper interference with an FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in; improper authorization of bribes to silence conspirators; and improper encouragement of others to commit perjury by concealing evidence of wrongdoing.]

5. Nixon Accepts a Presidential Pardon (1974)

To complicate the Watergate uproar, Vice-President Agnew, facing unrelated criminal charges, had avoided jail by resigning in October 1973. Nixon, pursuant to the Twenty-fifth Amendment of the Constitution, had chosen as his successor Gerald R. Ford, the House minority leader. For about a month the nonelected president enjoyed a "honeymoon," which he abruptly ended by granting Nixon "a full, free, and absolute pardon" for "all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in" during his presidency. Nixon promptly accepted the pardon but was careful not to confess that he had committed any crimes. Mistakes, indecision, poor judgment, yes—but crimes, no. Yet, as President Ford agreed, testifying before a House Judiciary Committee, acceptance of the pardon is "tantamount to an admission of guilt. . . ." Moreover, many of Nixon's admirers felt that he had humbled himself enough by admitting remorse for acts he had committed in the line of duty for what he regarded to be the good of the country. Is Nixon's self-justification convincing?

I have been informed that President Ford has granted me a full and absolute pardon for any charges which might be brought against me for actions taken during the time I was President of the United States.

In accepting this pardon, I hope that his compassionate act will contribute to lifting the burden of Watergate from our country.

Here in California, my perspective on Watergate is quite different than it was while I was embattled in the midst of the controversy, and while I was still subject to the unrelenting daily demands of the presidency itself.

Looking back on what is still in my mind a complex and confusing maze of events,

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[5] *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 9, 1974.

decisions, pressures and personalities, one thing I can see clearly now is that I was wrong in not acting more decisively and more forthrightly in dealing with Watergate, particularly when it reached the stage of judicial proceedings and grew from a political scandal into a national tragedy.

No words can describe the depths of my regret and pain at the anguish my mistakes over Watergate have caused the nation and the presidency—a nation I so deeply love and an institution I so greatly respect.

I know many fair-minded people believe that my motivations and action in the Watergate affair were intentionally self-serving and illegal. I now understand how my own mistakes and misjudgments have contributed to that belief and seemed to support it. This burden is the heaviest one of all to bear.

That the way I tried to deal with Watergate was the wrong way is a burden I shall bear for every day of the life that is left to me.

E. Jimmy Carter's Troubled Presidency

1. Carter Diagnoses the National Mood (1979)

In July 1979 Jimmy Carter unexpectedly canceled a scheduled television address and retired to the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland. There for ten days he sought the advice of scores of Americans about the state of the nation's soul. Finally, he ended his period of contemplation and delivered the following remarkable address on network television. What exactly does Carter mean by a "crisis of confidence"? Where does he lay the blame for the crisis? What does this speech reveal about Carter's character?

Good evening.

This is a special night for me. Exactly 3 years ago, on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States. I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you.

During the past 3 years I've spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the Government, our Nation's economy, and issues of war and especially peace. But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks, and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important. Gradually, you've heard more and more about what the Government thinks or what the Government should be doing and less and less about our Nation's hopes, our dreams, and our vision of the future.

Ten days ago I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject—energy. For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress. But as I was

[1] *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1979,* vol. II (National Archives and Records Service, 1980), pp. 1235–1241.

preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

It's clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help. So, I decided to reach out and listen to the voices of America.

I invited to Camp David people from almost every segment of our society—business and labor, teachers and preachers, Governors, mayors, and private citizens. And then I left Camp David to listen to other Americans, men and women like you. It has been an extraordinary 10 days, and I want to share with you what I've heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let me quote a few of the typical comments that I wrote down.

This from a southern Governor: "Mr. President, you are not leading this Nation—you're just managing the Government."

"You don't see the people enough any more."

"Some of your Cabinet members don't seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples."

"Don't talk to us about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of our common good."

"Mr. President, we're in trouble. Talk to us about blood and sweat and tears."

"If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow."

Many people talked about themselves and about the condition of our Nation. This from a young woman in Pennsylvania: "I feel so far from government. I feel like ordinary people are excluded from political power."

And this from a young Chicano: "Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives."

"Some people have wasted energy, but others haven't had anything to waste."

And this from a religious leader: "No material shortage can touch the important things like God's love for us or our love for one another."

And I like this one particularly from a black woman who happens to be the mayor of a small Mississippi town: "The big-shots are not the only ones who are important. Remember, you can't sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs it up somewhere else first."

This kind of summarized a lot of other statements: "Mr. President, we are confronted with a moral and a spiritual crisis."

Several of our discussions were on energy, and I have a notebook full of comments and advice. I'll read just a few.

"We can't go on consuming 40 percent more energy than we produce. When we import oil we are also importing inflation plus unemployment."

"We've got to use what we have. The Middle East has only 5 percent of the world's energy, but the United States has 24 percent."

And this is one of the most vivid statements: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has a knife."

"There will be other cartels and other shortages. American wisdom and courage right now can set a path to follow in the future."

This was a good one: "Be bold, Mr. President. We may make mistakes, but we are ready to experiment."

And this one from a labor leader got to the heart of it: "The real issue is freedom. We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing."

And the last that I'll read: "When we enter the moral equivalent of war, Mr. President, don't issue us BB guns."

These 10 days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my long-standing concerns about our Nation's underlying problems.

I know, of course, being president, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That's why I've worked hard to put my campaign promises into law—and I have to admit, with just mixed success. But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America. So, I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might.

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which founded our Nation and has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else—public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We've always believed in something called progress. We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own.

Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. As a people we know our past and we are proud of it. Our progress has been part of the living history of America, even the world. We always believed that we were part of a great movement of humanity itself called democracy, involved in the search for freedom, and that belief has always strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also beginning to close the door on our past.

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next 5 years will be worse than the past 5 years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Ameri-

cans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning.

These changes did not happen overnight. They've come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar" was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. Washington, D.C., has become an island. The gap between our citizens and our Government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers; clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual.

What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action. You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests. You see every extreme position defended to the last vote, almost to the last breath by one unyielding group or another. You often see a balanced and a fair approach that demands sacrifice, a little sacrifice from everyone, abandoned like an orphan without support and without friends.

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like it, and neither do I. What can we do?

First of all, we must face the truth, and then we can change our course. We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves, and faith in the future of this Nation. Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. It is a true challenge of this generation of Americans.

One of the visitors to Camp David last week put it this way: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating, stop talking and start walking, stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House, but from every house in America."

We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression, who fought world wars, and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

We ourselves are the same Americans who just 10 years ago put a man on the Moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights

and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I've warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves. We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our energy problem. . . .

2. Carter Agonizes over the Iranian Hostages (1979–1980)

On November 4, 1979, militant Iranian revolutionaries overran the U.S. embassy in Teheran, Iran, and took several dozen U.S. diplomats hostage. For the remainder of Carter's term in office, the Iranian hostage issue clouded his presidency. In his memoirs, Carter dwells at length on his involvement with the Iranian episode, including the abortive rescue mission that he authorized in April 1980. What does his account of the Iranian crisis suggest about Carter's qualities as a leader? as a human being? Was he a victim of events beyond his, or any president's, control?

Sunday, November 4, 1979, is a date I will never forget. Early in the morning I received a call from Brzezinski, who reported that our embassy in Tehran had been overrun by about 3,000 militants, and that 50 or 60 of our American staff had been captured. Immediately afterward, I talked to Secretary Vance, who reviewed with me again the precautionary measures that had been taken and the assurances of protection we had received from the Iranian officials. We were deeply disturbed, but reasonably confident that the Iranians would soon remove the attackers from the embassy compound and release our people. We and other nations had faced this kind of attack many times in the past, but never, so far as we knew, had a host government failed to attempt to protect threatened diplomats. We had a firm pledge from both the Iranian Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to give our staff and property this protection. During the past week or two, even Khomeini's forces had helped to dispel crowds of demonstrators near the American Embassy.

Prime Minister Bazargan did his best to keep his word and to remove the militants, but after a few hours passed without forceful action we grew increasingly concerned. We began to contact any officials we knew in Iran, both in the Bazargan Cabinet and within the so-called Revolutionary Council, where government and religious leaders made the basic decisions about the nation's policies. All our efforts were fruitless. The militants had become overnight heroes in Iran. Khomeini praised

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[2] *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President*, pp. 457–458, 506–510, 518, 521, 594, by Jimmy Carter, published by Bantam Books. Reprinted by permission of International Creative Management. Copyright © 1982 by Jimmy Carter.

their action, and no public official was willing to confront them. Bazargan and Yazdi resigned in disgust, but this did not help set the Americans free.

It was not at all clear what the militants wanted. My impression was that originally they had not intended to remain in the embassy or to hold the Americans captive beyond a few hours. However, when they received the adulation of many of their fellow revolutionaries and the support of Khomeini and other leaders, they prolonged their illegal act. As kidnappers, they seemed to have no clear ideas about ransom, except to repeat the cry we had been hearing ever since January 16 of the previous year—return the Shah and his money to Iran.

> I spent most of the day, every spare moment, trying to decide what to do. . . . We began to assess punitive action that might be taken against Iran. We still have 570 Americans there. I directed that the companies who employ these people be informed to get them out of the country. We also asked the Algerians, Syrians, Turks, Pakistanis, Libyans, PLO, and others to intercede on behalf of the release of our hostages. It's almost impossible to deal with a crazy man, except that he does have religious beliefs, and the world of Islam will be damaged if a fanatic like him should commit murder in the name of religion against 60 innocent people. I believe that's our ultimate hope for a successful resolution of this problem. We will not release the Shah, of course, as they demand.
>
> Diary, November 6, 1979

As soon as the embassy was seized, an Iran working group was formed in the State Department, headed by Henry Precht, Director for Iranian Affairs. Twenty-four hours a day, the work of this group never ceased; they were to continue their efforts until the crisis was over. None of us dreamed that we would wait more than fourteen months before our prayers were answered and our people were finally home. . . .

[Diplomatic efforts to free the American hostages proved futile. In Iran, confusion reigned. When Iran's powerful religious leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, blocked the transfer of the hostages from the "militants" who had stormed the embassy to the shaky revolutionary government of Iran, Carter despaired. Over the objections of his secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, he ordered a daring military rescue mission to attempt to rescue the hostages in a surprise raid on the embassy compound.]

My hope had been that the Iranian leaders would behave courageously. Now I realized this was not to be. Another serious development was that Iraq was threatening to invade Iran. We had no previous knowledge of nor influence over this move, but Iran was blaming us for it nevertheless.

> The Iranian terrorists are making all kinds of crazy threats to kill the American hostages if they are invaded by Iraq—whom they identify as an American puppet.
>
> Diary, April 10, 1980

We could no longer afford to depend on diplomacy. I decided to act. On April 11, I called together my top advisers, and we went over the rescue plans again. Because the militants in the compound had threatened to "destroy all the hostages immediately" if any additional moves against them should be launched, we had to plan any action with the utmost care. . . .

We had blueprints of our embassy buildings in Tehran, of course, and we had talked to the black and female hostages who had been released before Christmas, although they were unable to tell us much about the others. Much more important, we

received information from someone (who cannot be identified) who was thoroughly familiar with the compound, knew where every American hostage was located, how many and what kind of guards were there at different times during the night, and the daily schedule of the hostages and their captors. This was the first time we knew the precise location of the Americans.

Our agents, who moved freely in and out of Tehran under the guise of business or media missions, had studied closely the degree of vigilance of the captors. They had grown lax, and security around the compound was no longer a serious obstacle to a surprise entry by force. Our satellite photographs of the embassy compound and the surrounding area kept us abreast of any changes in the general habits and overall composition of the terrorists' details. We could, for instance, identify individual cars and trucks that went inside the compound each day.

Life for the guards around the embassy grounds seemed to have settled into a relaxed and humdrum existence, perfectly designed for a lightning strike by a highly trained and well-equipped force which, with night-vision devices, could easily distinguish in the dark between our people and the Iranian captors. We would need six large helicopters to fly into the center of Tehran, pick up the three Americans in the foreign-ministry building and the other hostages in the embassy, and carry them and the rescue team to safety.

The biggest problem was how to travel the enormous distance from the sea or from other countries to extract the hostages from the center of Tehran. Our solution was to fly in seven helicopters (later changed to eight to provide two rather than one backup) from our aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Oman to the remote area—now known as Desert One—that had been surveyed earlier. The only drawback of this site was a seldom-used dirt country road going by it, but the team was prepared to hold any passers-by, hide their vehicles, and release them only when it was too late for the operation to be disrupted. Everyone was under strict orders from me not to harm any innocent bystanders and to avoid bloodshed whenever possible.

The helicopters were scheduled to take off on Thursday, April 24 at dusk (10:30 A.M. Washington time) and arrive about six hours later, at approximately 11:00 P.M. Iran time. This six-hundred-mile flight from the Gulf of Oman would push to the limit the capabilities of these aircraft. They would be joined at Desert One by six C-130's carrying the ninety members of the rescue team, plus fuel and supplies. After the team was transferred from the C-130's to the helicopters, the airplanes would leave Iran, and the helicopters with the rescue team would fly a short distance northward into the nearby mountains, where they would arrive at about 4:00 A.M. and be hidden from view during the following daylight hours. This place was remote and uninhabited, and detection would be highly unlikely. Communication between the Pentagon and the rescue team, using satellites and other relay facilities, would be instantaneous. I would receive telephone reports from David Jones and Harold Brown.

The next night, provided everything went well and I decided the rescue mission should proceed, the trucks our agents had purchased would be removed from a warehouse on the outskirts of Tehran, driven to a point near the mountain hiding place, and used to carry the rescue team into the city. At a prearranged time, the rescue team would simultaneously enter the foreign-ministry building and the compound, overpower the guards, and free the American hostages. Guided by radio communications and prearranged schedules, the helicopters would land at the sites,

picking up our people and carrying them to an abandoned airstrip near the city. From there, two C-141's would fly all the Americans to safety across the desert area of Saudi Arabia. The helicopters would be left in Iran. I planned to notify the Saudis only after the rescue mission was completed. . . .

[The rescue mission ended in disastrous and embarrassing failure. Mechanical problems plagued the rescue team's helicopters, and team leader Colonel Charles Beckwith was forced to scrap the mission at midpoint in the Iranian desert. During withdrawal, two aircraft collided, killing eight of the team members.]

I am still haunted by memories of that day—our high hopes for success, the incredible series of mishaps, the bravery of our rescue team, the embarrassment of failure, and above all, the tragic deaths in the lonely desert. I actually slept a couple of hours, and then got up early to prepare my television broadcast, which would explain to the American people what had occurred.

In my brief statement, I took full responsibility for the mission, outlined what had happened, and gave my reasons for the effort. I reminded the world of the continuing Iranian crime and praised the courageous volunteers who had given their lives for the freedom of others. . . .

As soon as they returned home, I wanted to meet the members of the rescue team (known as "Delta"). Without any notice to the news media, I flew to see the team on Sunday, April 27. Their identities and location were confidential. When I stepped off the helicopter, Colonel Beckwith was waiting. He was really a tough guy, a former University of Georgia football player who had grown up a few miles from my hometown of Plains and had dedicated his life to self-sacrifice for our country in the most dangerous and personal kind of combat service. His chin was quivering and tears were running down his cheeks. I opened my arms, and we embraced and wept together. He said, "Mr. President, I'm sorry we let you down!" For a few moments he couldn't talk, while I expressed with all my heart my appreciation for what his men had done. Then he said, "Will you let us go back?" I told him we were in the struggle together, and that I would do everything possible to find freedom for our fellow Americans. I meant to bring them out, and I would certainly rely on the Delta team, as we had before, if I decided it was necessary. Although I did not say it at the time, I knew that the Iranians would be vigilant about detecting another intrusion into their country; the hostages were being dispersed to various locations then unknown to us. Furthermore, we had not been able to devise a significantly different rescue scheme that was feasible—and to repeat the first one might be suicidal.

Beckwith told me that after the last helicopter had failed in the desert, he had made an instant decision to recommend withdrawal, and that he had no doubt it was right. I asked why they had not destroyed the remaining helicopters before they left Iran, and he explained that the helicopters were loaded with ammunition; any fires or explosions would have endangered the C-130's on which their lives depended.

I also met with five Iranians who had helped us with the mission. They, too, were eager to return and assist us. Then I went around and talked to every one of the men individually, expressing to them again and again our nation's gratitude for their heroism. They were superb. I would not hesitate to put my own life into their hands. . . .

Secretary Brown wanted to let Beckwith answer some questions from the press, but Charlie had been trained to conceal his identity and was reluctant to do it. He insisted on coming by to explain to me why he was going public.

While he was in the Oval Office, he paid me a compliment that may never be exceeded. With some embarrassment, he said, "My men and I have decided that our boss, the President of the United States, is as tough as woodpecker lips." Before he left, we agreed that he and I would walk together behind a bird dog around the fields of our native south Georgia—some day when both of us had more time. . . .

[The Iranian crisis haunted the remainder of Carter's presidency. Carter's inability to resolve it undoubtedly contributed to his defeat by Ronald Reagan in the election of 1980. In the closing days of Carter's term in office, he continued to work intensely on the Iranian problem. But the Iranians withheld from him the crown of success, and released the hostages only on Ronald Reagan's inauguration day, January 20, 1981.]

The release of the American hostages had almost become an obsession with me. Of course, their lives, safety, and freedom were the paramount considerations, but there was more to it. I wanted to have my decisions vindicated. It was very likely that I had been defeated and would soon leave office as President because I had kept these hostages and their fate at the forefront of the world's attention, and had clung to a cautious and prudent policy in order to protect their lives during the preceding fourteen months. Before God and my fellow citizens, I wanted to exert every ounce of my strength and ability during these last few days to achieve their liberation. I knew that if we failed, it might take many months to reweave the fabric of complex agreements that had been so laboriously created. . . .

3. Hugh Sidey Assesses the Carter Presidency (1980)

Veteran Time *White House reporter Hugh Sidey wrote the following assessment of Carter's presidency on the eve of the Democratic presidential nominating convention in 1980. What did he find to be Carter's greatest weaknesses as president? his greatest strengths?*

The stately old East Room of the White House, which has managed to maintain its dignity through the drying laundry of the John Adams family, the gallons of lemonade poured by the abstemious Lucy Hayes and the baleful exit of Richard Nixon, witnessed another extraordinary event last week in the long and colorful caravan of presidential history.

Jimmy Carter, the 38th man in this procession, went somberly and with weighted shoulders before the television cameras (nudging out *M*A*S*H*) to spend an hour attempting to untangle himself and his Administration from the clumsy conniving of his brother Billy for Libyan oil and a vision of millions in commissions.

It was the best of Carter, a profoundly caring man, loving his brother through stress, as honest as a political human knows how to be, skillfully projecting his concern from his electronic stage to an estimated 65 million Americans. He was forceful in his conviction of his own rectitude and a master of every detail in the intricate caper of Billy, the wily and greedy buffoon.

And it was the worst of Carter, the President. Rarely in the past 3½ years have we seen the President so focused and eloquent on a problem—a problem that never

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[3] Hugh Sidey, "Assessing a Presidency." Copyright 1980 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission from *Time* (August 18, 1980).

should have been, and even now should be relegated to the lawyers who love to niggle. In a world that is stalled and frightened, with only a handful of men and women wielding the power to address the malaise, Jimmy Carter, as so often in his stewardship, confused his personal and political concerns with his larger duties as President. While most Americans surely felt admiration for Carter the man, there hovered in the background those dark clouds of doubt about his leadership that were reflected in the question by CBS's Lesley Stahl, "How do you think you got into this big mess?" He never seemed to understand why this was the real question—and the implications of his failure to answer it.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt once broke into tears in the presence of a friend, so distraught was he over his conviction that Carter did not grasp his true responsibility as leader of the U.S. The world drifts toward war, believes Schmidt, with Carter uncomprehending. The same sentiment echoes from Asia, where Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew finds Carter's vision "a sorry admission of the limits of America's power." An official of Moscow's Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada complains: "What drives us crazy about Carter is his capriciousness, his constant changing of the points of reference in our relationship." Following this summer's economic summit meeting in Venice, a participant observed: "Mr. Carter cannot merely keep declaring himself the leader of the free world; he must demonstrate that capacity."

When Jimmy Carter stood before the 1976 Democratic National Convention and pledged "new leadership," he had never met a Democratic President or slept in the White House. The presidency was a legend from books, the Federal Government a classroom exercise, and Washington was a distant citadel of power that somehow had been corrupted by its residents. "It's time for the people to run the Government," Carter told his audience in that moment of warm, rising hope that filled New York's Madison Square Garden.

After greeting a Democratic President in the bathroom mirror every one of 1,299 mornings and sleeping in the White House at least 700 nights, Carter has indeed brought the nation a new kind of leadership. It is at least one promise that he kept among the 600 that he made during his remarkable march to the Oval Office.

But if Carter's years have been a true return to Government by popular will, filtered through the mind and ear of this earnest troubadour of the town meetings and televised press conferences, therein lies a huge and unexpected irony. The people do not like their own political creation. . . .

Carter's record of achievement is not a bare cupboard. There is civil service reform, airline, trucking and financial institutions deregulation, the Panama Canal treaties, restored relations with China, the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty, and a commendable energy program on the books. As a symbol of personal integrity and candor, he is undimmed. A majority of Americans probably would still endorse most of his ideas he set forth in his first euphoric weeks, ideas for tax reform, national health care and Government reorganization. For the most part, Carter's farm program was a wonder, expanding exports and raising prices and farm income. He has increased the military budget, put the new MX missile system in planning, leapfrogged a new manned bomber to develop the cruise missile and persuaded NATO to make significant increases in arms and readiness.

Yet Carter is today a political cripple both at home and abroad because the larger issues have swamped him. Inflation and interest rates have doubled in his time. The

true anguish at home, as described by Patricia Harris, Secretary of Health and Human Services, is among members of the middle class, who are far from deprivation but find themselves losing ground economically. Their fear is directed at Carter. Overseas, Soviet influence massed and grew and almost everywhere shoved a clumsy and reluctant U.S. against the wall. "We feel," says Raymond Aron, the distinguished French student of *Realpolitik*, "that American power is in decline. It is that simple and that unfortunate." It is, for instance, one of Kissinger's views that Americans are beginning to reproach themselves and Carter because the U.S. did not take dramatic action to resolve the Iranian hostage crisis when it first occurred. The public wanted nothing done then, but now is blaming the President for failure to act against popular will. That may be another manifestation of what has gone wrong on Jimmy Carter's watch. In his own inexperience and uncertainty, the President could not define a mission for his Government, a purpose for the country and the means of getting there. Former Secretary of the Treasury W. Michael Blumenthal confided to friends after he was fired that at first he thought Carter's long pauses during economic discussions were periods of thought. Later he decided they came from Carter's inability to decide what to do or even what questions to ask. . . .

His civics-class approach to the world appeared again when the Shah of Iran fell. While cautious in public statements, Carter in private had nearly convinced himself that Iran would return to the constitution of 1906, that the legislature would reassemble, the military would hold order and a stable government take root. "It was preposterous," says one who helped plan the American response. "The President's thinking was not based on any actual experience of how governments really work in this world."

In trying to fathom the man and his times, almost every Carter analyst comes back, both in admiration and in doubt, to the President's religiosity. It bolsters him for the great waves of criticism that pound now at the White House. But it also seduces him and contributes to many of his falterings. He is a believer—in Bert Lance, his old friend and economic counselor whose banking improprieties forced him from the Office of Management and Budget; in Billy Carter, the kid brother with a good heart who must mean well; in Leonid Brezhnev, who pledged his hope for peace in the shadowy halls of Vienna's Hofburg Palace. Carter's matrix is that found in the Scriptures, where the rules of a just and loving life are laid out. He wants to prevail by purity. Applying those patterns of human concern and behavior to the world's masses is far more difficult.

When a close Carter aide found out that the President was going to Washington's National Cathedral to pray with the families of the hostages, he knew instinctively that the U.S. would not for the time being assert its power in any way that might jeopardize the hostages. For months Carter resisted using the rescue plan devised by his National Security experts. He was consumed by fear of losing individual lives in such an operation. The hostage crisis was incorporated into his political campaign, and from the Rose Garden he sounded the theme of peace, noting proudly that not a single American had died in combat during his presidency.

The wider interest of America's position in the world was only vaguely appreciated, if at all. Always Carter's mind fixed on the small parts of the effort and not the whole. At one stage in reviewing the attack plans on the embassy compound where the hostages were held, the President asked about the Iranian guards stationed

inside the embassy, near the wall that the commandos intended to scale. Were they volunteers or conscripts? he wondered. If they were radicals, Carter explained, he could go along with killing them, but if they were only peasant conscripts, he wanted them knocked out temporarily. . . .

In almost every political arena that Carter has entered, his conviction that fervid good will would carry the day has proved false, and in many instances has worsened the problems. His belief that the Soviets would respond to dramatic overtures to scrap many of their nuclear missiles helped to fuel the continuation of arms competition. Carter's human rights campaign is now viewed as having often embarrassed U.S. allies and hardened the opposition of adversaries. His vague notion, preached mostly by his friend and onetime U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, that the radical nations were our natural allies has been mocked in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Iran. "It is not that he does not mean well," says one thoughtful critic of Carter. "It is that almost everything he has touched he has made worse. He operated from the wrong concept of his job, the wrong theory of international affairs, and he uses administrative procedures that fail."

If there is a modern manual of leadership widely admired in the world today, it is the memoirs of France's Charles de Gaulle. His lessons are simple but rarely heeded in most White House proceedings. De Gaulle wrote of the need to concentrate on the questions of greatest national importance, of the necessity of delegating authority, of remaining at a distance but not in an ivory tower, of talking constantly to his people not about themselves but the greater interests of the nation.

In a peculiar way Jimmy Carter is consumed by himself. His world still resembles the small stretch of Plains, Ga. His goodness becomes an end in itself, defined in the Main Street encounters where the audiences are people with names and problems that are manageable. This does little, however, to define the tastes of the presidency, where decisions must have heroic dimensions, where leaders must balance their immense egos against a deeper understanding that they are but specks of dust in the ultimate sweep of history, where the future must be just as real as the present.

Thought Provokers

1. Was Nixon's Cambodian incursion courageous or foolhardy? Did it shorten or lengthen the war? What effect did the public outcry against the incursion have on the administration's conduct of foreign policy?
2. What was the connection between détente and the end of the Vietnam War? Did Nixon's policies toward the Soviet Union and China mark a fundamental reorientation in U.S. foreign policy, or simply a convenient maneuver to extricate the United States from the Indochina war?
3. What is the role of the Supreme Court in the American governmental system? Is its independence compromised because the President has the exclusive power to nominate justices? Would some other system—for example, national election of justices—be better? What, precisely, were the differences between the "Warren Court" of the 1950s and 1960s and the "Burger Court" of the 1970s and 1980s?

4. Why was the resolution to impeach President Nixon passed? What exactly did it name as the grounds for impeachment? Nixon later said that he gave his enemies a sword and they cut him down with it. Is that an accurate description of what happened? Should a president be forgiven for lying to the public under some circumstances?
5. Was Jimmy Carter's presidency a failure? If so, why? What role did the Iranian hostage crisis play in Carter's political life? How might the hostage crisis have been handled differently? What successes did Carter have as president? What will be his historical reputation in another ten or twenty years?

45

Ronald Reagan and the Conservative Resurgence

While [Communists] preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.

President Ronald Reagan, March 8, 1983

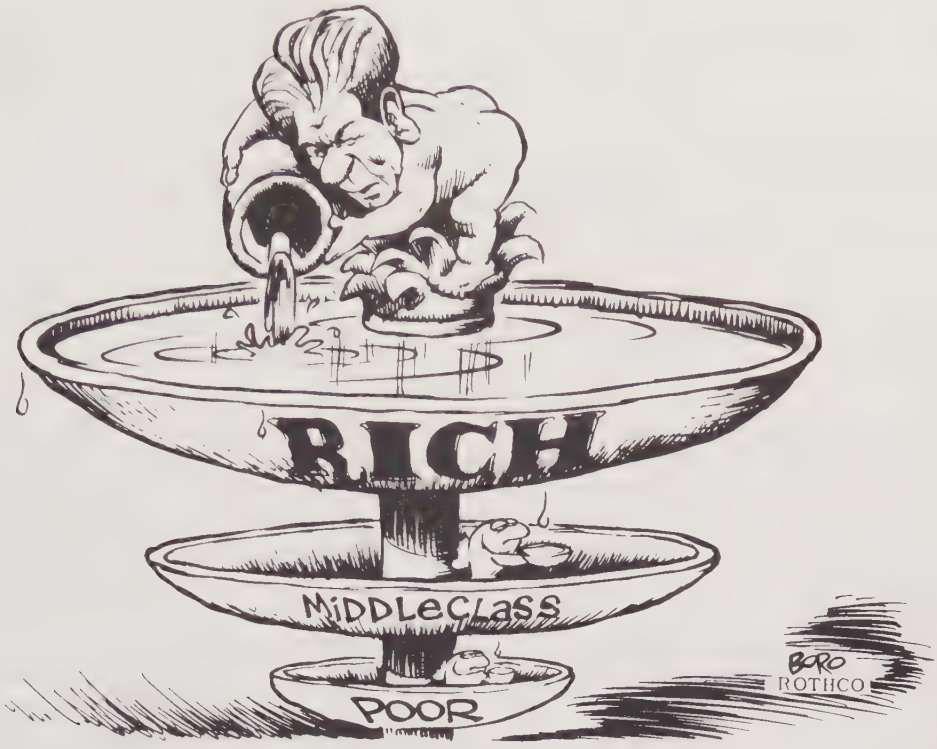
Prologue: Ronald Reagan, the most conservative president in half a century, emerged victorious in the election of 1980. He set out immediately to implement a virtual revolution in U.S. politics. He attacked head-on the big-government legacy of the New Deal and the Great Society. He slashed the federal budget for social programs and induced Congress to pass a sweeping tax cut. He simultaneously called for massive increases in defense spending, and federal budget deficits soared to nearly $200 billion a year in the mid-1980s. But "Reaganomics" did slay the ogre of inflation that had stalked the economy for more than a decade. Reagan took a hard line with the Soviet Union and announced a major shift in U.S. strategic doctrine in 1983, when he called for the construction of a space-based defense system against intercontinental ballistic missiles. Jolted, the Soviets made the abandonment of this so-called Star Wars scheme the precondition for any futher discussion of arms control. Reagan meanwhile flexed his military muscle in the Caribbean by dispatching U.S. troops to invade the tiny island of Grenada in 1983. Central America posed more frustrating problems, as Reagan struggled against congressional opposition to send aid to rebels seeking to overthrow the leftist government in Nicaragua. Triumphantly reelected in 1984, Reagan embraced some emotional "social issues" such as prayer in the schools and the antiabortion crusade. He found support among many fundamentalist religious groups, as well as among a group of intellectuals known as neoconservatives.

A. The Reagan "Revolution" in Economic Policy

1. The Supply-Side Gospel (1984)

Since New Deal days, Keynesian economic theory had dominated federal policy. Named for the brilliant British economist John Maynard Keynes, who had developed his ideas most conspicuously in The General Theory of Employment, Interest and

[1] Excerpted by permission from *The Supply-Side Revolution* by Paul C. Roberts, pp. 20–25, 89–94. Copyright © 1984 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.



"Trickle-Down Economics"
Ronald Reagan's tax-cutting proposals are viciously satirized in this cartoon. (Len Boro/Rothco Cartoons)

Money *in 1936, Keynesian theory emphasized the role of government spending, including deficit financing, in stimulating the economy. Now, so-called supply-side economists argued that continual reliance on government spending sapped money and initiative from the private sector, ballooned deficits, and contained an inherently inflationary bias. The supply-siders came into their own with Ronald Reagan's election in 1980. Here one of them explains the basics of their approach. What is innovative about it? In light of the unprecedented deficits chalked up in the Reagan years, can supply-side theory be said to have worked?*

Ronald Reagan campaigned for the presidency on a supply-side platform. It gave him an employment policy that did not rely on inflation and government programs. It gave him an anti-inflation policy that did not rely on the pain and suffering of rising unemployment. And it gave him a budget policy that eliminated the deficit through economic growth instead of balancing the budget on the backs of taxpayers. Reagan was a different kind of candidate because he emphasized the capabilities of the people and the American economy. He campaigned on a message of hope that sparked a rebirth of confidence in the people. Reagan's optimism was so unfamiliar to the Republican establishment that its candidate, George Bush, called it "voodoo economics."

The political themes of failures and limits, themes that had created and reinforced

insecurities in the people leading them to accept more government programs and controls over their lives, were not a part of Reagan's message. He spoke the language of an American renaissance. His message invigorated the hopes of people whose lives, pocketbooks, and prospects were cramped by a politics that closed all frontiers except those serviced by the federal budget. Here was a man breaking all of the ingrained political rules, and he was winning. . . .

The President-elect wanted to get on with his business of using incentives to rebuild the U.S. economy. He ruled out both wage and price controls and the continuation of demand management—the economic cycle of fighting inflation with unemployment and unemployment with inflation. In place of a stop-go monetary policy ranging from too tight to too loose, there would be steady, moderate, and predictable growth in the money supply. And instead of pumping up demand to stimulate the economy, reliance would be placed on improving incentives on the supply side.

This is the policy package that became known as Reaganomics. Its controversial feature is its belief that the economy can enjoy a rise in real gross national product while inflation declines. Monetary policy would first stabilize and then gradually reduce inflation, while tax cuts would provide liquidity as well as incentives and prevent the slower money growth from causing a recession. By creating the wrong incentives and damaging the cash flow of individuals and businesses, the tax system had produced a nation of debt junkies. With the economy strung out on credit, it had to be carefully rehabilitated so as not to produce a liquidity crisis.

A decade of taxflation (inflation and rising marginal tax rates) had taken most of the gains in individual incomes, leaving people no recourse but to turn to debt to finance their gains in consumption. Since the interest on debt is tax-deductible, being in debt was the only way for people to get some of their income back from the government and experience a rise in living standards. Businesses were equally encouraged by the tax system to go into debt. The only way out of this dilemma is to improve production incentives and the cash flow of individuals and businesses, while gradually reducing the rate of money growth. The tax cuts had two purposes. One was to lower tax rates and improve incentives. The other was to prevent a reduction in money growth from causing liquidity problems in the private sector. With incentives restructured, money growth would be used to finance the growth of real goods and services rather than to bid up the prices of houses and commodities. . . .

Keynesian theory explained the economy's performance in terms of the level of total spending. A budget deficit adds to total spending and helps keep employment high and the economy running at full capacity. Cutting the deficit, as the Republicans wanted to do, would reduce spending and throw people out of work, thereby lowering national income and raising the unemployment rate. The lower income would produce less tax revenue, and the higher unemployment would require larger budget expenditures for unemployment compensation, food stamps, and other support programs. The budget deficit would thus reappear from a shrunken tax base and higher income-support payments. Patient (and impatient) Democrats, economists, columnists, and editorial writers had explained many times to the obdurate Republicans that cutting the deficit would simply reduce spending on goods and services, drive the economy down, and raise the unemployment rate. Keynesians argued that the way to balance the budget was to run a deficit. Deficit spending would lift the economy, and the government's tax revenues would rise, bringing the budget into balance. Since cutting the deficit was believed to be the surest way to throw people out of work, there

were not many Republican economists. When Democrat Alice Rivlin was asked why there were no Republican economists on her "nonpartisan" Congressional Budget Committee staff, she was probably telling the truth when she said she could not find any.

The focus on the deficit had left the Republicans without a competitive political program. They were perceived by the recipients of government benefits as the party always threatening to cut back on government programs such as social security, while the taxpaying part of the electorate saw Republicans as the party that was always threatening to raise taxes in order to pay for the benefits that others were receiving. The party that takes away with both hands competes badly with the party that gives away with both hands, and that simple fact explained the decline of the Republican Party, which had come to be known as the tax collector for Democratic spending programs.

Supply-side economics brought a new perspective to fiscal policy. Instead of stressing the effects on spending, supply-siders showed that tax rates directly affect the supply of goods and services. Lower tax rates mean better incentives to work, to save, to take risks, and to invest. As people respond to the higher after-tax rewards, or greater profitability, incomes rise and the tax base grows, thus feeding back some of the lost revenues to the Treasury. The saving rate also grows, providing more financing for government and private borrowing. Since Keynesian analysis left out such effects, once supply-side economics appeared on the scene the Democrats could no longer claim that government spending stimulated the economy more effectively than tax cuts.

2. President Reagan Asks for a Tax Cut (1981)

Ronald Reagan scored a stunning electoral victory over Jimmy Carter in 1980, and after his inauguration he set out energetically to cut the federal budget and reduce federal taxes. A former actor and television personality, Reagan used the electronic media with more effectiveness than almost any other modern president—earning for himself the title of Great Communicator. In his nationally televised address of July 27, 1981, reproduced here, Reagan called on Congress to grant a three-year, 25-percent personal income tax cut across the board to all U.S. taxpayers. Why did he feel that such a cut was necessary?

It's been nearly 6 months since I first reported to you on the state of the Nation's economy. I'm afraid my message that night was grim and disturbing. I remember telling you we were in the worst economic mess since the Great Depression. Prices were continuing to spiral upward, unemployment was reaching intolerable levels, and all because government was too big and spent too much of our money.

We're still not out of the woods, but we've made a start. And we've certainly surprised those longtime and somewhat cynical observers of the Washington scene, who looked, listened, and said, "It can never be done; Washington will never change its spending habits." Well, something very exciting has been happening here in Washington, and you're responsible.

Your voices have been heard—millions of you, Democrats, Republicans, and

[2] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 17,* no. 31 (August 3, 1981): 814–820.

independents, from every profession, trade and line of work, and from every part of this land. You sent a message that you wanted a new beginning. You wanted to change one little, two little word—two letter word, I should say. It doesn't sound like much, but it sure can make a difference changing "by government," "control *by* government" to "control *of* government."

In that earlier broadcast, you'll recall I proposed a program to drastically cut back government spending in the 1982 budget, which begins October 1st, and to continue cutting in the '83 and '84 budgets. Along with this I suggested an across-the-board tax cut, spread over those same 3 years, and the elimination of unnecessary regulations which were adding billions to the cost of things we buy.

All the lobbying, the organized demonstrations, and the cries of protest by those whose way of life depends on maintaining government's wasteful ways were no match for your voices, which were heard loud and clear in these marble halls of government. And you made history with your telegrams, your letters, your phone calls and, yes, personal visits to talk to your elected Representatives. You reaffirmed the mandate you delivered in the election last November—a mandate that called for an end to government policies that sent prices and mortgage rates skyrocketing while millions of Americans went jobless.

Because of what you did, Republicans and Democrats in the Congress came together and passed the most sweeping cutbacks in the history of the Federal budget. Right now, Members of the House and Senate are meeting in a conference committee to reconcile the differences between the two budget cutting bills passed by the House and Senate. When they finish, all Americans will benefit from savings of approximately $140 billion in reduced government costs over just the next 3 years. And that doesn't include the additional savings from the hundreds of burdensome regulations already cancelled or facing cancellation.

For 19 out of the last 20 years, the Federal Government has spent more than it took in. There will be another large deficit in this present year which ends September 30th, but with our program in place, it won't be quite as big as it might have been. And starting next year, the deficits will get smaller until in just a few years the budget can be balanced. And we hope we can begin whittling at that almost $1 trillion debt that hangs over the future of our children.

Now, so far, I've been talking about only one part of our program for economic recovery—the budget cutting part. I don't minimize its importance. Just the fact that Democrats and Republicans could work together as they have, proving the strength of our system, has created an optimism in our land. The rate of inflation is no longer in double-digit figures. The dollar has regained strength in the international money markets, and businessmen and investors are making decisions with regard to industrial development, modernization and expansion—all of this based on anticipation of our program being adopted and put into operation.

A recent poll shows that where a year and a half ago only 24 percent of our people believed things would get better, today 46 percent believe they will. To justify their faith, we must deliver the other part of our program. Our economic package is a closely knit, carefully constructed plan to restore America's economic strength and put our Nation back on the road to prosperity.

Each part of this package is vital. It cannot be considered piecemeal. It was proposed as a package, and it has been supported as such by the American people. Only if the Congress passes all of its major components does it have any real chance of

success. This is absolutely essential if we are to provide incentives and make capital available for the increased productivity required to provide real, permanent jobs for our people.

And let us not forget that the rest of the world is watching America carefully to see how we'll act at this critical moment.

I have recently returned from a summit meeting with world leaders in Ottawa, Canada, and the message I heard from them was quite clear. Our allies depend on a strong and economically sound America. And they're watching events in this country, particularly those surrounding our program for economic recovery, with close attention and great hopes. In short, the best way to have a strong foreign policy abroad is to have a strong economy at home.

The day after tomorrow, Wednesday, the House of Representatives will begin debate on two tax bills. And once again, they need to hear from you. I know that doesn't give you much time, but a great deal is at stake. A few days ago I was visited here in the office by a Democratic Congressman from one of our Southern States. He'd been back in his district. And one day one of his constituents asked him where he stood on our economic recovery program—I outlined that program in an earlier broadcast—particularly the tax cut. Well, the Congressman, who happens to be a strong leader in support of our program, replied at some length with a discussion of the technical points involved, but he also mentioned a few reservations he had on certain points. The constituent, a farmer, listened politely until he'd finished, and then he said, "Don't give me an essay. What I want to know is are you for 'im or agin 'im?"

Well, I appreciate the gentleman's support and suggest his question is a message your own Representatives should hear. Let me add, those Representatives honestly and sincerely want to know your feelings. They get plenty of input from the special interest groups. They'd like to hear from their home folks.

Now, let me explain what the situation is and what's at issue. With our budget cuts, we've presented a complete program of reduction in tax rates. Again, our purpose was to provide incentive for the individual, incentives for business to encourage production and hiring of the unemployed, and to free up money for investment. Our bill calls for a 5-percent reduction in the income tax rates by October 1st, a 10-percent reduction beginning July 1st, 1982, and another 10-percent cut a year later, a 25-percent total reduction over 3 years.

But then to ensure the tax cut is permanent, we call for indexing the tax rates in 1985, which means adjusting them for inflation. As it is now, if you get a cost-of-living raise that's intended to keep you even with inflation, you find that the increase in the number of dollars you get may very likely move you into a higher tax bracket, and you wind up poorer than you would. This is called bracket creep.

Bracket creep is an insidious tax. Let me give an example. If you earned $10,000 a year in 1972, by 1980 you had to earn $19,700 just to stay even with inflation. But that's before taxes. Come April 15th, you'll find your tax rates have increased 30 percent. Now, if you've been wondering why you don't seem as well-off as you were a few years back, it's because government makes a profit on inflation. It gets an automatic tax increase without having to vote on it. We intended to stop that.

Time won't allow me to explain every detail. But our bill includes just about everything to help the economy. We reduce the marriage penalty, that unfair tax that has a working husband and wife pay more tax than if they were single. We increase the exemption on the inheritance or estate tax to $600,000, so that farmers and family-

owned businesses don't have to sell the farm or store in the event of death just to pay the taxes. Most important, we wipe out the tax entirely for a surviving spouse. No longer, for example, will a widow have to sell the family source of income to pay a tax on her husband's death.

There are deductions to encourage investment and savings. Business gets realistic depreciation on equipment and machinery. And there are tax breaks for small and independent businesses which create 80 percent of all our new jobs.

This bill also provides major credits to the research and development industry. These credits will help spark the high technology breakthroughs that are so critical to America's economic leadership in the world. There are also added incentives for small businesses, including a provision that will lift much of the burden of costly paperwork that government has imposed on small business.

In addition, there's short-term but substantial assistance for the hard pressed thrift industry, as well as reductions in oil taxes that will benefit new or independent oil producers and move our Nation a step closer to energy self-sufficiency. Our bill is, in short, the first real tax cut for everyone in almost 20 years. . . .

If I could paraphrase a well-known statement by Will Rogers that he had never met a man he didn't like, I'm afraid we have some people around here who never met a tax they didn't hike. . . .

In a few days the Congress will stand at the fork of two roads. One road is all too familiar to us. It leads ultimately to higher taxes. It merely brings us full circle back to the source of our economic problems, where the government decides that it knows better than you what should be done with your earnings and, in fact, how you should conduct your life. The other road promises to renew the American spirit. It's a road of hope and opportunity. It places the direction of your life back in your hands where it belongs.

I've not taken your time this evening merely to ask you to trust me. Instead, I ask you to trust yourselves. That's what America is all about. Our struggle for nationhood, our unrelenting fight for freedom, our very existence—these have all rested on the assurance that you must be free to shape your life as you are best able to, that no one can stop you from reaching higher or take from you the creativity that has made America the envy of mankind.

One road is timid and fearful; the other bold and hopeful.

In these 6 months, we've done so much and have come so far. It's been the power of millions of people like you who have determined that we will make America great again. You have made the difference up to now. You will make the difference again. Let us not stop now.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

3. The New York Times *Attacks Reagan's Policies (1981)*

Critics of President Reagan's budget-slashing and tax-cutting policies fumed furiously but ineffectively during Reagan's first year in office. The new president appeared to be a masterful politician whose will was impossible to thwart. Some observers,

[3] *The New York Times*, August 2, 1981. © 1981 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

however, worried about the real purposes behind Reagan's deft display of presidential leadership. In the following editorial from The New York Times, *what are alleged to be Reagan's true intentions? What does the editorial mean when it states that Reagan "gathers power for the purpose of denigrating its value in shaping America"? Is this assessment fair?*

One thing is surely settled: the Presidency is no feeble office. Let a shrewd President single-mindedly pursue a policy broadly grounded in his election mandate, and he can put it across.

It does not follow that Mr. Reagan's economic program is therefore wise or efficient, or that a different program, without tax cuts, could have fared so well. But conservatives did not invent the technique of buying votes with Federal monies; democracy tilts toward gratifying private wants. It is plainly untrue, however, as many have complained, that the democracy of Congress is bound to frustrate the democratic will that elects Presidents.

Nor is it true that Presidential power requires a telegenic face. Rest in peace, Lyndon Johnson. Power lies in circumstance and in the skill with which it is exploited. The Democrats who opposed Mr. Reagan's budget and tax bills played weak hands, but they played them badly. By turning for help to special-interest lobbies, they only challenged the President to outbid them. By forcing a showdown when they lacked decisive strength, they only magnified the drama of his victory.

But is this President's paradoxical triumph also the nation's? He gathers power for the purpose of denigrating its value in shaping America. He does not say the nation is overextended financially. He does not say guns are momentarily more important than butter. He does not rerank the nation's needs or argue against assorted remedies. He denounces all Federal government as oppressive, as the cause of economic distress and a threat to liberty.

So Mr. Reagan has arranged to shrink annual Federal spending by 1984 by about $150 billion and cut taxes to let individuals and businesses spend that sum instead. Economically, that is mostly a transfer of purchasing power which cannot much reduce inflation or unemployment, the Federal deficit or debt. On the contrary, a big increase in military spending will enlarge the deficit unless the President finds further huge savings in civilian programs. And the pressure to find them—wherever—is what he values most about his accomplishment.

But why does the President boast that he has thus improved economic prospects? Because he holds, as a matter of faith, that a dollar spent privately creates more wealth than a dollar spent by Government.

That is surely sometimes true: a Government-run railroad that is politically beholden to its unions will tolerate more waste than a private bus company. But it surely also is sometimes untrue: a Government investment in a student or road or depressed community can stimulate more productive activity than the same sum spent by private citizens on diamonds or cameras. Government may be incompetent to achieve some of its social goals. But uncoordinated private spending is notoriously inefficient in meeting large public needs.

Take the obvious, urgent need to cool inflation. Mr. Reagan's answer is a tortuous chain of incentives: cut a family's taxes by $500 and the money goes to banks and merchants who invest in more businesses and machines which will be more efficient

and hold down prices. Also: reduce a citizen's tax on the *next* earned dollar from 29 to 25 cents and he'll work harder longer and thus reduce costs.

But if it were primarily interested in economic results, Government has surer ways to achieve those results—as even Mr. Reagan's plan recognizes. For it aims large tax reductions directly at businesses that buy cost-reducing machines or job-producing plants. A still more efficient plan would have aimed more precisely at the most wanted machines and at workers who hold down wages or communities that reduce sales taxes.

The unavoidable conclusion is that Mr. Reagan wants to use his power primarily to diminish Government—even where that dilutes economic recovery and prevents efficient allocation of resources.

That the President's plan will revive the economy remains to be proved. What is no longer in doubt is that his economic remedies mask an assault on the very idea that free people can solve their collective problems through representative Government. One day soon Americans will rediscover that their general welfare depends on national as well as parochial actions. And then they will want not just a powerful President but one who cherishes the power of Government to act for the common good.

B. Reagan's Foreign Policies

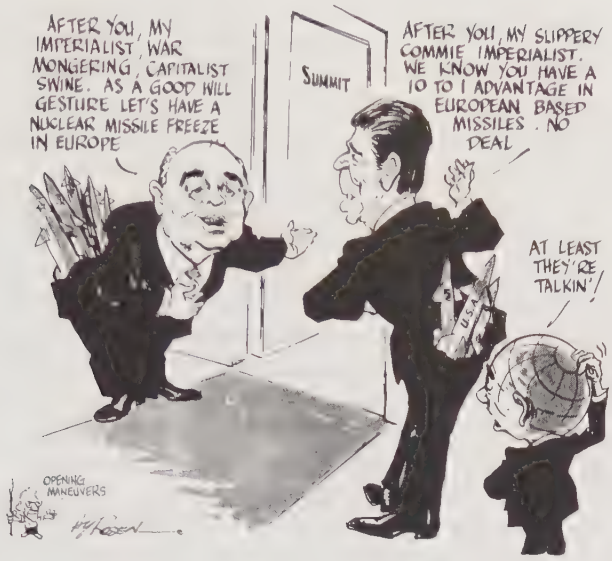
1. "Star Wars" under Attack (1985)

In March 1983 President Reagan surprised the world by announcing a major new departure in U.S. strategic doctrine. For nearly four decades, the superpowers had kept a precarious peace based on the threat of "mutual assured destruction" (MAD). In essence, the Soviet Union and the United States were both deterred from nuclear aggression by the expectation of massive retaliation in kind. Reagan's new approach, officially called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) but quickly dubbed Star Wars, rejected the ghastly calculus of MAD and instead held out the prospect of a space-based defensive shield against nuclear attack. By repudiating the conventional strategic wisdom, SDI provoked a chorus of criticism. In the following article, four distinguished foreign policy experts sharply question the Star Wars concept. What are their principal objections to it? What alternatives do they propose?

The reelection of Ronald Reagan makes the future of his Strategic Defense Initiative the most important question of nuclear arms competition and arms control on the national agenda since 1972. . . .

This new initiative was launched by the President on March 23, 1983, in a surprising and quite personal passage at the end of a speech in praise of his other military programs. In that passage he called on our scientists to find means of rendering

[1] "The President's Choice: Star Wars or Arms Control" by McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara and Gerard Smith, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 63, No. 2 (Winter 1984–85), pp. 264–278. Copyright 1984 by the Council on foreign Relations, Inc. Reprinted by permission of *Foreign Affairs*.


AFTER YOU, MY IMPERIALIST, WAR MONGERING, CAPITALIST SWINE. AS A GOOD WILL GESTURE LET'S HAVE A NUCLEAR MISSILE FREEZE IN EUROPE
SUMMIT
AFTER YOU, MY SLIPPERY COMMIE IMPERIALIST. WE KNOW YOU HAVE A 10 TO 1 ADVANTAGE IN EUROPEAN BASED MISSILES. NO DEAL
AT LEAST THEY'RE TALKIN'!
OPENING MANEUVERS

Summit Pleasantries
The Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in 1985 produced no discernible thaw in either the Cold War or the deadly arms race. (Hy Rosen, Albany Times-Union, New York/Rothco Cartoons)

nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." In the briefings that surrounded the speech, Administration spokesmen made it clear that the primary objective was the development of ways and means of destroying hostile missiles—meaning in the main Soviet missiles—by a series of attacks all along their flight path, from their boost phase after launch to their entry into the atmosphere above the United States. Because of the central position the Administration itself gave to this objective, the program promptly acquired the name Star Wars, and the President's Science Advisor, George Keyworth, has admitted that this name is now indelible. We find it more accurately descriptive than the official "Strategic Defense Initiative."

II

What is centrally and fundamentally wrong with the President's objective is that it cannot be achieved. The overwhelming consensus of the nation's technical community is that in fact there is no prospect whatever that science and technology can, at any time in the next several decades, make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." The program developed over the last 18 months, ambitious as it is, offers no prospect for a leak-proof defense against strategic ballistic missiles alone, and it entirely excludes from its range any effort to limit the effectiveness of other systems—bomber aircraft, cruise missiles, and smuggled warheads. . . .

The notion that nuclear weapons, or even ballistic missiles alone, can be rendered impotent by science and technology is an illusion. It reflects not only technological hubris in the face of the very nature of nuclear weapons, but also a complete misreading of the relation between threat and response in the nuclear decisions of the superpowers.

The first and greatest obstacle is quite simply that these weapons are destructive to a degree that makes them entirely different from any other weapon in history. The President frequently observes that over the centuries every new weapon has produced

some countervailing weapon, and up to Hiroshima he is right. But conventional weapons can be neutralized by a relatively low rate of kill, provided that the rate is sustained over time. The classic modern example is defense against nonnuclear bombing. If you lose one bomber in every ten sorties, your force will soon be destroyed. A pilot assigned to fly 30 missions will face a 95-percent prospect of being shot down. A ten-percent rate of kill is highly effective.

With nuclear weapons the calculation is totally different. Both Mr. Reagan's dream and his historical argument completely neglect the decisive fact that a very few nuclear weapons, exploding on or near population centers, would be hideously too many. At today's levels of superpower deployment—about 10,000 strategic warheads on each side—even a 95-percent kill rate would be insufficient to save either society from disintegration in the event of general nuclear war. Not one of Mr. Reagan's technical advisers claims that any such level of protection is attainable. They know better. In the words of the officer in charge of the program, Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, "a perfect defense is not a realistic thing." . . .

The terrible power of nuclear weapons has a second meaning that decisively undermines the possibility of an effective Star Wars defense of populations. Not only is their destructive power so great that only a kill rate closely approaching 100 percent can give protection, but precisely because the weapons are so terrible neither of the two superpowers can tolerate the notion of "impotence" in the face of the arsenal of the opponent. Thus any prospect of a significantly improved American defense is absolutely certain to stimulate the most energetic Soviet efforts to ensure the continued ability of Soviet warheads to get through. Ever since Hiroshima it has been a cardinal principle of Soviet policy that the Soviet Union must have a match for any American nuclear capability. It is fanciful in the extreme to suppose that the prospect of any new American deployment which could undermine the effectiveness of Soviet missile forces will not be met by a most determined and sustained response. . . .

Already important and enduring obstacles have been identified. Two are systemic and ineradicable. First, a Star Wars defense must work perfectly the very first time, since it can never be tested in advance as a full system. Second, it must be triggered almost instantly, because the crucial boost phase of Soviet missiles lasts less than five minutes from the moment of launch. In that five minutes (which new launch technology can probably reduce to about 60 seconds), there must be detection, decision, aim, attack and kill. It is hard to imagine a scheme further removed from the kind of tested reliability and clear presidential control that we have hitherto required of systems involving nuclear danger.

There are other more general difficulties with the President's dream. Any remotely leak-proof defense against strategic missiles will require extensive deployments of many parts of the system in space, both for detection of any Soviet launch and, in most schemes, for transmission of the attack on the missile in its boost phase. Yet no one has been able to offer any hope that it will ever be easier and cheaper to deploy and defend large systems in space than for someone else to destroy them. The balance of technical judgment is that the advantage in any unconstrained contest in space will be with the side that aims to attack the other side's satellites. In and of itself this advantage constitutes a compelling argument against space-based defense.

Finally, as we have already noted, the President's program offers no promise of effective defense against anything but ballistic missiles. Even if we assume, against all

the evidence, that a leak-proof defense could be achieved against these particular weapons, there would remain the difficulty of defense against cruise missiles, against bomber aircraft, and against the clandestine introduction of warheads. It is important to remember here that very small risks of these catastrophic events will be enough to force upon us the continuing need for our own deterrent weapons. . . .

The inescapable reality is that there is literally no hope that Star Wars can make nuclear weapons obsolete. Perhaps the first and most important political task for those who wish to save the country from the expensive and dangerous pursuit of a mirage is to make this basic proposition clear. As long as the American people believe that Star Wars offers real hope of reaching the President's asserted goal, it will have a level of political support unrelated to reality. The American people, properly and sensibly, would like nothing better than to make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete," but the last thing they want or need is to pay an astronomic bill for a vastly intensified nuclear competition sold to them under a false label. Yet that is what Star Wars will bring us, as a closer look will show.

III

The second line of defense for the Star Wars program, and the one which represents the real hopes and convictions of both military men and civilians at the levels below the optimistic President and his enthusiastic secretary of defense, is not that it will ever be able to defend *all our people*, but rather that it will allow us to defend *some of our weapons and other military assets*, and so, somehow, restrain the arms race.

This objective is very different from the one the President has held out to the country, but it is equally unattainable. The Star Wars program is bound to exacerbate the competition between the superpowers in three major ways. It will destroy the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, our most important arms control agreement; it will directly stimulate both offensive and defensive systems on the Soviet side; and as long as it continues it will darken the prospect for significant improvement in the currently frigid relations between Moscow and Washington. It will thus sharpen the very anxieties the President wants to reduce.

As presented to Congress last March, the Star Wars program calls for a five-year effort of research and development at a total cost of $26 billion. The Administration insists that no decision has been made to develop or deploy any component of the potential system, but a number of hardware demonstrations are planned, and it is hoped that there can be an affirmative decision on full-scale system development in the early 1990s. By its very nature, then, the program is both enormous and very slow. This first $26 billion, only for research and development, is not much less than the full procurement cost of the new B-1 bomber force, and the timetable is such that Mr. Reagan's second term will end long before any deployment decision is made. Both the size and the slowness of the undertaking reinforce the certainty that it will stimulate the strongest possible Soviet response. Its size makes it look highly threatening, while its slowness gives plenty of time for countermeasures.

Meanwhile, extensive American production of offensive nuclear weapons will continue. The Administration has been at pains to insist that the Star Wars program in no way reduces the need for six new offensive systems. There are now two new land-based missiles, two new strategic bombers, and two different submarine systems

under various stages of development. The Soviets regularly list several other planned American deployments as strategic because the weapons can reach the Soviet homeland. Mr. Reagan recognized at the very outset that "if paired with offensive systems," any defensive systems "can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that." But that is exactly how his new program, with its proclaimed emphasis on both offense and defense, is understood in Moscow.

We have been left in no doubt as to the Soviet opinion of Star Wars. Only four days after the President's speech, Yuri Andropov gave the Soviet reply:

> On the face of it, laymen may find it even attractive as the President speaks about what seem to be defensive measures. But this may seem to be so only on the face of it and only to those who are not conversant with these matters. In fact the strategic offensive forces of the United States will continue to be developed and upgraded at full tilt and along quite a definite line at that, namely that of acquiring a first nuclear strike capability. Under these conditions the intention to secure itself the possibility of destroying with the help of the ABM defenses the corresponding strategic systems of the other side, that is of rendering it unable of dealing a retaliatory strike, is a bid to disarm the Soviet Union in the face of the U.S. nuclear threat.

The only remarkable elements in this response are its clarity and rapidity. Andropov's assessment is precisely what we should expect. Our government, of course, does not intend a first strike, but we are building systems which do have what is called in our own jargon a prompt hard-target kill capability, and the primary purpose of these systems is to put Soviet missiles at risk of quick destruction. Soviet leaders are bound to see such weapons as a first-strike threat. This is precisely the view that our own planners take of Soviet missiles with a similar capability. When the President launches a defensive program openly aimed at making Soviet missiles "impotent," while at the same time our own hard-target killers multiply, we cannot be surprised that a man like Andropov saw a threat "to disarm the Soviet Union." Given Andropov's assessment, the Soviet response to Star Wars is certain to be an intensification of both its offensive and defensive strategic efforts.

Perhaps the easiest way to understand this political reality is to consider our own reaction to any similar Soviet announcement of intent. The very thought that the Soviet Union might plan to deploy effective strategic defenses would certainly produce a most energetic American response, and the first and most important element of that response would be a determination to ensure that a sufficient number of our own missiles would always get through.

Administration spokesmen continue to talk as if somehow the prospect of American defensive systems will in and of itself lead the Soviet government to move away from strategic missiles. This is a vain hope. Such a result might indeed be conceivable if Mr. Reagan's original dream were real—if we could somehow ever deploy a *perfect* defense. But in the real world no system will ever be leak-proof; no new system of any sort is in prospect for a decade and only a fragmentary capability for years thereafter; numerous powerful countermeasures are readily available in the meantime, and what is at stake from the Russian standpoint is the deterrent value of their largest and strongest offensive forces.

In this real world it is preposterous to suppose that Star Wars can produce anything but the most determined Soviet effort to make it fruitless. . . .

Some apologists for Star Wars, although not the President, now defend it on the still more limited ground that it can deny the Soviets a first-strike capability. That is conceivable, in that the indefinite proliferation of systems and countersystems would certainly create fearful uncertainties of all sorts on both sides. But as the Scowcroft Commission correctly concluded, the Soviets have no first-strike capability today, given our survivable forces and the ample existing uncertainties in any surprise attack. We believe there are much better ways than strategic defense to ensure that this situation is maintained. . . .

The President seems aware of the difficulty of making the Soviet Union accept his vision, and he has repeatedly proposed a solution that combines surface plausibility and intrinsic absurdity in a way that tells a lot about what is wrong with Star Wars itself. Mr. Reagan says we should give the Russians the secret of defense, once we find it, in return for their agreement to get rid of nuclear weapons. But the only kind of secret that could be used this way is one that exists only in Mr. Reagan's mind: a single magic formula that would make each side durably invulnerable. In the real world any defensive system will be an imperfect complex of technological and operational capabilities, full understanding of which would at once enable any adversary to improve his own methods of penetration. To share this kind of secret is to destroy its own effectiveness. Mr. Reagan's solution is as unreal as his original dream, and it rests on the same failure of understanding.

There is simply no escape from the reality that Star Wars offers not the promise of greater safety, but the certainty of a large-scale expansion of both offensive and defensive systems on both sides. We are not here examining the dismayed reaction of our allies in Europe, but it is precisely this prospect that they foresee, in addition to the special worries created by their recognition that the Star Wars program as it stands has nothing in it for them. Star Wars, in sum, is a prescription not for ending or limiting the threat of nuclear weapons, but for a competition unlimited in expense, duration and danger.

We have come this way before, following false hopes and finding our danger greater in the upshot. We did it when our government responded to the first Soviet atomic test by a decision to get hydrogen bombs if we could, never stopping to consider in any serious way whether both sides would be better off not to test such a weapon. We did it again, this time in the face of strong and sustained warning, when we were the first to deploy the multiple warheads (MIRVs) that now face us in such excessive numbers on Soviet missiles. Today, 15 years too late, we have a consensus that MIRVs are bad for us, but we are still deploying them, and so are the Russians. . . .

V

This has not been a cheerful analysis, or one that we find pleasant to present. If the President makes no major change of course in his second term, we see no alternative to a long, hard, damage-limiting effort by Congress. But we choose to end on a quite different note. We believe that any American president who has won reelection in this nuclear age is bound to ask himself with the greatest seriousness just what he wants to accomplish in his second term. We have no doubt of the deep sincerity of President Reagan's desire for good arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, and we believe his election night assertion that what he wants most in

foreign affairs is to reach just such agreements. We are also convinced that if he asks serious and independent advisers what changes in current American policy will help most to make such agreements possible in the next four years, he will learn that it is possible to reach good agreements, or possible to insist on the Star Wars program as it stands, but wholly impossible to do both. At exactly that point, we believe, Mr. Reagan could, should, and possibly would encourage the serious analysis of his negotiating options that did not occur in his first term.

We do not here explore these possibilities in detail. They would certainly include a reaffirmation of the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty, and an effort to improve it by broadening its coverage and tightening some of its language. There should also be a further exploration of the possibility of an agreement that would safeguard the peaceful uses of space, uses that have much greater value to us than to the Soviets. We still need and lack a reliable cap on strategic warheads, and while Mr. Reagan has asked too much for too little in the past, he is right to want reductions. He currently has some advisers who fear all forms of arms control, but advisers can be changed. We are not suggesting that the President will change his course lightly. We simply believe that he does truly want real progress on arms control in his second term, and that if he ever comes to understand that he must choose between the two, he will choose the pursuit of agreement over the demands of Star Wars.

We have one final deep and strong belief. We think that if there is to be a real step away from nuclear danger in the next four years, it will have to begin at the level of high politics, with a kind of communication between Moscow and Washington that we have not seen for more than a decade. One of the most unfortunate aspects of the Star Wars initiative is that it was launched without any attempt to discuss it seriously, in advance, with the Soviet government. It represented an explicit expression of the President's belief that we should abandon the shared view of nuclear defense that underlies not only the ABM Treaty but all our later negotiations on strategic weapons. To make a public announcement of a change of this magnitude without any effort to discuss it with the Soviets was to ensure increased Soviet suspicion. This error, too, we have made in earlier decades. If we are now to have renewed hope of arms control, we must sharply elevate our attention to the whole process of communication with Moscow.

Such newly serious communication should begin with frank and explicit recognition by both sides that the problem of nuclear danger is in its basic reality a *common* problem, not just for the two of us, but for all the world—and one that we shall never resolve if we cannot transcend negotiating procedures that give a veto to those in each country who insist on the relentlessly competitive maintenance and enlargement of what are already, on both sides, exorbitantly excessive forces.

If it can ever be understood and accepted, as a starting point for negotiation, that our community of interest in the problem of nuclear danger is greater than all our various competitive concerns put together, there can truly be a renewal of hope, and a new prospect of a shared decision to change course together. Alone among the presidents of the last 12 years, Ronald Reagan has the political strength to lead our country in this new direction if he so decides. The renewal of hope cannot be left to await another president without an appeal to the President and his more sober advisers to take a fresh hard look at Star Wars, and then to seek arms control instead.

2. Star Wars Defended (1985)

Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to President Carter, was one of the few Democrats to give (qualified) support to the Star Wars concept. To what extent does his proposed version of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) differ from President Reagan's? Which version is more sound? Why? Is Brzezinski's conception of Star Wars exempt from the criticisms of the president's plan made in the preceding selection?

The usual *danse macabre* of American–Soviet arms control negotiations is about to begin. The process is typically initiated by a Soviet announcement to leaders of the U.S. government, and to the myriad self-appointed American accommodationists trooping to Moscow to seek on their own a "fair" solution, that the ongoing stalemate is due entirely to American rigidity. The Soviets insist that they cannot give an inch, and that only a massive display of American good faith—translated into unilateral concessions—can revive the negotiations.

In the late 1970s the Soviets made it clear that progress in negotiations would be contingent upon U.S. abandonment of its cruise missile program. In 1984 they premised even the beginning of arms control talks on the dismantling of the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles already deployed in Europe. Then the MX missile came to be designated as the impediment to any compromise. And now the Strategic Defense Initiative, Reagan's so-called Star Wars proposal, has been identified as the mortal enemy of arms control.

These arguments are then faithfully reproduced on the Op-Ed pages of U.S. and West European papers. Renowned professors, former ambassadors, various politicized scientists, and leaders of the arms control lobby plead for a demonstration of American good faith—which happens to coincide with the acceptance of what the Soviets have been demanding. The process of negotiation thus begins in earnest—but among us Americans! The Russians, meanwhile, sit at the table in Geneva and wait for the eventual U.S. concessions.

It is a normal procedure for the United States to prepare for serious negotiations with the Soviet Union by defining a tough opening gambit, to be followed by a more flexible position that would be exercised in conjunction with some demonstrated Soviet willingness to compromise. But it is usually only a matter of time before some disgruntled official leaks the substance of the fallback position to one of the ex-ambassadors, peace-loving professors, or any one of the 535 representatives and senators who have lately become our surrogate secretaries of defense and state. Any one of them then feels free to publicize the fallback position as his constructive suggestion. Indeed, the latest fashion is to compose a joint letter published under three or four prestigious signatures, strongly urging the U.S. to make further unilateral concessions in order to convince the Soviets that we are negotiating in earnest. After we prove our good intentions, the Russians may be prepared to accept our third—or fourth—fallback position as a proper match for their own unyielding position.

The Soviet argument against SDI and the domestic critics' case against SDI are

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[2] "A Star Wars Solution" by Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The New Republic*, July 8, 1985. Reprinted by permission of *The New Republic*, © 1985, The New Republic, Inc.

politically complementary. The Soviets say that SDI threatens the militarization of space, and that there will be no arms control agreement unless it is abandoned. The American critics say SDI will not work, that it will cost too much, that the Soviets can very easily overcome it, and that the Soviets are dreadfully fearful of it. The logical inconsistency of these arguments is less important than the political symmetry of their intended effect—namely that the U.S. should unilaterally forgo the SDI program.

In fact, nothing could be more damaging to the prospects for real arms control than the jettisoning of SDI. Indeed, the time has come for the United States to bite the bullet on the SDI question. Only if a strategic defense system is deployable within the next decade or so, and only if our will to deploy it is proven credible, can the United States trade it for a genuine and comprehensive arms control agreement with the Soviets. It is essential that this system be capable of disrupting and rendering militarily useless a Soviet first strike by intercepting missiles early in flight or by knocking them out as they descend toward the United States. Anything less than that virtually guarantees that there will be no comprehensive arms control agreement.

The reason for this proposition, unpalatable though it may be to the arms control lobby, is rooted both in the changing character of nuclear weaponry and in the nature of Soviet strategic deployments. In the 1970s both sides enjoyed large strategic forces whose primary function was to pose the threat of annihilation to the other country. These systems were not susceptible to preemptive destruction. The emerging reality of the 1980s and 1990s is that both sides are deploying far more accurate weapons. These weapons are capable of a preemptive first strike that could eliminate the opponent's strategic forces—and prevent effective retaliation. For the first time it is possible to contemplate the possibility of an attack that destroys an overwhelming majority of the other side's forces while also disrupting its command and communications structures to such an extent that any response would be marginal, spasmodic, and conceivably not totally destructive. In short, as accuracy increases so does the benefit of striking first.

This is not to argue that the Soviets (or the United States) are likely or certain to launch a first strike. It is simply to say that the nuclear relationship is growing ever more precarious. This is the current danger in the American–Soviet military situation. It needs to be addressed and resolved by the arms control process, if possible; or unilaterally, if arms control remains stalemated.

But there is another problem raised by the advent of the highly accurate weaponry. The Soviet Union is now deploying such forces in large numbers; the United States is not. How can we negotiate effectively in this situation? We somehow have to convince the Soviets to limit the further deployment of their new SS-24 and SS-25 missiles, and to limit significantly the deployment of existing SS-18s and SS-19s, all of which have counterforce capability. Without such limitations, by the early 1990s the Soviets—even by conservative estimates—will have enough missiles to place the entire U.S. arsenal in jeopardy. Only our Trident and Poseidon submarines already out at sea *might* escape destruction from a Soviet first strike. And with the confusion and resulting disintegration of communications systems, the submarine forces might not be in a position to retaliate effectively.

In contrast, the United States is not likely to be able to threaten the Soviet Union in a comparable way. No ongoing or likely deployment program will enable us to launch a disarming attack. Even if the U.S. had some form of strategic defense in order

to protect its missile forces, we would still have far too few MX missiles, D-5 missiles on Trident submarines, and Midgetmen to even permit contemplation of such a disarming first-strike attack at any point between now and the end of the century.

In these circumstances, the decision to go ahead with the SDI makes eminent sense. But it also means reformulating it politically and strategically. The U.S. should drop or at least de-emphasize President Reagan's idealistic hope for total nuclear defense for all our population. We should also abandon our unwillingness to consider SDI in the bargaining process. If we implement that part of the SDI program which by the mid-1990s would enable us to disrupt a Soviet first strike, we would reinforce deterrence and promote nuclear stability. That means concentrating on terminal defense and boost-phase interception.

Once we establish our determination to act on the SDI, we are in a better position to strike a bargain. We can say to the Soviets that we both face essentially two choices, one mutually beneficial, the other especially costly to them, but both stabilizing. The first choice is to renegotiate the 1972 ABM treaty to permit deployment of strategic missile defense, but without either side improving its ability to carry out a first strike. Then, in return for significant reductions in SS-24s, SS-25s, SS-18s, and SS-19s, the United States would not deploy its strategic defense system. The second option would be pursued if Soviets were unwilling to accept such a bargain. The United States would unilaterally terminate the ABM treaty and proceed with the SDI. This would render the Soviets' new generation of accurate missiles useless and wipe out their multibillion ruble investment in them.

Some critics of the SDI argue that the Soviets could respond by vastly increasing their offensive deployments. There are two problems with this line of thinking. First, if the Soviets do respond by building up, they will confirm the ominous suspicion that they are intent on preserving a first-strike capability against the United States; if so, the urgency of negating that threat is all the greater.

Second, if the Soviets expand their offensive forces, the strategic defense could be expanded proportionally. Remember that such a system would not need to be foolproof since it would not be designed to defend populations; it would only need to be capable of significantly disrupting an attack on U.S. strategic forces. In such a competition we would have the advantage. It would be far cheaper for us to add defensive missiles than for them to add highly accurate offensive missiles. (Those who make the most ambitious claims for the SDI should bear in mind that we could not compete so well if we were seeking to build a foolproof defense of our cities. If our defense had to be 100 percent effective, it would cost us far more to expand it than it would cost the Soviets to expand their offensive forces.)

To shape such an effective U.S. defense strategy and a meaningful negotiating posture, President Reagan's SDI needs to be redefined. We must show the Soviets both that we can deploy a strategic defense system soon and that we will negotiate over its deployment if they are willing to make stabilizing reductions in their offensive missile forces. In the event of Soviet unwillingness to accept such an arrangement, we would be in position unilaterally to achieve strategic security for ourselves. And because the SDI would not be accompanied by a massive deployment of disarming first-strike offensive U.S. systems, we would in no way increase our strategic threat to the Soviets.

Either way SDI promises a genuinely stabilized nuclear equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is time to act.

3. Reagan Sees Red in Nicaragua (1986)

Central America was shaken by political turmoil in the Reagan years. El Salvador, thrown into chaos by a coup in 1979, was finally stabilized only with the help of U.S. military "advisers." In the same year, a revolution in Nicaragua against the dictator Somoza brought to power a leftist government (the Sandinistas) that President Reagan regarded as a festering thorn in his flesh. He tried repeatedly to win congressional approval for sending military aid to the Nicaraguan "contras," or antigovernment rebels. But American memories of the bloody disaster of Vietnam were still vivid, and Congress balked at giving the president the authority he wanted. On March 16, 1986, President Reagan made the following case for his policy in an emotional television address. What are his strongest and weakest arguments? How convincing are his historical analogies?

My fellow Americans, I must speak to you tonight about a mounting danger in Central America that threatens the security of the United States. This danger will not go away; it will grow worse, much worse, if we fail to take action now.

I am speaking of Nicaragua, a Soviet ally on the American mainland only two hours' flying time from our own borders. With over a billion dollars in Soviet-bloc aid, the Communist Government of Nicaragua has launched a campaign to subvert and topple its democratic neighbors.

Using Nicaragua as a base, the Soviets and Cubans can become the dominant power in the crucial corridor between North and South America. Established there, they will be in a position to threaten the Panama Canal, interdict our vital Caribbean sea lanes and, ultimately, move against Mexico. Should that happen, desperate Latin peoples by the millions would begin fleeing north into the cities of the southern United States, or to wherever some hope of freedom remained.

The United States Congress has before it a proposal to help stop this threat. The legislation is an aid package of $100 million for the more than 20,000 freedom fighters struggling to bring democracy to their country and eliminate this Communist menace at its source. But this $100 million is not an additional $100 million. We are not asking for a single dime in new money. We are asking only to be permitted to switch a small part of our present defense budget—to the defense of our own southern frontier.

Gathered in Nicaragua already are thousands of Cuban military advisers, contingents of Soviet and East Germans and all the elements of international terror—from the P.L.O. to Italy's Red Brigades. Why are they there? Because, as Colonel Qaddafi has publicly exalted: "Nicaragua means a great thing, it means fighting America near its borders. Fighting America at its doorstep."

For our own security the United States must deny the Soviet Union a beachhead in North America. But let me make one thing plain, I am not talking about American troops. They are not needed; they have not been requested. The democratic resistance

[3] *The New York Times,* March 17, 1986, p. 8.

fighting in the Nicaragua is only asking America for the supplies and support to save their own country from Communism.

The question the Congress of the United States will now answer is a simple one: Will we give the Nicaraguan's democratic resistance the means to recapture their betrayed revolution, or will we turn our backs and ignore the malignancy in Managua until it spreads and becomes a mortal threat to the entire new World?

Will we permit the Soviet Union to put a second Cuba, a second Libya, right on the doorsteps of the United States?

How can such a small country pose such a great threat? It is not Nicaragua alone that threatens us, but those using Nicaragua as a privileged sanctuary for their struggle against the United States.

Their first target is Nicaragua's neighbors. With an army and militia of 120,000 men, backed by more than 3,000 Cuban military advisers, Nicaragua's armed forces are the largest Central America has ever seen. The Nicaraguan military machine is more powerful than all its neighbors combined. . . .

If maps, statistics and facts aren't persuasive enough, we have the words of the Sandinistas and Soviets themselves. One of the highest-level Sandinista leaders was asked by an American magazine whether their Communist revolution will—and I quote—"be exported to El Salvador, then Guatemala, then Honduras, then Mexico?" He responded, "That is one historical prophecy of Ronald Reagan's that is absolutely true."

The Soviets have been no less candid. A few years ago, then Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko noted that Central America was "boiling like a cauldron" and ripe for revolution. In a Moscow meeting in 1983, Soviet Chief of Staff, Marshal Ogarkov, declared: "Over two decades ago there was only Cuba in Latin America. Today there are Nicaragua, Grenada and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador."

But we don't need their quotes; the American forces who liberated Grenada captured thousands of documents that demonstrated Soviet intent to bring Communist revolution home to the Western Hemisphere.

So, we are clear on the intentions of the Sandinistas and those who back them. Let us be equally clear about the nature of their regime. To begin with, the Sandinistas have revoked the civil liberties of the Nicaraguan people, depriving them of any legal right to speak, to publish, to assemble or to worship freely. Independent newspapers have been shut down. There is no longer any independent labor movement in Nicaragua nor any right to strike. . . .

Like Communist governments everywhere, the Sandinistas have launched assaults against ethnic and religious groups. The capital's only synagogue was desecrated and firebombed—the entire Jewish community forced to flee Nicaragua. Protestant Bible meetings have been broken up by raids, by mob violence, by machine guns. The Catholic Church has been singled out—priests have been expelled from the country, Catholics beaten in the streets after attending mass. The Catholic Primate of Nicaragua, Cardinal Obando y Bravo, has put the matter forthrightly: "We want to state clearly that this Government is totalitarian. We are dealing with an enemy of the church."

Evangelical pastor Prudencio Baltodano found out he was on his Sandinista hit list, when an army patrol asked his name: "You don't know what we do to the evangelical pastors. We don't believe in God," they told him. Pastor Baltodano was tied to a tree, struck in the forehead with a rifle butt, stabbed in the neck with a bayonet—

finally his ears were cut off, and he was left for dead. "See if your God will save you," they mocked. Well, God did have other plans for Pastor Baltodano. He lived to tell the world his story—to tell it, among other places, right here in the White House.

I could go on about this nightmare—the blacklist, the secret prisons, the Sandinista-directed mob violence. But, as if all this brutality at home were not enough, the Sandinistas are transforming their nation into a safe house, a command post for the international terror.

The Sandinistas not only sponsor terror in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras—terror that led last summer to the murder of four U.S. marines in a cafe in Salvador—they provide a sanctuary for terror. Italy has charged Nicaragua with harboring their worst terrorists, the Red Brigades.

The Sandinistas have been involved themselves in the international drug trade. I know every American parent concerned about the drug problem will be outraged to learn that top Nicaraguan Government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking. This picture, secretly taken at a military airfield outside Managua, shows Federico Vaughn, a top aide to one of the nine commandantes who rule Nicaragua, loading an aircraft with illegal narcotics, bound for the United States.

No, there seems to be no crime to which the Sandinistas will not stoop—this is an outlaw regime. . . .

Through this crucial part of the Western Hemisphere passes almost half our foreign trade, more than half our imports of crude oil and a significant portion of the military supplies we would have to send to the NATO alliance in the event of a crisis. These are the choke points where the sea lanes could be closed.

Central America is strategic to our Western alliance, a fact always understood by foreign enemies. In World War II, only a few German U-boats, operating from bases 4,000 miles away in Germany and occupied Europe, inflicted crippling losses on U.S. shipping right off our southern coast.

Today, Warsaw Pact engineers are building a deep-water port on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, similar to the naval base in Cuba for Soviet-built submarines. They are also constructing, outside Managua, the largest military airfield in Central America—similar to those in Cuba, from which Russian Bear bombers patrol the U.S. East Coast from Maine to Florida.

How did this menace to the peace and security of our Latin neighbors—and ultimately ourselves—suddenly emerge? Let me give you a brief history.

In 1979, the people of Nicaragua rose up and overthrew a corrupt dictatorship. At first the revolutionary leaders promised free elections and respect for human rights. But among them was an organization called the Sandinistas. Theirs was a Communist organization, and their support of the revolutionary goals was sheer deceit. Quickly and ruthlessly, they took complete control.

Two months after the revolution, the Sandinista leadership met in secret, and, in what came to be known as the "72-hour document," described themselves as the "vanguard" of a revolution that would sweep Central America, Latin America and finally the world. Their true enemy, they declared: the United States.

Rather than make this document public, they followed the advice of Fidel Castro, who told them to put on a facade of democracy. While Castro viewed the democratic elements in Nicaragua with contempt, he urged his Nicaraguan friends to keep some

of them in their coalition—in minor posts—as window dressing to deceive the West. That way, Castro said, you can have your revolution, and the Americans will pay for it.

And we did pay for it. More aid flowed to Nicaragua from the United States in the first 18 months under the Sandinistas than from any other country. Only when the mask fell, and the face of the totalitarianism became visible to the world, did the aid stop.

Confronted with this emerging threat, early in our Administration I went to Congress and, with bipartisan support, managed to get help for the nations surrounding Nicaragua. Some of you may remember the inspiring scene when the people of El Salvador braved the threats and gunfire of Communist guerrillas—guerrillas directed and supplied from Nicaragua—and went to the polls to vote decisively for democracy. For the Communists in El Salvador it was a humiliating defeat.

But there was another factor the Communists never counted on, a factor that now promises to give freedom a second chance—the freedom fighters of Nicaragua.

You see, when the Sandinistas betrayed the revolution, many who had fought the old Somoza dictatorship literally took to the hills, and like the French Resistance that fought the Nazis, began fighting the Soviet bloc Communists and the Nicaraguan collaborators. These few have now been joined by thousands.

With their blood and courage, the freedom fighters of Nicaragua have pinned down the Sandinista Army and bought the people of Central America precious time. We Americans owe them a debt of gratitude. In helping to thwart the Sandinistas and their Soviet mentors, the resistance has contributed directly to the security of the United States.

Since its inception in 1982, the democratic resistance has grown dramatically in strength. Today it numbers more than 20,000 volunteers and more come every day. But now the freedom fighters' supplies are running short, and they are virtually defenseless against the helicopter gunships Moscow has sent to Managua.

Now comes the crucial test for the Congress of the United States. Will they provide the assistance the freedom fighters need to deal with Russian tanks and gunships—or will they abandon the democratic resistance to its Communist enemy?

In answering this question, I hope Congress will reflect deeply upon what it is the resistance is fighting against in Nicaragua:

Ask yourselves, what in the world are Soviets, East Germans, Bulgarians, North Koreans, Cubans and terrorists from the P.L.O. and the Red Brigades doing in our hemisphere, camped on our own doorstep? Is that for peace?

Why have the Soviets invested $600 million to build Nicaragua into an armed force almost the size of Mexico's, a country 15 times as large, and 25 times as populous? Is that for peace?

Why did Nicaragua's dictator, Daniel Ortega, go [to] the Communist Party Congress in Havana and endorse Castro's cause for the worldwide triumph of Communism? Was that for peace?

Some members of Congress asked me, Why not negotiate? Good question—let me answer it directly. We have sought—and still seek—a negotiated peace and a democratic future in a free Nicaragua. Ten times we have met and tried to reason with the Sandinistas. Ten times we were rebuffed. Last year, we endorsed church-mediated negotiations between the regime and the resistance. The Soviets and the Sandinistas

responded with a rapid arms buildup of mortars, tanks, artillery and helicopter gunships.

Clearly, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have grasped the great stakes involved, the strategic importance of Nicaragua. The Soviets have made their decision—to support the Communists. Fidel Castro has made his decision—to support the Communists. Arafat, Qaddafi, and the Ayatollah have made their decision—to support the Communists. Now, we must make our decision. With Congress' help, we can prevent an outcome deeply injurious to the national security of the United States.

If we fail, there will be no evading responsibility, history will hold us accountable.

This is not some narrow partisan issue; it is a national security issue, an issue on which we must act not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

Forty years ago, Republicans and Democrats joined together behind the Truman Doctrine. It must be our policy, Harry Truman declared, to support peoples struggling to preserve their freedom. Under that doctrine, Congress sent aid to Greece just in time to save that country from the closing grip of a Communist tyranny. We saved freedom in Greece then—and with that same bipartisan spirit we can save freedom in Nicaragua today.

Over the coming days, I will continue the dialogue with members of Congress, talking to them, listening to them, hearing out their concerns. Senator Scoop Jackson, who led the fight on Capital Hill for an awareness of danger in Central America, said it best: On matters of national security, the best politics is no politics.

You know, recently one of our most distinguished Americans, Clare Booth Luce, had this to say about the coming vote.

"In considering this crisis," Mrs. Luce said, "my mind goes back to a similar moment in our history—back to the first years after Cuba had fallen to Fidel. One day during those years, I had lunch at the White House with a man I had known since he was a boy—John F. Kennedy. 'Mr. President,' I said, 'no matter how exalted or great a man may be, history will have time to give him no more than one sentence. George Washington—he founded our country. Abraham Lincoln—he freed the slaves and preserved the union. Winston Churchill—he saved Europe.' "

"'And what, Clare,' John Kennedy said, 'do you believe my sentence will be?'

"'Mr. President,' she answered, 'your sentence will be that you stopped the Communists—or that you did not.'"

Tragically, John Kennedy never had the chance to decide which that would be. Now, leaders of our own time must do so. My fellow Americans, you know where I stand. The Soviets and the Sandinistas must not be permitted to crush freedom in Central America and threaten our own security on our own doorstep.

Now the Congress must decide where it stands. Mrs. Luce ended by saying: "Only this is certain. Through all time to come, this, the 99th Congress of the United States, will be remembered as that body of men and women that either stopped the Communists before it was too late—or did not."

So tonight I ask you to do what you have done so often in the past. Get in touch with your representatives and senators and urge them to vote yes; tell them to help the freedom fighters—help us prevent a Communist takeover of Central America.

I have only three years left to serve my country, three years to carry out the responsibilities you have entrusted to me, three years to work for peace. Could there be any greater tragedy than for us to sit back and permit this cancer to spread, leaving

my successor to face far more agonizing decisions in the years ahead? The freedom fighters seek a political solution. They are willing to lay down their arms and negotiate to restore the original goals of the revolution. A democracy in which the people of Nicaragua choose their own government, that is our goal also, but it can only come if the democratic resistance is able to bring pressure to bear on those who have seized power.

We still have time to do what must be done so history will say of us, We had the vision, the courage and good sense to come together and act—Republicans and Democrats—when the price was not high and the risks were not great. We left America safe, we left America secure, we left America free, still a beacon of hope to mankind, still a light [u]nto the nations.

Thank you and God bless you.

2. A Journalist Urges Caution in Nicaragua (1986)

Tad Szulc, an experienced reporter on Caribbean affairs, saw some disturbing parallels between Reagan's proposed steps in Central America and the failed Bay of Pigs invasion during John F. Kennedy's presidency. How convincing is he? What similarities in the two situations are most disturbing?

April 17 marks the nearly forgotten 25th anniversary of the invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba—organized, financed and directed by the United States. That sorry enterprise provides an uncannily real analogy with President Reagan's latest efforts to arm the Nicaraguan contras in order finally to oust the Sandinistas. Congress might do well to ponder this analogy as it prepares to vote on President Reagan's request for $100 million in new aid to the rebels.

There is, to begin with, an eerie similarity in the assumptions underlying United States involvement in Cuba 25 years ago and in Nicaragua today. There are also parallels in the sequence of policy making decisions that gradually linked United States geopolitical objectives, first with Cuba, now with Nicaragua.

In the case of Nicaragua, the White House began by asserting that the Sandinistas were threatening to spread the virus of Communism throughout Central America. A secret decision was made, apparently in the early days of the Reagan Administration, in the National Security Council to uproot Managua's Marxist-Leninist leadership. This was followed by the self-serving declaration that most Nicaraguans were determined to be rid of the Sandinistas and that all it would take to help them accomplish this would be clever paramilitary support provided by the Central Intelligence Agency.

In the case of Cuba, the National Security Council met on March 10, 1959, to discuss, in secret, ways to "bring another Government to power." This was barely two months after Fidel Castro swept into power with overwhelming national support for his social revolution.

On March 17, 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved "A Program of Covert Action Against the Castro Regime" because Fidel Castro was moving toward Communism and a stronger relationship with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, his Ad-

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[2] "Nicaragua, an Echo of the Bay of Pigs" by Tad Szulc, March 16, 1986. Copyright © 1986 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

ministration had begun to develop a paramilitary force outside of Cuba for "future guerrilla action."

On Feb. 3, 1961, the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved a "Military Evaluation of the C.I.A. Paramilitary Plan—Cuba," but with the warning that "it is obvious that ultimate success will depend upon political factors, i.e., a sizable popular uprising or substantial follow-on forces."

However, the C.I.A. misled President John F. Kennedy about the likelihood of an uprising after the landing of the Cuban exiles' brigade. Secretary of State Dean Rusk later told a Presidential board of inquiry "that the uprising was utterly essential to success."

No major uprising occurred in Cuba along with the landing, and not only because Mr. Castro had had the foresight to round up thousands of potential opponents. Even those who had become increasingly disenchanted with Mr. Castro refused to welcome what they suspected to be a United States–engineered return to the status quo of the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship—indeed, the invading forces included several Batista officers.

Let us now turn to the Nicaraguan rerun of the Bay of Pigs operations.

Obviously, the conditions are not identical. The Sandinista commandantes have been in power for nearly seven years, and, notwithstanding their generally appalling leadership they have managed to consolidate their police and political hold on the population. Bad as life is in Nicaragua, and repressive as the Government's internal policies may be, the masses have not rushed to join or support the contras after nearly four years of C.I.A. entreaties.

In other repressive societies, the people have risen against well-armed dictatorships—as in Poland with Solidarity, and in the Philippines—without C.I.A. manipulations. They have had convincing reasons to rebel, and they have done so with clean hands. Clearly, this point entirely escapes President Reagan when he compares the contras with the Filipinos or *real* freedom fighters elsewhere in the world.

Despite its failures, the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979 has brought considerable social justice and care to Nicaragua's impoverished people. The United States cannot ignore this fact any more than it can ignore the strong nationalistic sentiments of the Nicaraguan people arising, in part, from earlier armed interventions by United States Marines.

Nor can it ignore the fact that the leadership of the contras is probably as repugnant to ordinary Nicaraguans as the leadership of the Bay of Pigs force was to the ordinary Cuban 25 years ago. That the contras are led by key officers of the old Somoza dictatorship's National Guard, the main oppressors of the population in the old days, is either sheer C.I.A. folly or a confession that no better leaders could be produced.

The Administration confronts this argument by pointing out that respected democrats from the first Sandinista regime, including Arturo Cruz and Alfonso Robelo, are members of the umbrella political organization attached to the contras, and that this in turn suggests the existence of widespread support inside Nicaragua for the anti-Sandinista effort.

Here again the Cuban experience is instructive. The C.I.A.-backed Democratic Revolutionary Front was headed by José Miró Cardona, the first Prime Minister after the Cuban revolution, and included Manuel Ray, who had been Mr. Castro's liberal-

minded public works minister. But despite their individual popularity, and the fact that they had been dismissed by an increasingly radical Fidel Castro, they did not have significant backing inside Cuba, and when the invasion came, the C.I.A.-controlled Democratic Revolutionary Front turned out to be totally useless.

Just as the C.I.A. misled the Kennedy Administration about the internal support for the exiles' invasion, the Reagan Administration—equally misleadingly—applies self-fulfilling prophecies to the Nicaraguan dispute. The President says he is willing to forget the contras if Managua agrees to negotiate, but what he evidently means by negotiation is either a Sandinista capitulation or power-sharing with the contra-backed opposition outside the country.

Since, as President Reagan must realize, this is an unacceptable proposition to any government, he will be able to proclaim that, having turned down his peacemaking ultimatum, Nicaragua is now fair game for the use of force. And at that juncture he will have trapped himself.

Recent history shows that the United States can impose its will in Latin America only by applying or threatening the use of its armed forces. The leftist regime in Guatemala was thrown out in 1954 by a ragtag guerrilla army directed by United States officers, ushering in a corrupt rightist dictatorship. In 1965, it took two United States combat divisions to make the civil war in the Dominican Republic come out our way. In 1983, tiny Grenada was simply knocked out by American forces.

What happens, therefore, in Nicaragua if the contras, even with a fresh $100 million, fail to win their war? Will President Reagan, in desperation, order the use of American troops there? This is the one thing that John F. Kennedy chose not to do at the Bay of Pigs.

C. "Social Issues" Enter Politics

1. Gingrich and Weicker Debate School Prayer (1984)

*Two Supreme Court decisions in 1962 effectively prohibited the recitation of prayers in public schools. [*Engel *v.* Vitale, *370 U.S. 421 (1962) and* Abington School District *v.* Schempp, *374 U.S. 203 (1963)] The ban has rankled many churchgoing Americans ever since. They found their champion in Ronald Reagan, who called for a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the schools, and also appealed to conservatives with his denunciation of abortion. Some critics spotted an inconsistency in Reagan's opposition to abortion and his support for school prayer. As* The New Republic *put it in 1984: "The man who has made a career out of talking about getting government off the backs of the people starts his campaign by pledging to expand government authority over the private lives of women and the spiritual lives of children." In the following exchange, Congressman Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut debate the school-prayer issue. Who has the more convincing arguments? What constitutional principles are at stake in the school-prayer controversy?*

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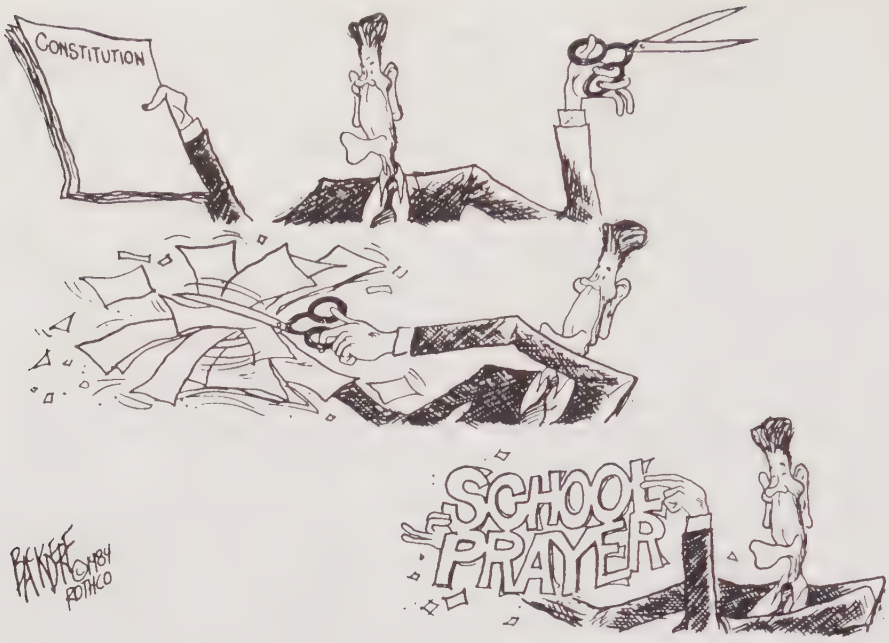
[1] Pro and Con—"Permit Prayers by Students in Public Schools?" Reprinted from *U. S. News & World Report* issue of March 12, 1984. Copyright, 1984, U. S. News & World Report.



The School-Prayer Controversy
Critics complained that President Reagan's advocacy of prayer in the schools violated the constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state. (John Backderf/Rothco Cartoons)

Interview with Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia

Q. Representative Gingrich, why do you favor a constitutional amendment to permit organized recitation of prayers by students in public schools?

A. Because the schools occupy our children's lives for 12 years, and a nation that prohibits recognizing God for 12 years is, in fact, actively against religion and not neutral about religion.

Q. The Supreme Court ruled in 1962 that government-sponsored school prayer violates the First Amendment's prohibition against any law "respecting the establishment of religion." Wouldn't restoring such prayers breach the traditional separation of church and state?

A. No. That's basic misreading of American history. For most of our history, there were prayers in school. The Founding Fathers clearly believed that there was a relationship between a Supreme Being and the survival of the United States.

Our money bears the inscription "In God We Trust," and Thomas Jefferson said that our inalienable rights come from our Creator. The prohibition in the Constitution was meant to apply to a state religion, not to religion itself.

Q. Some critics say that the push for organized prayers in schools is motivated by a desire to associate religious practice with good citizenship in children's minds—

A. George Washington said that without religion it's impossible to preserve freedom, and this is probably true. Traditional values are the framework within which a free society flourishes, and a purely secular, radical-lifestyle society is, I think, unlikely to sustain freedom.

Q. How would you accommodate nonbelievers or those who don't want to say the prayer used in the school?

A. I'm not sure that we would have to have a particular prayer. In fact, the President's proposed amendment would prohibit any specific state-written prayer.

Q. Who would decide the content of the prayer?

A. It would be decided differently in different areas, but I would hope ultimately we would just let one of the children volunteer to lead the prayer each day.

Q. Wouldn't students become the butt of ridicule from their schoolmates if they did not participate in the prayers?

A. In an age when we have peer pressure to use drugs and alcohol and to engage in sex at 15, it's not all that bad to have some peer pressure to pray. We are in greater danger of becoming a pornographic-viewing, drug-addicted culture than of becoming an abstinence-dominated theocracy.

Q. Why hasn't Congress voted for a prayer amendment?

A. Because our liberal national elite doesn't believe in religion. In the House, the liberal-Democratic power structure for 20 years has smothered school prayer and not allowed it to be brought to a vote. It'll require real pressure from the public to force a vote on the issue.

Interview with Senator Lowell Weicker, Republican of Connecticut

Q. Senator Weicker, why do you oppose organized recitation of prayer in public schools?

A. No part of our Constitution is more important or unique to the United States than the First Amendment, which clearly sets out the separation of government and religion. This nation was founded by people fleeing from religious persecution, and we must continue to make sure that all faiths—today's and tomorrow's—can be practiced in this country.

The essence of the debate over school prayer is whether religion is going to remain a personal rather than an official act in the United States.

Q. Advocates of prayer in schools say that prayers were permitted until 22 years ago because it was recognized that the Founding Fathers had intended to prohibit the establishment of a state religion—not to bar all public expressions of religion—

A. James Madison, the author of the First Amendment, said: "We are teaching the great truth that governments do better without kings and nobles than with them. The merit will be doubled by the other lesson that religion flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government."

As for school prayer being permitted for many years, habit and tradition are no substitute for the Constitution. For example, we had discrimination toward the handicapped and rampant racism in this country as habits and traditions until the Constitution was enforced.

When the Supreme Court announced its decision to ban school prayer, President Kennedy said there was an easy remedy: Families should pray more often at home and attend church more faithfully.

Q. In view of the polls showing widespread public support for prayer in public schools, why shouldn't Congress pass an amendment to the Constitution permitting school prayer, and then leave it up to the states to ratify or defeat it?

A. I'm not so sure that, if you offered the Bill of Rights of the Constitution as a referendum to the voters today, they'd pass it. So I look upon the debate on school prayer in the Senate as a historic opportunity to remind people that the origins of our greatness as a nation are in the Constitution and not the ephemeral morality of the New Right.

Q. Will the Senate pass a school-prayer amendment?

A. In an election year, there is a pretty good chance. It is very easy to demagogue the school-prayer issue. No one running for office wants to be accused of being against the Bible.

But my purpose is to re-educate the American people on our Constitution. I won't filibuster, but it will take a full debate to rouse a constituency for religious freedom and against state prayer.

It should be remembered that most religious spokesmen support the position I am espousing. So I would hope all faiths would stand up and speak forcefully from the pulpits of this country on what is their freedom.

2. The Agonizing Debate over Abortion (1984)

*When the Supreme Court in 1973 upheld a woman's right to an abortion during the early months of pregnancy (*Roe *v.* Wade, *410 U.S. 113), it set off a bitter battle between pro-abortion ("pro-choice") and antiabortion ("pro-life") groups. Feminists were conspicuous in the pro-choice camp, and Roman Catholics and members of other religious denominations in the pro-life camp. President Reagan strongly aligned himself with the latter forces, and made his opposition to abortion a prominent theme in his 1984 election campaign. "Unless and until it can be proven that the unborn child is not a living entity," he told the National Association of Evangelicals in 1983, "then its right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be protected." The president's public stand stirred an already roiling pot of moral, constitutional, and political questions. Democrats, many of them Roman Catholics such as New York State Governor Mario Cuomo and 1984 vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, felt compelled to express their own personal opposition to abortion, but stopped short of joining the president's crusade for antiabortion legislation. How do the following commentaries evaluate their position? Which commentator has the sounder arguments? What is the proper relation of personal morality and public policy in a democracy?*

a. Balch on Private and Public Morality

The debate over the appropriate role of religion in politics is befogged by a crucial misunderstanding about the nature of abortion, which is in essence a matter of public and not merely private morality.

Governor Mario Cuomo, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro and Senator Edward M. Kennedy maintain that they personally oppose most abortions but that they do not want to impose their morality by law. They believe abortion should be legal

[2a] "Abortion: A General Concern" by Burke J. Balch, September 20, 1984. Copyright © 1984 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

and that abortions for the poor should be publicly funded, and they criticize the Roman Catholic bishops' view that it is "not logically tenable" to separate "personal morality and public policy."

Yet the proper dichotomy is not, as some contend, between law and morality: most laws are grounded in moral concepts. Instead, it is between moral principles that relate to the individual conduct of one's own life, with which the law should not deal, and moral principles that relate to actions that may cause harm to others, with which the law must deal.

Senator Kennedy came close to articulating this point last week. "Issues like nuclear arms," he said, "are inherently public in nature; we must decide them together as a nation; and here, religion and religious values must appeal to our common conscience—and to the decision of Government itself . . . But this cannot mean that every moral command should be written into law—that Catholics should seek to make birth control illegal; that Orthodox Jews should seek to ban business on the Sabbath."

So far, Senator Kennedy is correct. But there is a problem in applying this principle to abortion. If the fetus is not yet a human person, abortion, like contraception, does not affect others, and religious and other moral leaders should not ask the law to interfere. However, if the fetus is a human person, then an abortion causes harm to someone other than the mother, and abortion is a matter of public morality—one about which laws may properly be advocated by religious leaders.

Since the status of the fetus is the very matter most in dispute, it begs the question to rule religious leaders out of the debate on the ground they are illicitly advocating private morality in the public sphere. In their view, they are not asking the state to impose private morality but to protect the rights of others.

Senator Kennedy, Governor Cuomo and others seem to anticipate this point, but they also make a larger claim: that when we are deeply divided about whether an issue is one of public or private morality, the state should not intervene.

But the notion that division of opinion should end rather than foster debate is an unfortunate one. For decades, we were deeply divided about whether race prejudice was a private matter, and for years the argument against civil rights laws was that Government can't legislate morality. In reply, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used to point out that the law cannot make one love one's neighbors, but it can—and should—keep one from lynching them. He did not hesitate to invoke the Bible in support of his position.

As Dr. King well knew, the mere existence of disagreement cannot justify politicians, religious leaders or anyone else in tolerating injustice—still less in assisting it. What would one think of a politician who was "personally opposed" to rape but objected to imposing that morality on rapists who believe that "women want it"? What if the same politician worked to provide tax funds to buy weapons for rapists unable to afford their own? Would we denounce a religious leader who cried "inconsistency"?

Mr. Cuomo, Mrs. Ferraro and Mr. Kennedy may have unusual grounds to oppose abortion, unrelated to the rights of the fetus. But if their reasoning is the same as that given by their church (as well as by other denominations and by agnostics like myself), they must believe that the fetus is a human person whom abortion unjustly destroys. There is an untenable inconsistency between that conviction and a public policy permitting and funding abortion. Religious leaders who point this out do not

breach the separation of church and state. They act in the best tradition of public debate in a justice-seeking republic.

b. Callahan Urges Restraint

In early August, Bishop James M. Malone, president of the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops, stated that it is "not logically tenable" for political candidates to draw a dichotomy between their personal morality and public policy. Archbishop John J. O'Connor of New York more recently made the same point. In doing so, they expressed a common belief about the moral integrity required of the politician: we don't like hypocrites or those who think that private belief and behavior are irrelevant to public office.

Yet that view overlooks a no less important demand upon the politician in a pluralistic society: that he or she understand the importance of self-restraint in moving from morality to legislation. For the sake of our collective freedom, we need politicians who know how and when to curb personal convictions. Since that capacity is a less dramatic civic virtue, it is all too easy to overlook. But it has been publicly invoked by Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro and Governor Mario Cuomo to explain their political stands on abortion.

Politicians are asked why they are reluctant to work legislatively against abortion when on other issues such as hunger and child abuse their personal positions regularly produce proposals for action. While I can't answer for Mrs. Ferraro and Mr. Cuomo, I can suggest reasons why on some issues a politician would hesitate to translate personal belief into public policy. The hesitation can occur at two points: in considering the certainty of the moral judgment and then moving from that judgment to a policy conclusion.

Most of us can think of standards we have set for outselves that we would not demand of others, especially by law, or hold moral beliefs for reasons we find personally compelling but need not be persuasive to others. I decided late in my teens that hunting for sport is morally damaging, but I am not certain that my own feeling of repugnance can be strongly enough justified to turn it into a universal ethical prescription.

One of the more damaging demands we make of politicians is that they have a bushel basket of moral certainties on any and all subjects. Ambivalence is not readily allowed. Just about everyone agrees that abortion is a difficult moral issue. Why should we expect politicians any more than others to have such high moral certitude on the matter that they will know exactly what kind of public policy would be best? I am not saying that moral certainty is insupportable on any subject. I only argue that on some issues our personal convictions will not seem to us sufficiently well grounded to insist that others accept them, yet we can and will find them sufficiently strong to impose upon ourselves.

What if we are certain about our moral beliefs and conclude that they seem to require some action on our part? Does that immediately entail their being embodied in public policy? Not necessarily. We might well conclude (as many politicians do in the case of abortion) that effective and fair laws could not readily be devised, that too few others share one's personal convictions (however sensible) or that some moral

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[2b] "Restraint Serves Pluralism" by Daniel Callahan, September 20, 1984. Copyright © 1984 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

issues should be left within the realm of personal choice, even if there are some moral costs in a policy of that kind.

There must be a dichotomy on many (though by no means all) issues between what is correct for private behavior and what is rightly to be demanded of public behavior. That is a necessary assumption of a pluralistic society, dedicated as it is to the toleration of diversity and the sparing use of government power in the moral sphere. It must take special care in making the move from morality to law. In most circumstances, it should be exceedingly reluctant to do so.

The great hazard of the self-restraint that pluralism requires is that it will be confused with moral indifference or vacuity. A solution to that is more public discussion of the private moral life. Politicians should tell us more about how they think through moral issues, not that we might condemn them or insist they turn their convictions into law, but because they may have something to say of importance to the rest of us. To say that a moral issue or decision ought to remain private should be the beginning and not the end of moral discourse.

D. A Philosophy for Neoconservatism

1. Irving Kristol Defines Neoconservatism (1983)

Liberalism was the dominant political religion for most American intellectuals for at least a generation after the New Deal and World War II. Liberals pursued a vision of a just, equitable society, and they looked to government as the means to achieve that vision. In the 1960s, however, a reaction set in, as some intellectuals—many of them refugees from liberalism—began to express growing doubts about egalitarian "excesses" and governmental inefficiencies, as well as about the "softness" of liberal foreign policy toward the Soviet Union. One of the leading thinkers in this conservative renaissance was Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest, *which became a prominent journal for the expression of neoconservative ideas. Kristol here defines the essence of the neoconservative outlook. What are its leading features? How does it compare and contrast with the liberal outlook?*

It should be clear by now that I do think there really is such a thing as neoconservatism—but it is most misleading to think of it as any kind of "movement." It holds no meetings, has no organizational form, has no specific programmatic goals, and when two neoconservatives meet they are more likely to argue with one another than to confer or conspire. But it is there, nevertheless—an impulse that ripples through the intellectual world; a "persuasion," to use a nice old-fashioned term; a mode of thought (but not quite a school of thought).

What are its distinctive features? I shall list them as I see them—but to say that this listing is unofficial would be the understatement of the decade.

1. Neoconservatism is a current of thought emerging out of the academic-intellectual world and provoked by disillusionment with contemporary liberalism. Its

[1] From *Reflections of a Neo-Conservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* by Irving Kristol. Copyright © 1983 by Basic Books, Inc., Publishers. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

relation to the business community—the traditional source of American conservatism—is loose and uneasy, though not necessarily unfriendly.

2. Unlike previous such currents of thought—for example, the Southern Agrarians or the Transcendentalists of the nineteenth century—neoconservatism is antiromantic in substance and temperament. Indeed, it regards political romanticism—and its twin, political utopianism—of any kind as one of the plagues of our age. This is but another way of saying it is a philosophical-political impulse rather than a literary-political impulse. Or, to put it still another way: Its approach to the world is more "rabbinic" than "prophetic."
3. The philosophical roots of neoconservatism are to be found mainly in classical—that is, premodern, preideological—political philosophy. Here the teaching and writing of the late Leo Strauss (never mentioned by Mr. Steinfels) are of importance, though many neoconservatives find him somewhat too wary of modernity. Neoconservatives are admiring of Aristotle, respectful of Locke, distrustful of Rousseau.
4. The attitude of neoconservatives to bourgeois society and the bourgeois ethos is one of detached attachment. In the spirit of Tocqueville, neoconservatives do not think that liberal-democratic capitalism is the best of all imaginable worlds—only the best, under the circumstances, of all possible worlds. This *modest* enthusiasm distinguishes neoconservatism from the Old Right and the New Right—both of which are exceedingly suspicious of it.
5. Neoconservatism is inclined to the belief that a predominantly market economy—just how "predominant" is a matter for some disagreement—is a necessary if not sufficient precondition for a liberal society. (Daniel Bell, as the theoretician for what may be called our "social-democratic wing," would presumably take issue with this judgment.) It also sees a market economy as favorable to economic growth.
6. Neoconservatives believe in the importance of economic growth, not out of any enthusiasm for the material goods of this world, but because they see economic growth as indispensable for social and political stability. It is the prospect of economic growth that has made it possible to think—against the grain of premodern political thought—of democracy as a viable and enduring sociopolitical system.
7. Neoconservatives, though respecting the market as an economic mechanism, are not libertarian in the sense, say, that Milton Friedman and Friedrich A. von Hayek are. A conservative welfare state—what once was called a "social insurance" state—is perfectly consistent with the neoconservative perspective. So is a state that takes a degree of responsibility for helping to shape the preferences that the people exercise in a free market—to "elevate" them, if you will. Neoconservatives, moreover, believe that it is natural for people to *want* their preferences to be elevated. The current version of liberalism, which prescribes massive government intervention in the marketplace but an absolute laissez-faire attitude toward manners and morals, strikes neoconservatives as representing a bizarre inversion of priorities.
8. Neoconservatives look upon family and religion as indispensable pillars of a decent society. Indeed, they have a special fondness for all of those intermediate

institutions of a liberal society which reconcile the need for community with the desire for liberty.

Karl Marx once wrote that the human race would eventually face the choice between socialism and barbarism. Well, we have seen enough of socialism in our time to realize that, in actuality as distinct from ideality, it can offer neither stability nor justice, and that in many of its versions it seems perfectly compatible with barbarism. So most neoconservatives believe that the last, best hope of humanity at this time is an intellectually and morally reinvigorated liberal capitalism. . . .

It is the fundamental fallacy of American foreign policy to believe, in face of the evidence, that all peoples, everywhere, are immediately "entitled" to a liberal constitutional government—and a thoroughly democratic one at that. It is because of this assumption that our discussions of foreign policy, along with our policy itself, are constantly being tormented by moral dilemmas, as we find ourselves allied to nonliberal and nondemocratic regimes. These dillemmas are guilt-inducing mechanisms which cripple policy—an attitude that no nation can sustain for long—or else we take flight into sweeping crusades for "human rights," which quickly brings us up short before intractable realities.

Now, there is nothing inevitable about this state of affairs. As a matter of fact, it is only since World War I—a war fought under the Wilsonian slogans of "self-determination for all nations" and "make the world safe for democracy"—that American foreign policy began to disregard the obvious for the sake of the quixotic pursuit of impossible ideals. Before World War I, intelligent men took it for granted that not all peoples, everywhere, at all times, could be expected to replicate a Western constitutional democracy. This was a point of view, incidentally, shared more or less equally by conservatives, liberals, and socialists.

It was only with World War I and its aftermath that thinking about foreign policy lost its moorings in the real world and became utterly ideologized. . . .

For Americans, the transition occurred via the utopian enthusiasm of Woodrow Wilson, preaching "self-determination," "human rights," "one man, one vote," "a world without war" as if these were in fact unproblematic possibilities. The consequence has been a foreign policy that is intellectually disarmed before all those cases where a government is neither totalitarian nor democratic, but authoritarian in one way or another, to one degree or another. We could, if we were sensible, calmly accept this basic reality of world politics, while using our influence to edge unenlightened despotisms toward more enlightened behavior, or enlightened despotisms toward more liberal and humane behavior. Instead, we end up in either an unstable, guilt-ridden and seemingly "immoral" alliance with them or displaying a haughty censoriousness that helps "destabilize" them.

2. Peter Steinfels Criticizes the Neoconservatives (1979)

One of the first commentators to identify "neoconservatism" as a distinct body of thought was Peter Steinfels, editor of the Catholic periodical Commonweal. *In his book of 1979 about the neoconservative movement, he is sharply critical of many of its*

[2] Excerpted from *The Neoconservatives* by Peter Steinfels, pp. 292–294. Copyright © 1979 by Peter Steinfels. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

doctrines. What does he find most objectionable in neoconservative thought? What does he find most valuable?

The great virtue of neoconservatism is the serious attention it pays to the moral culture that is a fundament of our political and economic life. There is barely a serious school of liberal or even Marxist thought that holds humans to be economically determined and values, culture, and beliefs the mere reflection of socioeconomic forces. And yet in practice liberals, radicals, and socialists concentrate on questions of economic deprivation or physical pain rather than of meaning or moral capacity. They do not deny the importance of culture and values; but when they would act upon them, they almost inevitably propose to enter the chain of causes at the point of providing material support or physical well-being. Otherwise, the Left, broadly speaking, has been primarily concerned with culture by way of removing constraints—commercial pressures, government censorship, insufficient funding, traditional taboos, established conventions. The New Left did criticize liberalism in the sixties for its rendering of politics as procedure and its presentation of social science as value-free. Irving Kristol and the New Left were thus agreed on the necessity of "republican virtue" (though the New Left, unlike Kristol, would not rally to the "bourgeois ethic"). But the New Left's concern dissolved into assorted dogmatisms on the one hand, and into the cultural *laissez-faire* of "do your own thing" on the other. It was left to neoconservatism, sworn enemy of the New Left, to be the serious force reminding us that the capacity of self-government and self-direction is not a given which simply emerges once restraints are removed. It is an active power that must be fostered, nourished, and sustained; that requires supporting communities, disciplined thinking and speech, self-restraint, and accepted conventions. In a number of ways neoconservatism is not itself faithful to this insight, even contradicts it; but it has put the moral culture of society on the public agenda and no doubt will keep it there.

The second virtue of neoconservatism is its rejection of sentimentality. By sentimentality I mean the immediate emotional response that renders a reality all of a piece and "obvious." When sentimentality governs our responses to the world's ills, it clings to the visible or physical evils at hand and tends to ignore the less apparent, more diffuse, and distant dangers. It leaps to solutions and short-circuits reflection. Neoconservatism has countered this sentimentality by forcing back the discussion of many political issues to first principles and by its delight in exposing unintended consequences of well-meant measures. There is a good bit of sentimentality in neoconservatism; there is even a sentimentality of anti-sentimentality—a reflexive granting of credibility to whatever, through irony, paradox, or complexity, appears to resist the pull of sympathy, and an equally automatic suspicion of whatever appears untutored or unguarded in its registration of experience. And there is also the tendency toward that hard-headed constriction of feeling that Dickens, in *Hard Times*, fixed in the very name as well as character of Gradgrind. Nonetheless, the neoconservative presence in public controversy has certainly reduced the likelihood that the "obvious" will escape questioning. Is money what the poor need? Or better schools the solution to illiteracy? Does poverty breed crime? Should more people vote? Or campaign spending be limited? Is equality desirable? To some people, the very posing of such questions is an annoyance and a diversion. To those, however, who believe

that the unexamined proposal is not worth pursuing, the neoconservative attitude appears salutary.

The third virtue of neoconservatism is related to the second: the thoroughgoing criticisms that it has made of liberal or radical programs and premises. This is less an attitude, like its anti-sentimentality, than a self-assigned agenda. Neoconservatism has taken pride in frontally challenging the excesses of the New Left and the counterculture; more important—because those excesses were probably self-liquidating and already on the wane when neoconservatism set to work—have been the detailed and often technically superior critiques of mainstream liberal notions. Despite the polemical overkill that too frequently mars such critiques, they provide a much more factually informed and sophisticated debating partner for liberal or left-wing thought than has traditional American conservatism, in any of its rugged individualist, agrarian aristocrat, or super-nationalist manifestations.

To every virtue a vice. The outstanding weaknesses of neoconservatism have already been amply suggested: its formulation of an outlook largely in negative terms; its lack of internal criticism; its unwillingness to direct attention to socioeconomic structures and to the existing economic powers; its exaggeration of the adversarial forces in society; its lack of serious respect for its adversaries. If neoconservatism is to construct a convincing defense of an outlook emphasizing a stoic rationality, public restraint, and the maintenance of an ethic of achievement and excellence, it will have to confront the extent to which such an ideal challenges contemporary capitalism. If it is to defend freedom in a bureaucratic age, it will have to understand freedom in a richer sense than anti-Communism and a derived anti-statism. If it is to defend high culture and intellectual rigor, it will need to celebrate the enlarging and life-giving force of superior work and not merely issue self-satisfying strictures on the inferior or fashionable.

Neoconservatism began as an antibody on the left. Many of its leading figures originally conceived of it that way and perhaps still do: it was a reaction to what they considered the destabilizing and excessive developments of the sixties, and when these had been quelled, it would once again be indistinguishable from mainstream liberalism. Its own excesses, or at least its somewhat narrow focus of attention on one set of adversaries, would be balanced by the native strengths of the liberalism of which it was part. That, of course, has not turned out to be the case. Neoconservatism is now an independent force. To return to the biological analogy, antibodies which overreact can destroy the organism. The great danger posed by and to neoconservatism is that it will become nothing more than the legitimating and lubricating ideology of an oligarchic America where essential decisions are made by corporate elites, where great inequalities are rationalized by straitened circumstances and a system of meritocratic hierarchy, and where democracy becomes an occasional, ritualistic gesture. Whether neoconservatism will end by playing this sinister and unhappy role, or whether it will end as a permanent, creative, and constructive element in American politics, is only partially in the hands of neoconservatives themselves. It will also be determined by the vigor, intelligence, and dedication of their critics and opponents.

Thought Provokers

1. Did Reagan's electoral victory in 1980 ring the death knell for the philosophy of the New Deal and the Great Society? Did the Reagan administration constitute a true "revolution" in U.S. politics?
2. Did Reagan's massive military buildup make the world a safer place? Did the prospect of a Star Wars defense stabilize or destabilize the international scene?
3. Why have social issues like school prayer and abortion been forced onto the political agenda in the 1980s? Do they belong in the formal political arena? Once there, can they ever be removed?
4. What developments gave rise to the neoconservative philosophy? What has been the impact of neoconservatism? Are ideas important in politics?

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The American People Since World War II

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use (our) wealth to enrich and elevate our national life—and to advance the quality of American civilization.

President Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1964

Prologue: The United States stood triumphant at the end of World War II. Americans had been spared the worst ravages of the global conflict. In contrast to the plight of other combatants, their homeland had not been scorched by fighting, they had lost relatively few fighting men, and their economy was snapped out of depression and whipped into robust trim as a result of the war effort. Confident of the future, Americans immediately after the war launched a "baby boom" that added some 50 million persons to the nation's population over the next decade and a half.

Americans were also a people on the move in the postwar decades, as population shifted massively from the countryside to cities and suburbs, and from the North to the Sunbelt states in the South and West. The civil rights movement scored dramatic gains, revolutionizing the status of blacks in U.S. society. Other racial and ethnic groups, including Native Americans and Hispanics, self-consciously asserted their claim to participate more centrally in the life of the larger society. The women's movement also forged ahead vigorously, bringing changes in the workplace and in family life. Prompted in part by the disillusionment spawned by the Vietnam War, a "countercultural" movement emerged in the 1960s. Its adherents sharply dissented from the traditional American values of self-discipline and upward social mobility. But as recession and inflation ravaged the economy in the 1970s and 1980's, many young people worried less about cultivating their "lifestyle" and more about the mundane necessity of securing a job. Whether the postwar period had truly witnessed a fundamental alteration of American values remained an open question as the century approached its end.

A. The Changing American Family

1. Dr. Spock Advises Parents (1957)

The post–World War II "baby boom" exploded in a U.S. society that was fast-moving and fragmented. Parents could no longer assume, as they once had, that their

[1] From *Baby and Child Care,* pp. 45–47, 51–54, 569–572. Copyright © 1945, 1946, 1957 by Benjamin Spock, M.D. Reprinted by permission of Pocket Books, a division of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

children would grow up to inhabit a world much like the one the older generation had known. Moreover, the remarkable geographical mobility of Americans in the postwar era meant that many families now faced the responsibilities of child rearing without the traditional support and advice of grandparents and other relatives—who were now likely to live hundreds of miles away. Confronted with these uncertainties, Americans turned to books for guidance—especially to Dr. Benjamin Spock's The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care, *first published in 1945, and possibly the most widely used advice book in U.S. history. When the "youth movement" of the 1960s erupted, many critics blamed Dr. Spock's "permissive" philosophy of child rearing for raising a generation of antiauthoritarian, undisciplined young Americans. Does the following selection from his book support that charge? What does Spock mean by "permissiveness"? What historical factors does Spock see as unique to the modern era? He has also been accused of opposing the movement for women's liberation. What is his view of the mother's role?*

I may as well let the cat out of the bag right away as far as my opinion goes and say that strictness or permissiveness is not the real issue. . . .

We've been through a big transition. It's hard to get any perspective on this topic without taking a historical view. Styles in strictness vary from one period to another. The Victorian Age was quite strict, for instance, about manners and modesty. In the twentieth century, especially after World War I, a reaction set in. Several factors pushed it along. The great American pioneers in educational research, like John Dewey and William Kilpatrick, showed that a child learns better and faster with a method of teaching that makes allowance for his particular readiness to progress and that recognizes his eagerness to learn if the subject matter is suitable. Freud and his followers showed that harsh toilet training or frightening a child about sex can distort his personality and lead to neurosis. Studies of delinquents and criminals revealed that most of them had suffered more from lack of love in childhood than from lack of punishment. These discoveries, among others, encouraged a general relaxation in child discipline and a greater effort to give children what they seemed to need as individuals. Several wise leaders in American pediatrics, Aldrich and Powers and Gesell, began to introduce a similar philosophy into the medical care of babies and children. But physicians remained strict about infant feeding right into the 1940's, because they still feared that irregular schedules and irregular amounts of formula might bring on the severe diarrheal diseases that used to cause so many infant deaths. Then the experiments of Dr. Preston McLendon and Mrs. Frances P. Simsarian with the "self-demand" schedule, published in 1942, helped to convince doctors that most babies can do very well choosing their own feeding times and will remain healthy. Since then, there has been a rapid and widespread shift in medical practice. Today a majority of American babies are being put on more or less flexible schedules at first.

Doctors who used to conscientiously warn young parents against spoiling are now encouraging them to meet their baby's needs, not only for food, but for comforting and loving.

These discoveries and these changes of attitudes and methods have benefited most children and parents. There are fewer tense ones, more happy ones.

But it's not possible for a civilization like ours to go through such a change of

The Baby Boom
As the millions of baby-boomers grew to maturity in the 1970s, they crowded and shoved one another in the labor markets, creating fierce competition for jobs. (Vadillo-El Sol de Mexico/Rothco Cartoons)

philosophy—it really amounts to a revolution—without raising doubts in many parents' minds and without getting some parents thoroughly mixed up. It's basic human nature to tend to bring up your children about as you were brought up. It's easy enough to pick up new ideas about vitamins and inoculations. But if your upbringing was fairly strict in regard to obedience, manners, sex, truthfulness, it's natural, it's almost inevitable, that you will feel strongly underneath about such matters when raising your own children. You may have changed your theories because of something you've studied or read or heard, but when your child does something that would have been considered bad in your own childhood, you'll probably find yourself becoming more tense, or anxious, or angry than you imagined possible. This is nothing to be ashamed of. This is the way Nature expects human beings to learn child care—from their own childhood. This is how different civilizations have managed to remain stable and carry on their ideals from generation to generation.

The reason that most parents have been able to do a good job with their children during the past fifty years of changing theory is that they themselves had been brought up reasonably happily, were comfortable about raising their children the same way, and didn't follow any new theory to extremes. When doctors were emphasizing regularity, confident parents followed a regular schedule in general (and *most* babies adjusted to it *most* of the time), but they weren't afraid to make an occasional exception when the baby became painfully hungry ahead of time, because they felt in their bones that this was right. . . .

During the first half of this century in this country, babies were usually kept on very strict, regular schedules. A newborn 7-pounder would be fed at exactly 6 A.M., 10 A.M., 2 P.M., 6 P.M., 10 P.M. and 2 A.M.—no earlier, no later, regardless of when he seemed hungry.

Strictness was preached and practiced everywhere—on the dairy farm, in the commercial dairy, and in the home. Doctors and nurses feared irregular feeding so strongly that they came to disapprove of it psychologically, too, and taught mothers that it would lead to spoiling the child. In the general enthusiasm for strictness, mothers were usually advised to ignore their baby except at feeding time. Even kissing was frowned on by a few.

Strict regularity worked well enough with a majority of babies. When they took an ample feeding at breast or bottle, it lasted them for *about* 4 hours just because that is the way a young baby's digestive system usually works. But it's also a fact that we are creatures of habit at any age, and if we are always fed at exactly the same hour we soon learn, inside, to become suddenly hungry right at that moment.

But there were always a few babies who had trouble adjusting to regularity in the first month or two—babies whose stomachs couldn't seem to hold 4 hours' worth of milk, babies who went to sleep halfway through feedings, restless babies, colicky babies. They would cry miserably for shorter or longer periods each day, but their mothers and doctors dared not feed them (or even pick them up) off schedule. It was hard enough on the babies. I think it was harder still on the mothers, who had to sit listening, biting their nails, wanting to comfort their babies but not allowed to do so. You don't know how lucky you are to be able to be natural and flexible.

Anyway, the serious diarrheal diseases almost disappeared. The chief factor was the pasteurization of milk in the commercial dairy, but care in preparing the formula and better refrigeration helped, too. But it took many more years before doctors dared to begin experimenting with flexible schedules. When they did, they found that flexibility did *not* lead to diarrhea or indigestion, nor did it lead to spoiling, as many had feared. . . .

The Working Mother

To work or not to work? Some mothers *have* to work to make a living. Usually their children turn out all right, because some reasonably good arrangement is made for their care. But others grow up neglected and maladjusted. It would save money in the end if the government paid a comfortable allowance to all mothers of young children who would otherwise be compelled to work. You can think of it this way: useful, well-adjusted citizens are the most valuable possessions a country has, and good mother care during early childhood is the surest way to produce them. It doesn't make sense to let mothers go to work making dresses in a factory or tapping typewriters in an office, and have them pay other people to do a poorer job of bringing up their children.

A few mothers, particularly those with professional training, feel that they must work because they wouldn't be happy otherwise. I wouldn't disagree if a mother felt strongly about it, provided she had an ideal arrangement for her children's care. After all, an unhappy mother can't bring up very happy children.

What about the mothers who don't absolutely have to work but would prefer to,

either to supplement the family income or because they think they will be more satisfied and therefore get along better at home? That's harder to answer.

The important thing for a mother to realize is that the younger the child the more necessary it is for him to have a steady, loving person taking care of him. In most cases, the mother is the best one to give him this feeling of "belonging," safely and surely. She doesn't quit on the job, she doesn't turn against him, she isn't indifferent to him, she takes care of him always in the same familiar house. If a mother realizes clearly how vital this kind of care is to a small child, it may make it easier for her to decide that the extra money she might earn, or the satisfaction she might receive from an outside job, is not so important, after all.

What children need most from parents or substitutes. The things that are most vital in the care of a child are a little bit different at different age periods. During the first year, a baby needs a *lot* of motherly care. He has to be fed everything he eats, he eats often, and his food is usually different from the adults'. He makes a great deal of laundry work. In cities he usually has to be pushed in his carriage for outings. For his spirit to grow normally, he needs someone to dote on him, to think he's the most wonderful baby in the world, to make noises and baby talk at him, to hug him and smile at him, to keep him company during wakeful periods.

A day nursery or a "baby farm" is no good for an infant. There's nowhere near enough attention or affection to go around. In many cases, what care there is is matter-of-fact or mechanical rather than warm-hearted. Besides, there's too much risk of epidemics of colds and diarrhea.

Individual care at least until three. The infant whose mother can't take care of him during the daytime needs *individual* care, whether it's in his own home or someone else's. It may be a relative, neighbor, or friend whom the mother knows and has confidence in. If a new maid or nurse is to come into the home, the mother should know her well before she leaves the baby in her care. Or the mother may decide to leave him in a foster home for "foster day care," that is to say, in the care of a woman who makes a profession of caring for children. But the foster mother should be doing it more because she loves children than for the income it brings. The only safe way to choose a foster home is through a first-rate, conscientious child-placing agency that investigates and supervises the individual homes it recommends. But whoever the mother chooses should be a woman who is gentle an loving, and who is not trying to take care of more than two or, at the very most, three babies or small children.

Between the ages of 1 and 3, the care of a child requires a little less time but a lot more understanding. It's good for him to have other children around. He's a person now, with ideas of his own. He needs more and more opportunity to be independent, has to be steered tactfully. An adult who is too bossy makes him balky and frantic. One who lacks self-confidence may be helpless to control him. One who smothers him with too much attention hampers his development. Furthermore, this is the age when he comes to depend for security on one or two familiar, devoted people, and is upset if they disappear or keep changing. This is the least advisable period for the mother who has always taken care of him to go off to work for the first time, or to make changes in the person who takes her place. Many day nurseries do not have enough nurses or attendants to give each child the feeling of really belonging to someone. And the staff may not have had the expert training in understanding small children to be able to foster their fullest development, spiritually, socially, and physically.

So if you have to go off to work when your baby is about a year old, the best solution is individual care, just as it is for the younger infant. But for this age it is particularly important to find a person who has the ability to understand a child and get along with him easily, and who is not likely to quit the job in a few months.

2. Betty Friedan Strikes a Blow for Women's Freedom (1963)

By the early 1960s millions of American women were working for wages outside their homes. Yet cultural values had not kept pace with this change, and a woman's "proper" role was still considered to be in the kitchen and the nursery. In 1963 Betty Friedan published a remarkable book, The Feminine Mystique, *vigorously attacking that traditional definition of women's place. Her book helped massively to launch the modern women's movement. How, exactly, does she define the "feminine mystique"? Why does she find it so objectionable? Is she speaking about all women, or about a particular class of women?*

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a stringe stirring, a sense of dissatisfcation, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—"Is this all?"

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers. Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity. Experts told them how to catch a man and keep him, how to breastfeed children and handle their toilet training, how to cope with sibling rivalry and adolescent rebellion; how to buy a dishwasher, bake bread, cook gourmet snails, and build a swimming pool with their own hands; how to dress, look, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting; how to keep their husbands from dying young and their sons from growing into delinquents. They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights—the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for. Some women, in their forties and fifties, still remembered painfully giving up those dreams, but more of the younger women no longer thought about them. A thousand expert voices applauded their femininity, their adjustment, their new maturity. All they had to do was devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children.

By the end of the nineteen-fifties, the average marriage age of women in America

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[2]Reprinted from *The Feminine Mystique,* pp. 11–16, 22–27, by Betty Friedan, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright © 1973, 1963 by Betty Friedan.

dropped to 20, and was still dropping, into the teens. Fourteen million girls were engaged by 17. The proportion of women attending college in comparison with men dropped from 47 per cent in 1920 to 35 per cent in 1958. A century earlier, women had fought for higher education; now girls went to college to get a husband. By the mid-fifties, 60 per cent dropped out of college to marry, or because they were afraid too much education would be a marriage bar. Colleges built dormitories for "married students," but the students were almost always the husbands. A new degree was instituted for the wives—"Ph.T." (Putting Husband Through). . . .

By the end of the fifties, the United States birthrate was overtaking India's. The birth-control movement, renamed Planned Parenthood, was asked to find a method whereby women who had been advised that a third or fourth baby would be born dead or defective might have it anyhow. Statisticians were especially astounded at the fantastic increase in the number of babies among college women. Where once they had two children, now they had four, five, six. Women who had once wanted careers were now making careers out of having babies. So rejoiced *Life* magazine in a 1956 paean to the movement of American women back to the home.

In a New York hospital, a woman had a nervous breakdown when she found she could not breastfeed her baby. In other hospitals, women dying of cancer refused a drug which research had proved might save their lives: its side effects were said to be unfeminine. "If I have only one life, let me live it as a blonde," a larger-than-life-sized picture of a pretty, vacuous woman proclaimed from newspaper, magazine, and drug-store ads. And across America, three out of every ten women dyed their hair blonde. They ate a chalk called Metrecal, instead of food, to shrink to the size of the thin young models. Department-store buyers reported that American women, since 1939, had become three and four sizes smaller. "Women are out to fit the clothes, instead of vice-versa," one buyer said.

Interior decorators were designing kitchens with mosaic murals and original paintings, for kitchens were once again the center of women's lives. Home sewing became a million-dollar industry. Many women no longer left their homes, except to shop, chauffeur their children, or attend a social engagement with their husbands. Girls were growing up in America without ever having jobs outside the home. In the late fifties, a sociological phenomenon was suddenly remarked: a third of American women now worked, but most were no longer young and very few were pursuing careers. They were married women who held part-time jobs, selling or secretarial, to put their husbands through school, their sons through college, or to help pay the mortgage. Or they were widows supporting families. Fewer and fewer women were entering professional work. The shortages in the nursing, social work, and teaching professions caused crises in almost every American city. Concerned over the Soviet Union's lead in the space race, scientists noted that America's greatest source of unused brain-power was women. But girls would not study physics: it was "un-feminine." A girl refused a science fellowship at Johns Hopkins to take a job in a real-estate office. All she wanted, she said, was what every other American girl wanted—to get married, have four children and live in a nice house in a nice suburb.

The suburban housewife—she was the dream image of the young American women and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American house-wife—freed by science and labor-saving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated,

concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of.

In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husbands goodbye in front of the picture window, depositing their stationwagonsful of children at school, and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over the spotless kitchen floor. They baked their own bread, sewed their own and their children's clothes, kept their new washing machines and dryers running all day. They changed the sheets on the beds twice a week instead of once, took the rug-hooking class in adult education, and pitied their poor frustrated mothers, who had dreamed of having a career. Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers; their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine problems of the world outside the home; they wanted the men to make the major decisions. They gloried in their role as women, and wrote proudly on the census blank; "Occupation: housewife." . . .

If the woman had a problem in the 1950's and 1960's, she knew that something must be wrong with her marriage, or with herself. Other women were satisfied with their lives, she thought. What kind of a woman was she if she did not feel this mysterious fulfillment waxing the kitchen floor? She was so ashamed to admit her dissatisfaction that she never knew how many other women shared it. . . .

But on an April morning in 1959, I heard a mother of four, having coffee with four other mothers in a suburban development fifteen miles from New York, say in a tone of quiet desperation, "the problem." And the others knew, without words, that she was not talking about a problem with her husband, or her children, or her home. Suddenly they realized they all shared the same problem, the problem that has no name. They began, hesitantly, to talk about it. Later, after they had picked up their children at nursery school and taken them home to nap, two of the women cried, in sheer relief, just to know they were not alone.

Gradually I came to realize that the problem that has no name was shared by countless women in America. As a magazine writer I often interviewed women about problems with their children, or their marriages, or their houses, or their communities. But after a while I began to recognize the telltale signs of this other problem. I saw the same signs in suburban ranch houses and split-levels on Long Island and in New Jersey and Westchester County; in colonial houses in a small Massachusetts town; on patios in Memphis; in surburban and city apartments; in living rooms in the Midwest. Sometimes I sensed the problem, not as a reporter, but as a suburban housewife, for during this time I was also bringing up my own three children in Rockland County, New York. I heard echoes of the problem in college dormitories and semi-private maternity wards, at PTA meetings and luncheons of the League of Women Voters, at suburban cocktail parties, in station wagons waiting for trains, and in snatches of conversation overheard at Schrafft's. The groping words I heard from other women, on quiet afternoons when children were at school or on quiet evenings

when husbands worked late, I think I understood first as a woman long before I understood their larger social and psychological implications.

Just what was this problem that has no name? What were the words women used when they tried to express it? Sometimes a woman would say "I feel empty somehow . . . incomplete" Or she would say, "I feel as if I don't exist." Sometimes she blotted out the feeling with a tranquilizer. . . .

It is no longer possible to ignore that voice, to dismiss the desperation of so many American women. This is not what being a woman means, no matter what the experts say. For human suffering there is a reason; perhaps the reason has not been found because the right questions have not been asked, or pressed far enough. I do not accept the answer that there is no problem because American women have luxuries that women in other times and lands never dreamed of; part of the strange newness of the problem is that it cannot be understood in terms of the age-old material problems of man: poverty, sickness, hunger, cold. The women who suffer this problem have a hunger that food cannot fill. It persists in women whose husbands are struggling interns and law clerks, or prosperous doctors and lawyers; in wives of workers and executives who make $5,000 a year or $50,000. It is not caused by lack of material advantages; it may not even be felt by women preoccupied with desperate problems of hunger, poverty or illness. And women who think it will be solved by more money, a bigger house, a second car, moving to a better suburb, often discover it gets worse.

It is no longer possible today to blame the problem on loss of femininity: to say that education and independence and equality with men have made American women unfeminine. I have heard so many women try to deny this dissatisfied voice within themselves because it does not fit the pretty picture of femininity the experts have given them. I think, in fact, that this is the first clue to the mystery: the problem cannot be understood in the generally accepted terms by which scientists have studied women, doctors have treated them, counselors have advised them, and writers have written about them. Women who suffer this problem, in whom this voice is stirring, have lived their whole lives in the pursuit of feminine fulfillment. They are not career women (although career women may have other problems); they are women whose greatest ambition has been marriage and children. For the oldest of these women, these daughters of the American middle class, no other dream was possible. The ones in their forties and fifties who once had other dreams gave them up and threw themselves joyously into life as housewives. For the youngest, the new wives and mothers, this was the only dream. They are the ones who quit high school and college to marry, or marked time in some job in which they had no real interest until they married. These women are very "feminine" in the usual sense, and yet they still suffer the problem. . . .

If I am right, the problem that has no name stirring in the minds of so many American women today is not a matter of loss of femininity or too much education, or the demands of domesticity. It is far more important than anyone recognizes. It is the key to these other new and old problems which have been torturing women and their husbands and children, and puzzling their doctors and educators for years. It may well be the key to our future as a nation and a culture. We can no longer ignore that voice within women that says: "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home."

3. Margaret Mead Assesses the Modern Family (1971)

In the 1960s many young people, disenchanted with "middle-American" values, sought alternative life-styles—sometimes in communes designed to replace the traditional family structure. Some alarmists saw in such developments the end of civilization as they had known it. The noted anthropologist Margaret Mead, in the following selection, offers a balanced historical perspective. What features of conventional family life does she criticize? What is her prediction for the future of the family? How does she judge the changing role of women in the post–World War II era? How do her views of women's role compare with those of Dr. Spock? with those of Betty Friedan?

Whenever there is a period of upheaval in the world, somebody's going to do something to the family. If the family's being very rigorous and puritanical, you loosen it up. And if it's being very loose, you tighten it up. But you have to change it to really feel you're accomplishing something. If we go back into history we find over and over again, in moments of revolutionary change, that people start talking about the family, and what they're doing to it, and what's wrong with it. They even predict it's going to disappear altogether. It is in fact the only institution we have that doesn't have a hope of disappearing.

No matter how many communes anybody invents, the family always creeps back. You can get rid of it if you live in an enclave and keep everybody else out, and bring the children up to be unfit to live anywhere else. They can go on ignoring the family for several generations. But such communities are not part of the main world. . . .

It's very, very difficult to lead a life unless you're married. So everybody gets married—and unmarried—and married, but they're all married to somebody most of the time. And so that we have, in a sense, overdepended on marriage in this country. We've vastly overdone it. . . .

The Nuclear Family is a family consisting of one adult man and one adult woman, married to each other, and minor children. The presence of any other person in the household is an insult. The only people that can come in are cleaning women and sitters. In-laws become sitters—which means that when they come in, you go out, and you never have to see them. Furthermore, today, mothers are very uncomfortable with adolescent daughters in the house. So they push them out as rapidly as possible. If they're rich, they send them to Barnard, and if they're poor, they get them married, and they work at it, very hard, because there isn't room in the kind of kitchens we've had since 1945 for two women.

We have put on the Nuclear Family an appalling burden, because young couples were expected to move as far from both sets of relatives as they could, and they had to move, a great deal of the time.

Millions and millions of Americans move every year, moving miles from relatives or anybody that they know. We know now that the chances of a post-partum depression for a woman are directly proportional to the distance she is from any female relative or friend. When we put her in a new suburb all by herself, her chances of getting a post-partum depression go way up. There are millions of young families living in such suburbs, knowing nobody, with no friends, no support of any kind.

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[3] Published by permission of Transaction, Inc. from *Transaction,* pp. 52–53, vol. 8, no. 11. Copyright © 1971 by Transaction, Inc.

Furthermore, each spouse is supposed to be all things to the other. They're supposed to be good in bed, and good out of it. Women are supposed to be good cooks, good mothers, good wives, good skiers, good conversationalists, good accountants. Neither person is supposed to find any sustenance from anybody else. . . .

So it's a good style of family for change, but it's a hazardous kind of family, nonetheless. And if it is hazardous enough in the city, it's a hundred percent more hazardous in the suburbs. There's a special kind of isolation that occurs in the suburbs. So the attack on the Nuclear Family is, I think, thoroughly justified.

There is a need to have more people around: more people to hold the baby, more people to pitch in in emergencies, more people to help when the child is sick, when the mother is sick, more children for other children to play with so you don't have to spend a thousand dollars sending them to nursery school, more kinds of adults around for the children to pick models from in case father or mother can't do the things they want to do. . . .

We've been cheating women when, in the last ten years, we wanted women to work. We were very short of cheap labor so we told them they needed to be fulfilled. The last source of educated cheap labor was women. So finally everybody discovered that it is very unfulfilling to stay at home, and a woman, of course, when she had her children, maybe she would stay at home for a few years and then she'd leave to be fulfilled. And the foundations gave money, centers were established to lure her out and get her re-educated.

But of course they weren't going to pay her like men, because after all she was more interested in her home, she wouldn't want to leave her children, and you know art lessons sometimes take up more time than little babies—and so she'd want a job from which she could get home early like being a clerk in a team-teaching outfit, instead of a teacher. Something like that—so she could go home when her children did. And of course she wouldn't want to be very ambitious, because all the strain would be bad; she'd want to keep something for home.

In the last ten years, women have been pretty well beguiled and bedazzled into becoming self-fulfilling, educated cheap labor. And I think it's not surprising if some of them are saying that they think they are exploited, and they don't want to be exploited any more.

At the end of World War II, when they wanted all the women that held jobs to go home so the men could get them back, women who'd done well in Washington were told they were overmature, overexperienced:—"Please go home."

I think we'll be bringing girls up with more sense of themselves as people, and that they're going to be people all the way through. If they choose parenthood, they'll choose it much more as they've chosen vocations, and much less as if it were just something the neighbors are doing.

4. A Bill of Rights for Modern Women (1967)

The National Organization for Women (NOW), which Betty Freidan helped to found, emerged in the 1960s as one of the foremost champions of women's rights. At its first national conference in 1967, NOW adopted the following resolution. What does it reveal about the nature of the modern women's movement? How does it

[4]Reprinted by permission, National Organization for Women.

TAYLOR
ALBUQUERQUE TRIBUNE '81 ©
ROTHCO
'YES, MY DEAR MISS MYRON, THAT IS MY DECISION ON THE E.R.A. CASE. NOW, BEFORE YOU TYPE IT UP, BE A GOOD LITTLE GIRL AND POUR ME A CUP OF COFFEE...'

The War of the Sexes

The Equal Rights Amendment, still unratified in the 1980s after more than half a century of feminist advocacy, was a passionately symbolic issue for both proponents and opponents. (Mark Taylor, Albuquerque Tribune, *New Mexico/Rothco Cartoons)*

compare with the Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848? (See Vol. I, p. 340.) What aspects of women's situation changed the most between 1848 and 1967? What caused those changes?

WE DEMAND:

I. That the U.S. Congress immediately pass the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution to provide that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and that such then be immediately ratified by the several States.

II. That equal employment opportunity be guaranteed to all women, as well as men, by insisting that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforces the prohibitions against racial discrimination.

III. That women be protected by law to ensure their rights to return to their jobs within a reasonable time after childbirth without loss of seniority or other accrued benefits, and be paid maternity leave as a form of social security and/or employee benefit.

IV. Immediate revision of tax laws to permit the deduction of home and child-care expenses for working parents.

V. That child-care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public schools, adequate to the needs of children from the pre-school years through adolescence, as a community resource to be used by all citizens from all income levels.

VI. That the right of women to be educated to their full potential equally with men be secured by Federal and State legislation, eliminating all discrimination and segregation by sex, written and unwritten, at all levels of education, including colleges, graduate and professional schools, loans and fellowships, and Federal and State training programs such as the Job Corps.

VII. The right of women in poverty to secure job training, housing, and family allowances on equal terms with men, but without prejudice to a parent's right to remain at home to care for his or her children; revision of welfare legislation and poverty programs which deny women dignity, privacy, and self-respect.

VIII. The right of women to control their own reproductive lives by removing from the penal code laws limiting access to contraceptive information and devices, and by repealing penal laws governing abortion.

B. Economic Contradictions

1. John Kenneth Galbraith Criticizes the Affluent Society (1958)

America knew fabulous prosperity in the postwar era—or did it? In an influential book first published in the late 1950s, Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith probingly questioned the implications of the United States' apparent affluence. His ideas contributed significantly to discussion among policymakers about the kinds of social reforms that later were enacted as the Great Society programs. What is the distinction that Galbraith draws between the private and the public realms? How convincing is his argument? What does the relationship between private and public goods suggest about the character of American values?

The final problem of the productive society is what it produces. This manifests itself in an implacable tendency to provide an opulent supply of some things and a niggardly yield of others. This disparity carries to the point where it is a cause of social discomfort and social unhealth. The line which divides our area of wealth from our area of poverty is roughly that which divides privately produced and marketed goods and services from publicly rendered services. Our wealth in the first is not only in startling contrast with the meagerness of the latter, but our wealth in privately produced goods is, to a marked degree, the cause of crisis in the supply of public services. For we have failed to see the importance, indeed the urgent need, of maintaining a balance between the two.

[1] From *The Affluent Society,* pp. 221–223, 236–238, by John Kenneth Galbraith. Copyright © 1958, 1969, 1976 by John Kenneth Galbraith. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

"Shine, Joe?"

Warfare or Welfare?
In a classic tradeoff between "guns and butter," Great Society programs had great difficulty competing against the Pentagon for a share of the federal budget dollar—especially in the 1980s, when growing disillusionment with social programs and a lusty military buildup sharply checked the growth of the "welfare state." (Mauldin, Chicago Sun Times)

This disparity between our flow of private and public goods and services is no matter of subjective judgment. On the contrary, it is the source of the most extensive comment which only stops short of the direct contrast being made here. In the years following World War II, the papers of any major city—those of New York were an excellent example—told daily of the shortages and shortcomings in the elementary municipal and metropolitan services. The schools were old and overcrowded. The police force was under strength and underpaid. The parks and playgrounds were insufficient. Streets and empty lots were filthy, and the sanitation staff was underequipped and in need of men. Access to the city by those who work there was uncertain and painful and becoming more so. Internal transportation was overcrowded, unhealthful and dirty. So was the air. Parking on the streets should have been prohibited, but there was no space elsewhere. These deficiences were not in new and novel services but in old and established ones. Cities have long swept their streets, helped their people move around, educated them, kept order, and provided horse rails for equipages which sought to pause. That their residents should have a nontoxic supply of air suggests no revolutionary dalliance with socialism.

The discussion of this public poverty competed, on the whole successfully, with the stories of ever-increasing opulence in privately produced goods. The Gross National Product was rising. So were retail sales. So was personal income. Labor productivity had also advanced. The automobiles that could not be parked were being produced at an expanded rate. The children, though without schools, subject in the playgrounds to the affectionate interest of adults with odd tastes, and disposed to increasingly imaginative forms of delinquency, were admirably equipped with television sets. We had difficulty finding storage space for the great surpluses of food

despite a national disposition to obesity. Food was grown and packaged under private auspices. The care and refreshment of the mind, in contrast with the stomach, was principally in the public domain. Our colleges and universities were often severely overcrowded and underprovided, and the same was even more often true of the mental hospitals.

The contrast was and remains evident not alone to those who read. The family which takes its mauve and cerise, airconditioned, power-steered and power-braked automobile out for a tour passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass on into a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art. (The goods which the latter advertise have an absolute priority in our value system. Such aesthetic considerations as a view of the countryside accordingly come second. On such matters, we are consistent.) They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable icebox by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night at a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air mattress, beneath a nylon tent, amid the stench of decaying refuse, they may reflect vaguely on the curious unevenness of their blessings. Is this, indeed, the American genius? . . .

A feature of the years immediately following World War II was a remarkable attack on the notion of expanding and improving public services. During the depression years, such services had been elaborated and improved partly in order to fill some small part of the vacuum left by the shrinkage of private production. During the war years, the role of government was vastly expanded. After that came the reaction. Much of it, unquestionably, was motivated by a desire to rehabilitate the prestige of private production and therewith of producers. No doubt some who joined the attack hoped, at least tacitly, that it might be possible to sidestep the truce on taxation vis-à-vis equality by having less taxation of all kinds. For a time, the notion that our public services had somehow become inflated and excessive was all but axiomatic. Even liberal politicians did not seriously protest. They found it necessary to aver that they were in favor of public economy too.

In this discussion, a certain mystique was attributed to the satisfaction of privately supplied wants. A community decision to have a new school means that the individual surrenders the necessary amount, willy-nilly, in his taxes. But if he is left with that income, he is a free man. He can decide between a better car or a television set. This was advanced with some solemnity as an argument for the TV set. The difficulty is that this argument leaves the community with no way of preferring the school. All private wants, where the individual can choose, are inherently superior to all public desires which must be paid for by taxation and with an inevitable component of compulsion.

The cost of public services was also held to be a desolating burden on private production, although this was at a time when the private production was burgeoning. Urgent warnings were issued on the unfavorable effects of taxation on investment. . . .

Finally, it was argued, with no little vigor, that expanding government posed a grave threat to individual liberties. . . .

With time, this attack on public services has subsided. The disorder associated with social imbalance has become visible even if the need for balance between private and public services is still imperfectly appreciated. . . .

Nonetheless, the postwar onslaught on the public services left a lasting imprint. To suggest that we canvass our public wants to see where happiness can be improved

by more and better services has a sharply radical tone. Even public services to avoid disorder must be defended. By contrast, the man who devises a nostrum for a nonexistent need and then successfully promotes both remains one of nature's noblemen.

2. Michael Harrington Discovers Another America (1962)

Some books shape the course of history. Michael Harrington's The Other America, *published in 1962, was such a book. It shook middle-class Americans out of their complacent assumption that the problem of poverty had been solved in their country. With reasoned yet passionate argument, Harrington forcefully documented the existence of an "invisible" America populated by hopelessly impoverished people. The book's millions of readers—many of them idealistic young people—helped form the political constituency that made possible the Johnson administration's war on poverty in the late 1960s. Who are the poor people Harrington describes? Why are they "invisible"? What does Harrington identify as historically new about their condition? Are the problems he describes now resolved?*

There is a familiar America. It is celebrated in speeches and advertised on television and in the magazines. It has the highest mass standard of living the world has ever known.

In the 1950's this America worried about itself, yet even its anxieties were products of abundance. The title of a brilliant book was widely misinterpreted, and the familiar America began to call itself "the affluent society." There was introspection about Madison Avenue and tail fins; there was discussion of the emotional suffering taking place in the suburbs. In all this, there was an implict assumption that the basic grinding economic problems had been solved in the United States. In this theory the nation's problems were no longer a matter of basic human needs, of food, shelter, and clothing. Now they were seen as qualitative, a question of learning to live decently amid luxury.

While this discussion was carried on, there existed another America. In it dwelt somewhere between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 citizens of this land. They were poor. They still are.

To be sure, the other America is not impoverished in the same sense as those poor nations where millions cling to hunger as a defense against starvation. This country has escaped such extremes. That does not change the fact that tens of millions of Americans are, at this very moment, maimed in body and spirit, existing at levels beneath those necessary for human decency. If these people are not starving, they are hungry, and sometimes fat with hunger, for that is what cheap foods do. They are without adequate housing and education and medical care. . . .

This book is a description of the world in which these people live; it is about the other America. Here are the unskilled workers, the migrant farm workers, the aged, the minorities, and all the others who live in the economic underworld of American life. . . .

The millions who are poor in the United States tend to become increasingly

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[2]Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from *The Other America* by Michael Harrington. © Michael Harrington, 1962.

invisible. Here is a great mass of people, yet it takes an effort of the intellect and will even to see them.

I discovered this personally in a curious way. After I wrote my first article on poverty in America, I had all the statistics down on paper. I had proved to my satisfaction that there were around 50,000,000 poor in this country. Yet, I realized I did not believe my own figures. The poor existed in the Government reports; they were percentages and numbers in long, close columns, but they were not part of my experience. I could prove that the other America existed, but I had never been there.

My response was not accidental. It was typical of what is happening to an entire society, and it reflects profound social changes in this nation. The other America, the America of poverty, is hidden today in a way that it never was before. Its millions are socially invisible to the rest of us. No wonder that so many misinterpreted Galbraith's title and assumed that "the affluent society" meant that everyone had a decent standard of life. The misinterpretation was true as far as the actual day-to-day lives of two-thirds of the nation were concerned. Thus, one must begin a description of the other America by understanding why we do not see it.

There are perennial reasons that make the other America an invisible land.

Poverty is often off the beaten track. It always has been. The ordinary tourist never left the main highway, and today he rides interstate turnpikes. He does not go into the valleys of Pennsylvania where the towns look like movie sets of Wales in the thirties. He does not see the company houses in rows, the rutted roads (the poor always have bad roads whether they live in the city, in towns, or on farms), and everything is black and dirty. And even if he were to pass through such a place by accident, the tourist would not meet the unemployed men in the bar or the women coming home from a runaway sweatshop.

Then, too, beauty and myths are perennial masks of poverty. The traveler comes to the Appalachians in the lovely season. He sees the hills, the streams, the foliage—but not the poor. Or perhaps he looks at a run-down mountain house and, remembering Rousseau rather than seeing with his eyes, decides that "those people" are truly fortunate to be living the way they are and that they are lucky to be exempt from the strains and tensions of the middle class. The only problem is that "those people," the quaint inhabitants of those hills, are undereducated, underprivileged, lack medical care, and are in the process of being forced from the land into a life in the cities, where they are misfits.

These are normal and obvious causes of the invisibility of the poor. They operated a generation ago; they will be functioning a generation hence. It is more important to understand that the very development of American society is creating a new kind of blindness about poverty. The poor are increasingly slipping out of the very experience and consciousness of the nation.

If the middle class never did like ugliness and poverty, it was at least aware of them. "Across the tracks" was not a very long way to go. There were forays into the slums at Christmas time; there were charitable organizations that brought contact with the poor. Occasionally, almost everyone passed through the Negro ghetto or the blocks of tenements, if only to get downtown to work or to entertainment.

Now the American city has been transformed. The poor still inhabit the miserable housing in the central area, but they are increasingly isolated from contact with, or sight of, anybody else. Middle-class women coming in from Suburbia on a rare trip may catch the merest glimpse of the other America on the way to an evening at the

theater, but their children are segregated in suburban schools. The business or professional man may drive along the fringes of slums in a car or bus, but it is not an important experience to him. The failures, the unskilled, the disabled, the aged, and the minorities are right there, across the tracks, where they have always been. But hardly anyone else is.

In short, the very development of the American city has removed poverty from the living, emotional experience of millions upon millions of middle-class Americans. Living out in the suburbs, it is easy to assume that ours is, indeed, an affluent society. . . .

It is a blow to reform and the political hopes of the poor that the middle class no longer understands that poverty exists. But, perhaps more important, the poor are losing their links with the great world. If statistics and sociology can measure a feeling as delicate as loneliness (and some of the attempts to do so will be cited later on), the other America is becoming increasingly populated by those who do not belong to anybody or anything. They are no longer participants in an ethnic culture from the old country; they are less and less religious; they do not belong to unions or clubs. They are not seen, and because of that they themselves cannot see. Their horizon has become more and more restricted; they see one another, and that means they see little reason to hope. . . .

There are mighty historical and economic forces that keep the poor down; and there are human beings who help out in this grim business, many of them unwittingly. There are sociological and political reasons why poverty is not seen; and there are misconceptions and prejudices that literally blind the eyes. The latter must be understood if anyone is to make the necessary act of intellect and will so that the poor can be noticed.

Here is the most familiar version of social blindness: "The poor are that way because they are afraid of work. And anyway they all have big cars. If they were like me (or my father or my grandfather), they could pay their own way. But they prefer to live on the dole and cheat the taxpayers."

This theory, usually thought of as a virtuous and moral statement, is one of the means of making it impossible for the poor ever to pay their way. There are, one must assume, citizens of the other America who choose impoverishment out of fear of work (though, writing it down, I really do not believe it). But the real explanation of why the poor are where they are is that they made the mistake of being born to the wrong parents, in the wrong section of the country, in the wrong industry, or in the wrong racial or ethnic group. Once that mistake has been made, they could have been paragons of will and morality, but most of them would never even have had a chance to get out of the other America.

There are two important ways of saying this: The poor are caught in a vicious circle; or, The poor live in a culture of poverty.

In a sense, one might define the contemporary poor in the United States as those who, for reasons beyond their control, cannot help themselves. All the most decisive factors making for opportunity and advance are against them. They are born going downward, and most of them stay down. They are victims whose lives are endlessly blown round and round the other America.

Here is one of the most familiar forms of the vicious circle of poverty. The poor get sick more than anyone else in the society. That is because they live in slums, jammed together under unhygienic conditions; they have inadequate diets, and can-

not get decent medical care. When they become sick, they are sick longer than any other group in society. Because they are sick more often and longer than anyone else, they lose wages and work, and find it difficult to hold a steady job. And because of this, they cannot pay for good housing, for a nutritious diet, for doctors. At any given point in the circle, particularly when there is a major illness, their prospect is to move to an even lower level and to begin the cycle, round and round, toward even more suffering. . . .

Throughout, I work on an assumption that cannot be proved by Government figures or even documented by impressions of the other America. It is an ethical proposition, and it can be simply stated: In a nation with a technology that could provide every citizen with a decent life, it is an outrage and a scandal that there should be such social misery. Only if one begins with this assumption is it possible to pierce through the invisibility of 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 human beings and to see the other America. We must perceive passionately, if this blindness is to be lifted from us. A fact can be rationalized and explained away; an indignity cannot.

What shall we tell the American poor, once we have seen them? Shall we say to them that they are better off than the Indian poor, the Italian poor, the Russian poor? That is one answer, but it is heartless. I should put it another way. I want to tell every well-fed and optimistic American that it is intolerable that so many millions should be maimed in body and in spirit when it is not necessary that they should be. My standard of comparison is not how much worse things used to be. It is how much better they could be if only we were stirred. . . .

These, then, are the strangest poor in the history of mankind.

They exist within the most powerful and rich society the world has ever known. Their misery has continued while the majority of the nation talked of itself as being "affluent" and worried about neuroses in the suburbs. In this way tens of millions of human beings became invisible. They dropped out of sight and out of mind; they were without their own political voice.

Yet this need not be. The means are at hand to fulfill the age-old dream: poverty can now be abolished. How long shall we ignore this underdeveloped nation in our midst? How long shall we look the other way while our fellow human beings suffer? How long?

3. *Working for a Living (1971)*

Most Americans are neither very rich nor very poor—they are the "middle Americans" who rarely become the objects of government economic policy, yet do not truly quality as "affluent." Their lives are so "ordinary" that they tend not to get the attention of the media, which is devoted to reporting dramatic and extraordinary material. In the unusual selection that follows, one such typical family's life-style in the late 1960s is described. What is the attitude of the Cappellis toward work? toward welfare? What are their greatest concerns in life? How do they view the government?

Eugene Cappelli, Jr., is driving home from work in the well-kept, secondhand Chevy II (a '63 with about 41,000 miles) that his parents gave him as a present last

[3]Harvey Aronson, "Life with Cappelli on $101 a Week," *Newsday* (May 1969), pp. 25–34. © 1969 Newsday, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

Christmas to replace a tottering '60 Studebaker. He is a pleasant-faced young man in a white shirt, tie and slacks and he still has on the white-lettered red badge that says "Gene—Psychiatric Asst." It's his badge of employment, and the salary that goes with it signifies his membership in the great army of the struggling class.

Cappelli works the 7:30 A.M. to 4 P.M. shift as an attendant at New York's Pilgrim State Hospital in Brentwood; he received a small raise recently and earns $200.75 every two weeks. That means he takes home $174.60, or about $87 a week. One reason he likes the job is that "it has satisfactions; you see results in people." And another reason is economic. "The idea is that the money's steady, even though it's low," he says. At twenty-nine, Cappelli, a high-school graduate and one-time Air Force jet mechanic, is intensely concerned with job security.

He has a variety of reasons for his concern. He has a special checking account that rarely has more than $200 in it, and he has no savings account. He has a wife and two children, a $26-a-month life insurance policy, a $24-a-month oil bill and a home in Ronkonkoma with a thirty-year mortgage. It's a six-room ranch with a full cellar, and it cost $13,990 when he bought it new five years ago with a down payment of $650. The monthly carrying charges were originally quoted at $104 but they were $118 by the time the family moved in four months later, and now they are $141. It's a sizable chunk for Cappelli and his wife, Andrea, who is twenty-six and works part time as a teacher's aide at a grade school just off her backyard for $2.10 an hour. Last year, she made about $550, and their combined income was $5,378. About $217 of that went for income taxes. (This year they expect their income to be $5,500.)

With Andrea's average take-home pay added to her husband's the couple has a weekly cash income of $101, or $404 a month for themselves and their children, Debbie, six, and Sandy, five. Andrea says that after they take out for the mortgage, life insurance, oil, electricity, phone and car expenses, they have about $150 a month left for food, clothing, incidentals and medical care (they had been entitled to Medicaid for the children, but won't be after June 1). "The way I figure it," she says, "that is about a dollar twenty-five per day a person, which is less than the amount some poor people on welfare receive." In understanding the Cappellis' situation, it is important to know that if they wanted to earn a few hundred dollars less a year and to pay rent instead of having a mortgage, they could probably qualify for welfare. However, what is important is this: it wouldn't be part of their life style.

They consider themselves working-class people but not needy people, and it is a distinction that has to do with pride. "It's the way I brought him up," says Cappelli's mother, who works as an attendant with him at the new Hempstead Psychiatric Division in Pilgrim State, and that's part of the sociology. His mother also says that "you help your children," and that, too, is part of the sociology—Eugene and Andrea get help in the form of gifts from their parents. The car and their bedroom set from his parents, for example, and the refrigerator and the wallpaper and linoleum in Debbie's room from Andrea's parents. And their living-room furniture, which is twenty years old, once belonged to Andrea's grandmother. But they would break their backs before they asked the government to support them.

"Welfare?" says Gene Cappelli. "No, I can't sit back and try to get money. I can't see that it's mine. I went through that a little when I got out of the service and collected some unemployment insurance. People acted like they were doing you a big favor. I figured the hell with this. I like to feel self-sustaining." . . .

The day starts at about 7 A.M. for Eugene and Andrea Cappelli, who have been married for eight years, and are young enough to dig rock 'n' roll, and old enough to be mystified by the disorder in the schools. "I think all those kids on those college campuses should be put over somebody's knee and spanked," says Andrea, who took a secretarial course at the Long Island Agricultural and Technical Institute for nine months after graduating from Newfield High School in Centereach. Gene, who put in a four-year Air Force hitch after graduating from Smithtown High, says, "They're holding back the ones who want to learn." It is relevant that the Cappellis compare student troubles to race problems. "I think there are a few militants who are making it bad for the rest of the people," says Andrea in discussing black unrest. "It's the same as with the students." She and Gene preface this by denying bias. "In the service," says Gene, "I had some very close friends who are colored people." . . .

Cappelli says he has aspirations for the future. "But it's hard to say how right now. I would like to try to better myself, but it's a little hazy right now."

Eugene and Andrea Cappelli are Lutheran, and their children attend Sunday School. For the most part, they vote Republican—they voted for Richard Nixon last year, but not with any wild enthusiasm. Gene feels that unions are good and bad ("Working people have a right to ask for more money," he says, "but sometimes the unions are atrocious in their demands"), and he and his wife are as confused about the war as most Americans. "We can't walk out, but we have to do something else," says Andrea. And Gene says, "I don't have anything against these kids who don't want to get shot. . . . And I don't think half the boys over there know what it's about. You don't know what's right and what's wrong."

They don't have it easy, but they get by. As Andrea says, they have healthy kids and they own their own home. Their house is on a 50-by-150 plot on Louis Kossuth Avenue in a comparatively uncrowded neighborhood of homes that range from small bungalows to large split-levels, and there are still a good many wooded areas around. E. J. CAPPELLI, JR., it says in large black letters on the mailbox, and that means something.

At least to Gene Cappelli, it means something. Whether it means anything to the people who run the government is something he's not sure about. "It's hard to say whether the higher-ups care about us," he says. "They say so, but sometimes I don't really believe it. Unless they come down to the little guy's level, they don't really know how it is."

C. Heating Up the Melting Pot

1. Black Enterprise *Champions Affirmative Action (1978)*

Black Americans scored dramatic social and economic gains in the 1960s and 1970s—thanks largely to the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the vigorous commitment of the federal government, especially in the Johnson administration, to

[1] *Black Enterprise 9* (August 1978): 7. Copyright 1978 The Earl G. Graves Publishing Co., Inc., 295 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10017. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

making black civil rights a reality, not just a dream. Affirmative-action programs, designed to redress historical injustices by giving women and members of minority groups preference in hiring and admission to educational institutions, were one vehicle by which blacks speeded their progress into the mainstream of U.S. society. Then in 1978 the United States Supreme Court cast a cloud over affirmative-action programs in the case of University of California Regents *v.* Bakke. *Allan Bakke, a white candidate for admission to the Medical School of the University of California at Davis, claimed that he was denied admission because of the school's policy of reserving several places in the entering class for minority students. The Court held that it was unlawful to take minority status so explicitly into account in admissions decisions, and ordered the school to admit Bakke. (However, in its complex and confusing opinion, the Court did not altogether rule out reliance on ethnic or racial criteria in the admissions process.)* Black Enterprise, *a magazine aimed primarily at black readers, criticizes the* Bakke *decision in the following editorial. The magazine endorses the dissenting opinion of the Court's only black justice, Thurgood Marshall. What does the editorial especially admire about Marshall's position? How sound is the argument that "in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently"?*

There are moments in your life when you feel you've reached a turning point; when you stop, make an assessment of your situation and feel good, knowing that hard work, effort and imagination have paid off. These moments are all too few and, invariably, before they can be fully appreciated they are shattered by the naked reality of the daily struggle. Last June was such a time.

In that month, the President of the United States, for the first time in the nation's history, invited the leading black executives in the country to the White House so that he could personally inform them of the policies and directions of his administration, especially as they affect black economic well-being.

The assemblage was historic: a gathering of men—and one woman—linked not only by race but by success, not only by ideology or civil rights but by their proven ability to run businesses, employ people, meet payrolls. When one considers that over one hundred years ago their ancestors could own nothing—not even themselves; that fifty years ago their fathers could probably not borrow money from the local bank or be insured; that fifteen years ago the very meeting they attended at the White House could not have been held, the significance of that moment at the White House brightens. Here were over one hundred black executives who had started out with little more than hope, now standing at the symbolic seat to power. Through their companies they represented an aggregate wealth of almost nine hundred million dollars. It was a moment to remember, to savor.

But not for long. A little over two weeks after this gathering came the stinging reality of the racial struggle these businessmen face—the *Bakke* decision.

On June 28, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its much awaited decision on the *Bakke* case. Suddenly, affirmative action was out and, incredibly, blacks could be charged with discriminating against whites. There is much discussion concerning the *Bakke* decision. Some claim the case was interpreted "narrowly" and that blacks, if not achieving a total victory, at least were not subjected to a total loss.

I am not a lawyer but a businessman. As I go about the task of keeping my organization going I encounter many whites and know that for some of them the

Bakke decision means that affirmative action is over. Many companies were faint of heart when they began their programs. This decision will encourage them to stop their efforts altogether. However, we must insist that those firms that have programs continue them; we must insist that those firms doing business with black entrepreneurs continue doing so; we must lobby for the continuation of set asides and we must hold the administration to its commitment to triple federal contract procurement no matter what was decided in *Bakke*.

The fact that the Court seems to have sanctioned the use of race as a factor in determining admissions should not lull us into inaction. *Bakke* means that blacks are in trouble. This was nowhere stated more clearly or succinctly than in Justice Marshall's dissent. Marshall said:

> I agree with the judgment of the Court only insofar as it permits a university to consider the race of an applicant in making admissions decisions. I do not agree that the petitioner's admissions program violated the Constitution. For it must be remembered that during most of the past 200 years, the Constitution as interpreted by this Court, did not prohibit the most ingenious and pervasive forms of discrimination against the Negro. Now, when a State acts to remedy the effects of the legacy of discrimination, I cannot believe that this same Constitution stands as a barrier.
>
> The position of the Negro today in America is the tragic but inevitable consequence of centuries of unequal treatment. Measured by any benchmark of conduct or achievement, meaningful equality remains a distant dream for the Negro.
>
> It is because of a legacy of unequal treatment that we now must permit the institutions of this society to give consideration to race in making decisions about who will hold the position of influence, affluence and prestige in America. For far too long, the doors to those positions have been shut to Negroes. if we are ever to become a fully integrated society, one in which the color of a person's skin will not determine the opportunities available to him or her, we must be willing to take steps to open those doors. I do not believe that anyone can truly look into America's past and still find that a remedy for the effects of the past is impermissible . . .
>
> I fear that we have come full circle. After the Civil War our government started several "affirmative action" programs. This Court in the Civil Rights cases and *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* destroyed the movement toward complete equality. For almost a century no action was taken and this nonaction was with the tacit approval of the Courts. Then we had *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Civil Rights Acts of Congress followed by numerous affirmative action programs. Now, we have this Court again stepping in, this time to stop affirmative action programs of the type used by the University of California.

Marshall's eloquence in defense of the admission's policy was matched by that of Justice Blackmun who observed that "In order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently." . . .

2. George Will Blasts Reverse Discrimination (1978)

Conservative columnist George Will also disliked the Bakke *decision—because it failed to put an end, once and for all, to the "reverse discrimination" of affirmative-action programs. How does his argument fit with that of* Black Enterprise *magazine,*

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[2]George Will, "Reverse Discrimination," *Newsweek 92* (July 10, 1978): 84. Copyright 1978 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

just given? What are the American values that Will believes are being betrayed by "reverse discrimination"? Is he right?

You cannot spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world," Herman Melville wrote in 1849. ". . . Our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents all pouring into one. We are not a nation, so much as a world." But government policy has been, increasingly, to divide the majestic national river into little racial and ethnic creeks. If that policy succeeds, the United States will be less a nation than an angry menagerie of factions scrambling for preference in the government's allocation of entitlements.

That policy was endorsed by the Administration's brief against Allan Bakke, a brief which urged that the nation should cultivate "race consciousness." The brief did not suggest how the government will decide, someday, that persons who have been "victims," personally or through "their forebears," have been "restored"—a strange choice of verb—"to the position they would have occupied" but for discrimination. The Bakke decision pleases the Administration.

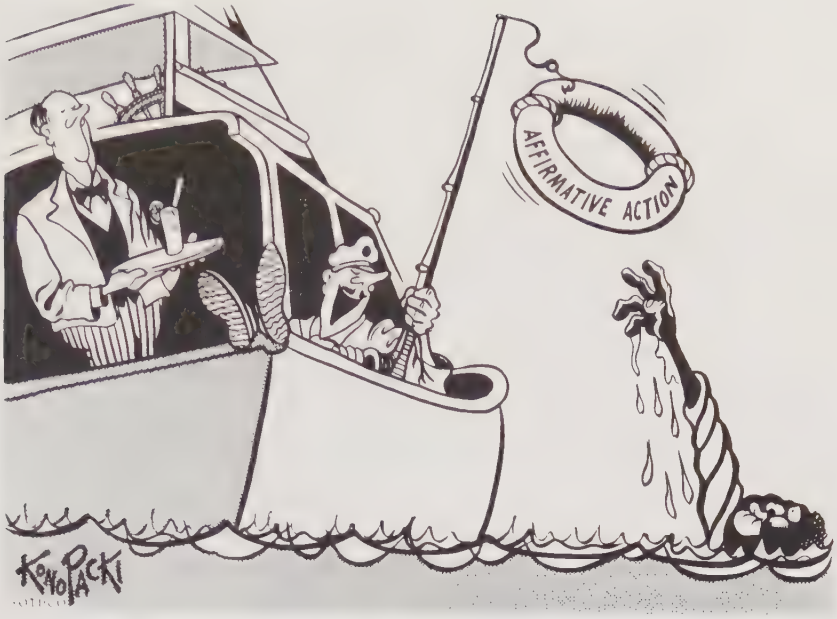
Bakke won because a medical school, with no record of discrimination to rectify, adopted a numerical quota for certain minorities, and admitted some who were dramatically less qualified than he was. The Bakke decision has made little law. Therefore, most existing policies will continue, so the law can be riddled with racial considerations. With regard to higher education, the decision suggests broad tolerance for reverse-discrimination policies that are less raw than that which excluded Bakke. And Justice Powell's opinion for the Court can be read plausibly as somewhat permissive regarding considerations of race and ancestry in the allocation of other government benefits generally.

"Suspect" Distinctions

The opinion says racial and ethnic distinctions are "suspect" and require "exacting judicial examination." But when state distribution of benefits "hinges" on race or ethnicity, the racial and ethnic classifications are acceptable if they are "necessary" to promote a "substantial" state interest, such as diversity in enrollments. Four Justices even assert the constitutionality of programs like the one that excluded Bakke, programs that do not just use "minority status as a positive factor," but that "set aside a predetermined number of places" for minorities. These Justices say, not groundlessly: "For purposes of constitutional adjudication, there is no difference between the two approaches."

Powell says that the "equal protection" clause precludes "recognition of special wards entitled to a degree of protection greater than that accorded others"; he rejects a "two-class theory" of equal protection. But then he says there can be compelling state interests served by constitutional forms of discrimination which disadvantage whites for the benefit of preferred minorities. This necessarily means distinguishing two classes of citizens.

Powell says there is a distinction of constitutional dimension between an "explict racial classification" that "totally" excludes members of some groups from full participation in a program, and "properly devised" racial considerations that are "flexible" in treating race or ancestry as a "plus." But this can be a distinction without a significant difference. For most professional schools, the pool of qualified minority



The End of Affirmative Action?
By the 1980s, many white Americans, including Reagan administration officials, felt complacent—or even hostile—about the continuing need for affirmative action programs to benefit minorities. (Konopacki/Rothco Cartoons)

applicants is shallow. Schools that dip too deeply will produce striking disparities between the test scores and academic records of minorities and whites they accept. At some point such disparities must be *prima facie* evidence of a quota, whether it is acknowledged or surreptitious.

"Statistical Parity"

The Bakke decision does not necessarily mean the Court will say that reverse discrimination in employment and awarding contracts is "necessary" to a "substantial" state interest. But the Court may not seriously impede the bureaucratic drive to transform the core concept of American justice from "equal opportunity for individuals" to "statistical parity for government-approved groups." There is, indeed, a substantial state interest in broadening membership in the middle class, and especially in professions. But the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal protection to "persons," and any reverse discrimination grants special entitlements to preferred groups. Nevertheless, the Bakke decision will leave unscathed an array of programs by which the government encourages or compels public and private institutions to consider ethnic quantities more, and individual qualities less, when conferring benefits.

In 1954, the Court seemed on the way to saying what Congress subsequently seemed to say in the 1964 Civil Rights Act: race is an inherently unacceptable basis for state action. But now, in the Bakke case, the Court has refused to find that principle in the 1964 act, and the Court rejected that principle in cases before Bakke. For example,

it held that states can tailor redistricting plans racially to create or preserve legislative districts that enhance the electoral power of preferred minorities (in the particular case, blacks and Puerto Ricans). The plan in question diluted the electoral strength of Hassidic Jews who do not enjoy government preference.

Wards of the State

Reverse discrimination began as a means of ameliorating the condition of blacks, but it was quickly claimed as a "right" by groups defined by race, ancestry or sex. It is demanded in spite of the fact that it devalues the achievements of its beneficiaries and stigmatizes them as wards of the state, unable to compete. This taint is not disguised by tactical euphemisms, such as saying that employers must "differentially validate" employment tests when they are required to set lower passing scores for preferred minorities than for whites. Whether called "affirmative action" or (as in the 1976 Democratic platform) "compensatory opportunity," reverse discrimination, and the quest for statistical parity for "underrepresented" groups, involve what Prof. Ben L. Martin calls the "sensory" theory of representation: "only personal qualities crude enough to be obvious to sense perception, such as skin color, language, or sex, are acceptable bases of representation." Martin explains reverse discrimination in terms of "the foot-race analogy":

"In a fair race, none is disadvantaged at the starting line. But if all begin with equal advantage, then all should finish together, because contemporary liberalism leaves virtually no personal quality—not character, personality, motivation, self-discipline, or any other personal trait—as the responsibility of the individual."

The premise behind reverse discrimination is this: an unfair start can be inferred from an unequal outcome. The traditional American premise is this: the equal status of citizenship is the basis on which a structure of inequality *should* be built by a population in which talents are neither equally distributed nor equally rewarded. Reverse discrimination is a betrayal, not a fulfillment, of American values.

3. Robert Coles Examines the White American Mind (1966)

The racial upheavals of the postwar era unsettled many white Americans. White northerners, long smug about their moral superiority to white southerners in racial matters, suddenly realized in the 1960s that they, too, had to confront the United States' historic racial problems firsthand. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist with a deep interest in the psychological effects of changing racial relationships, interviewed several northern white families while preparing the following article. How do these white people view themselves? What is their attitude toward blacks? Are they bigots, pure and simple?

Recently in Boston some Negro children were bused into neighborhood schools serving white children, not by the city, but upon the initiative of individual Negro parents. Indignation spread through the area. The people became aroused, and in

[3]Robert Coles, "The White Northerner: Pride and Prejudice," *Atlantic Monthly 217* (June 1966): 53–57. Reprinted by permission of the author.

unusually large numbers registered their sentiments at the polls. There is uneasy talk about a so-called "white backlash vote," waiting in the wings to single out and dismiss summarily anyone trying to give special favor to Negroes, most particularly by encouraging them to live and to go school in white neighborhoods.

Here are the words of a thirty-year-old woman, the mother of six. She is Irish. Her husband works in the repair shop of a utility company. They live in a mixed Irish and Italian neighborhood in Boston where homes vary, some modestly comfortable and well kept, others in obvious decline. Her young children now have several Negro children in classes with them, and though the two young boys and the little girl do not seem to mind, their mother is quite upset.

> Why do they do it? I don't understand them at all. They have their own people, just as we do, but suddenly they're not happy together. They want to go here and there, and send their children everywhere. All you hear these days is news about them. You'd think Negroes were the only people in America that have a tough time. What about the rest of us? Who comes here asking us how we get by, or how we feel about what *we* had to go through?
>
> My father couldn't find a job either, not a steady one, anyway. I remember my mother telling us how he walked and walked, practically begging for work. She said he would almost offer to work for nothing rather than sit around home doing nothing. The day he applied for relief was the saddest day of his life. It broke him. He hated himself ever after. He was always against taking charity, and to have to ask for it was too much for him. When the war came he got steady work again, but my mother said he never was the same. He was always nervous, worried about losing his job, like in the thirties. He became very tight with his money; he even hoarded pennies in a bank. . . . He was plain scared for the rest of his life. To be truthful, I think he died happy. It was like a relief for him. He was very religious. He went to Mass every morning. He died with a smile on his face, and our mother, she said he had been waiting for that day for a long time. He used to say to her that whether it was heaven or hell the good Lord chose for him, it would be better than the worry and the trying to make ends meet of this world.
>
> That's the trouble, though, with Negroes. They're a superstitious lot. They have no real faith, except all that shouting they do, and they only know how to ask, not go out and earn. I know they had it bad here, but so did we all, my father and everyone else practically, except for the rich. And it's the rich, out there in the suburbs, who keep on telling us what we should do. They preach at us to take them here and let them live there, and act this way to them, and that, and so on until you get sick hearing it all. Suddenly they're so kind, the suburban crowd. They stepped all over us, and kept us out of everything, the Yankees and the college people over there at Harvard did. Now they're so good. They're all excited and worried about people, but only the Negroes get their sympathy, only them. Talking about prejudice, that's what we face, prejudice against *us*. I think we should start suing in all the courts, and marching down those streets, like the Negroes. Maybe if we had done that a long time ago, we wouldn't still be so up against now.

In nearly every interview, I hear in one way or another certain common themes: we all have it rough, the Negro being only one of many in that regard; what the Negro calls the civil rights movement in the North is in fact an attempt to crowd out others, from schools, jobs, and opportunities of one sort or another; no one is entitled to anything "special," not when others have to sit by and get little or nothing; somehow the Negro is rather devious and clever, as well as half-witted and immoral, because he has managed to exact both sympathy and consistent help from people—the well born, the well educated—who have ignored the misery of other people for decades.

In the South the Negro can be lived with by the white man, at very close quarters, too. Even the poorest white man can keep company with Negroes, share jokes and

general talk with them. The white child can play with Negroes; while growing up he can eat from their hands; as an adult he works with them every day. The Negro's general position helps the white man feel on sure ground, above the uncertain social and economic waters that threaten most of us at one time or another with feelings of worthlessness or insecurity. In the particular situations of daily life, however, a given Negro can be depended upon, even though, as a race, they can be excluded or looked down upon.

In the North, for many white people the Negro, perhaps pitied in the past, is now a constant topic of news and conversation. He comes upon a scene where his presence is new. He comes upon a region with its own history of religious prejudices and racial antagonisms, at times cloaked perhaps, but no less grim and brutal than those the South has lived with so defiantly. While he has aroused the concern, even the devotion, of many, to others his arrival and the widespread solicitous response to his arrival only confirm a number of existing fears and suspicions. Life is indeed harshly competitive; another group is coming, and at a time when jobs may be scarce. Moreover, those who favor the Negro and want so earnestly to aid him are the very people who care not at all about the poor (and white) people who have been living in the cities and towns of the North for generations, or at the least before the Negro came to stake out his claim. . . .

In many ways the poor and lower-middle-class white people in our Northern cities are going through a kind of experience precisely opposite to that of Negroes. At this time in history Negores are being affirmed, while these white people feel increasingly deserted and alone. The Negro's excuse for his present condition is everywhere made known: it was not his fault, but ours. We carried him here by force and kept him in bondage for three centuries. He was not simply poor, but singled out for a very particular form of exploitation. The brutality and exclusion that he experienced have now become our national problem, because the price once exacted for the Negro's compliance lives on in the illiteracy and fearfulness we encouraged in him for so long.

In the Northern cities a white man who is poor has no such past history to justify his condition. He is poor, or uneasily not-poor, but no more than that. Even our expanding middle class has its definite limitations. Those limitations are now shifting in character, but by no means disappearing. While it is true that educational opportunity and the money to secure it are much more available than ever before, we are also facing severe technological problems, as machines replace not only men but other machines. It no longer is fatuous to predict an astonishing productivity harnessed to a relative handful of workers.

Meanwhile, we stubbornly cling to an ethic that prefers to reward only those who can find work, while consigning all the rest to charity, and not a little contempt. Through no fault of their own, not improvidence, not ignorance, not apathy, many people simply cannot obtain the regular work they want and need. Others may have reasonably secure jobs, but they are jobs that hardly pay enough to guarantee much security against an inflationary economy. "Who can keep up with it?" a mother who was barely able to make ends meet said to me in an aside during a talk we were having on racial tensions in Boston.

> The Negroes say they have nothing. Well, we have more, that's true. My husband works, and it's a steady job. We're Irish, so in this city there's no trouble there, I'll have to admit. But it's as hard as can be just living and staying even with everything. My husband has to

> work extra just to pay the bills. We don't have any money put away. The kids always want something. All the television does is tell you to buy, buy, buy. A few years ago my husband didn't have a job, and we didn't know where our next penny was coming from. Now he has the job all right, but it's even harder in a way. Any raise he gets means nothing compared to what happens to the cost of everything. You have to be an owner of something or a professional man to have an easy mind today.

On another occasion I found her directly envious of Negroes. They were on the bottom, and at least had somewhere to go. She didn't think there was much room "up there" for her family. Moreover, the Negro gets an enormous amount of sympathy and attention, and from people and institutions she feels possessive about. As a matter of fact, in one of the bluntest conversations I have had, she said to me:

> They may be poorer than a lot of white people, but not by very much. Anyway, what they don't get in money they more than gain in popularity these days. The papers have suddenly decided that the Negro is teacher's pet. Whatever he does good is wonderful, and we should clap. But if he does anything bad, it's our fault. I can't read the papers anymore when they talk about the race thing. I'm sick of their editorials. All of a sudden they start giving us a lecture every day on how bad we are. They never used to care about anything, the Negro or anything else. Now they're so worried. And the same goes with the Church. I'm as devout a Catholic as you'll find around. My brother is a priest, and I do more than go to Church once a week. But I just can't take what some of our priests are saying these days. They're talking as if we did something wrong for being white. I don't understand it at all. Priests never used to talk about the Negro when I was a child. Now they talk to my kids about them all the time. I thought the Church is supposed to stand for religion, and eternal things. They shouldn't get themselves into every little fight that comes along. The same goes with the schools. I went to school here in Boston, and nobody was talking about Negroes and busing us around. The Negroes were there in Roxbury and we were here.
>
> Everybody can't live with you, can they? Everybody likes his own. But now even the school people tell us we have to have our kids with this kind and that kind of person, or else they will be hurt, or something. Now how am I supposed to believe everything all these people say? They weren't talking that way a few years ago. The governor wasn't either. Nor the mayor. They're all just like cattle stampeding to sound like one another. The same with those people out in the suburbs. Suddenly they're interested in the Negro. They worked and worked to get away from him, of course, and get away from us, too. That's why they moved so far, instead of staying here, where they *can* do something, if they mean so well. But no. They moved and now they're all ready to come back—but only to drive a few Negro kids out for a Sunday picnic. Who has to live with all this, and pay for it in taxes and everything? Whose kids are pushed around? And who gets called "prejudiced" and all the other sneery words? I've had enough of it. It's hypocrisy, right down the line. And we're the ones who get it; the final buck gets passed to us.

Can we really solve the racial problem in this country without coming to terms with the worries and fears of this woman? There is an unnerving thread of truth that runs through her remarks. She and her husband do indeed have cause to worry about jobs and money, even as Negroes do. It is quite true that our newspapers, our churches, our political leaders have changed recently. Because they have learned new social concerns does not mean that the people who for years followed their leadership can fall in line easily, particularly when there are no concrete, persuasive reasons for them to do so. Moreover, the rivalrous and envious observations made by the people I have quoted ring sadly and ironically true: there is a certain snobbish and faddish "interest" in Negroes from people who would not think of concerning themselves with those many white families who share with Negroes slums, poor schools,

uncertain employment—the parade of crippling events that make up what "we" so easily call "poverty" or "cultural disadvantages." . . .

If such people are frustrated, then so are we—the comfortable, well educated, and secure. This nation has yet to settle upon a policy that would aim to distribute fairly our astonishing wealth, including all its surpluses and potential productive capacities. Do we need wars and military spending to keep our economy going, or can it be harnessed to provide the schools, houses, hospitals, and just plain food and clothing that millions of us need and don't have? Until such problems are solved, the bitterness and resentment we see betweem whites and Negroes will continue, and perhaps increase—a reminder of man's devious ability to conceal his real struggles, and thus remain at their mercy.

4. Chicanos on the Move (1979)

As the twentieth century neared its close, Hispanic-Americans began to emerge as the United States' most numerous ethnic minority. They were predicted to outnumber blacks by the 1990s. Within that group, which included many Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin Americans, the largest single element was made up of Chicanos, or Mexican-Americans. Newsweek *magazine painted the following profile of the burgeoning Chicano community in 1979. In what ways are Chicanos similar to other ethnic minorities in U.S. history? What, if anything, is different about their situation?*

They are neither here nor there exactly—both immigrant and indigenous, tenaciously Mexican yet indisputably American. They have been part of this country as long as the Southwest that bears so much of their imprint, but they have been invisible to most of their countrymen, shrouded by their own language and culture. Now, they are growing and flexing, solving the riddle of their dual identity and marching into the American consciousness—on their own terms. "We are just beginning to become aware of ourselves and the power we represent," says Houston community leader Héctor García. The result of these stirrings may well be a phenomenon unique in the American experience—a vast Mexican-American population that is, in effect, a nation within a nation.

The single most compelling fact about chicanos is that there are a lot of them—officially 7.2 million, a 60 per cent increase since eight years ago. They are concentrated in the five-state "Tamale Belt" of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas, near the Mexican border that yields a fresh flow of about 1 million immigrants, legal and illegal, every year. One in four Texans is Mexican, and one in five Californians. Los Angeles, already the second largest Mexican metropolitan area in the world, will probably have a chicano majority within twenty years, and California, the nation's largest state, will have a chicano-dominated "majority of minorities" at about the same time. By then, too, the entire Hispanic-American population, three-fifths of it Mexican-American, will surge past black Americans to become the biggest U.S. minority.

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[4] *Newsweek 93,* no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 22–26. Copyright 1979 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

Influence and Anxiety

The Mexican presence permeates the Southwest, in place-names, architecture, food and, increasingly, the arts. The hundreds of huge, colorful murals in East Los Angeles have become a tourist attraction . . . while "Zoot Suit," a play by Luis Valdez based on a Los Angeles race riot, is headed for Broadway. Individuals are making their mark in business and entertainment, and, over-all, their numbers are large enough to command the interest of politicians like Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown. But their growing presence in the Southwest is also stirring anglo anxiety about an alien tide pouring into the country, competing for jobs and straining public services. "Anglos are afraid," says California Assemblyman Richard Alatorre. "They think they will get to be the minorities and we'll be opposing them."

The Mexican emergence is marked by a determination to enter mainstream America without becoming assimilated by the anglo culture. Theirs is a special situation among American immigrants, nearly all of whom crossed an ocean to get here and rarely looked back. But Mexico is a familiar reality for chicanos, and the constant border traffic reinforces their ties to the homeland. As a result, it has taken until now for many chicanos to decide that this is their country, too. "What we are saying is that we want to be here, but without losing our language and our culture," says news executive Daniel Villanueva of KMEX-TV in Los Angeles. "They are a richness, a treasure that we don't care to lose."

A Lack of Clout

For now, Mexican-Americans must overcome a slew of other problems: poverty, poor education, urban gang warfare, police brutality and discrimination. The problems seem all the more intractable because chicanos have remarkably little political clout and few political leaders. No chicanos hold statewide elective office in California, and there have been no Mexican city councilmen in Los Angeles since Rep. Edward Roybal (one of four chicanos in Congress) left for Washington in 1963. Mexican-American Governors Raúl Castro of Arizona and Jerry Apodaca of New Mexico, both elected in 1974, are no longer in office. Perhaps the best-known chicano, labor leader César Chávez, has shunned urban politics, preferring to organize migrant farm workers.

There has been a growth of grass-roots political groups like COPS in San Antonio and UNO in Los Angeles that combine the organizing tactics of the late Saul Alinsky with the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. In San Antonio, the result has been a substantial boost in chicano political power. But elsewhere, turnout at the polls has been dismal. "You go to a black community and you get a strong bloc vote," says Los Angeles political activist Frank Casado. "You go to East L.A. and you get nothing. Half are illegal and the other half don't vote."

Contrary to popular perception, only 8.5 per cent of chicanos are farm workers. Four out of five live in cities, and many of them are poor. The median family income for Mexican-Americans is $11,421, as opposed to $16,284 for non-Hispanic families. Nearly 19 per cent live below the poverty line. Much of their potential lies in their youth. Close to half are under 18 and the median age is 21.3, compared with 29.5 for the total population. But only 34 per cent of Mexican-Americans over 25 have completed four years of high school and about a quarter of them have less than five years of schooling.

The statistics tell only part of the story of La Raza, a people who are basically conservative, hardworking, religious and family-oriented. They live largely in barrios—Mexican neighborhoods—and seem to like it that way. "The country is a melting pot, but you see blacks, Italians, Hispanics wanting to stay together," says David Lizárraga, executive director of The East Los Angeles Community Union. "That pluralism is the strength of our nation. It isn't racist. It's just comfortable." Even well-to-do chicanos are often reluctant to leave the barrio. Cecilia Casteñeda, 29, a painter whose father moved the family to the suburbs when she was a child, recently moved back to the barrio. "I want my children to have pride and a sense of who they are," she explains. María Franco, a 45-year resident of Los Angeles, found she also missed the warm communion of the barrio. "'Good morning' just doesn't sound as good as 'Buenos días'," she says.

East Los Angeles is the nation's biggest barrio. It is a community of 700,000, where a full third of the people speak only Spanish. It is a pleasant collection of pastel-colored stucco rental homes with trimmed hedges and bright splashes of color from the murals. And it remains a vital, coherent community even though it is riven by freeways, split by the city-county line and ruled by a hodgepodge of government bodies. Except for gang violence, crime is not a major problem, and drug-related arrests are below the county rate. "The barrio is not a ghetto," says Los Angeles school-board member Julián Nava. "It is a haven."

Baja Hollywood

On any weekend at El Mercado, a large marketplace, patrons go up to the microphone and sing songs from their Mexican hometowns, while whole families, including old folks and young children, listen. In downtown Los Angeles, a few miles away, the sounds of Armando Manzanero and Lucha Villa flow from music shops along Broadway, also known as Spanish Broadway or Baja Hollywood. Signs are in Spanish, peddlers hawk in Spanish and the Librería México offers fourteen Spanish-language newspapers and dozens of magazines. The Million Dollar Theater, opened in 1918 by Sid Grauman of Chinese Theater fame, now features movies like "Adán y Eva."

In a city so enamored of cars, chicano youth have turned to an unusual form of hot rodding known as "low riding." The ritual begins just before sunset on a weekend evening, when members of groups like the New Trend Car Club gather at an appointed corner to fork over their $1 weekly dues and have their cars inspected. The owner of a dirty car is fined $1, as is anyone who uses bad language. The cars themselves—a candy-apple red Caprice here, a midnight blue Thunderbird there—are mostly coated with metal-flake and acrylic paint, loaded with gleaming chrome and finished with velour interiors. And they are all set low to the ground, sometimes so low as to generate sparks as the front end scrapes the pavement. Some low riders invest $500 in driver-operated hydraulic lifts, so the car can clear obstacles or simply hop up and down in the parking lot like a grasshopper. Out on the street, the object is to cruise as slowly as possible; 5 mph is cool. The low-riding clubs also sponsor dances, picnics and softball games for members.

The Crazy Life

The disturbing flip side of barrio culture is gang warfare. Young men with short, slicked-back hair and wearing khaki pants and white T shirts collect into gangs with

names like El Hoyo, La Arizona, La Rock and Varrio Nuevo and engage in bloody battles over barrio turf. There were 67 gang-related killings in the city of Los Angeles alone last year and 90 so far this year. In addition, there have been 258 attempted murders and 835 felonious assaults so far this year. "A lot of my friends are dead now," says Jaime García, 21, a former "cholo" (gang member) who bears the tattoo "mi vida loca" (my crazy life) as a constant reminder of his past. Like the middle-class car-clubbers, the gang members are mostly second-generation Americans, the products of strained family relationships and culture clash. They rarely terrorize barrio residents who are not gang members, but they are seen as a sobering example of what can go wrong when the old ways are abandoned.

Those old ways are treasured by Mexican-Americans, and they are rooted in the family and the Catholic Church. Nearly two-thirds of all Catholics in the Southwest are Hispanic, and the church's teachings reinforce the Mexican bent toward large families and rigid sex roles. It is a male-dominated society; fathers are stern and aloof autocrats and boys are taught early to protect their sisters. Women have tended to be self-sacrificing nurturers. "Chicanas are quite indoctrinated in the essential role of motherhood," says Faustina Solís, deputy director of the California state public-health division. "This is maximum fulfillment, and any action which would deviate from her role is not easily accepted." Family values include strong ties to the compadres—each child's own set of godparents. "The old-age home is a no-no for Mexicans," says Raúl Arreola of the Los Angeles Mexican-American Education Commission. "We always have brothers and uncles and cousins we can turn to for emotional support," says José Ortega, director of the Hispanic Urban Center in East Los Angeles.

Some of the Mexican's cultural strengths, however, are seen as weaknesses in American society. "We tend to be unaggressive—submissive, almost—in a competitive culture where those are the losing qualities," says Ortega. "Our people don't compete on an equal footing with the general society." Some of that chicano passivity can be laid to the strict, sheltering home environment, but it is also to some extent the legacy of a race that has never quite shaken off the stigma of being a conquered people.

The anglo domination of Mexicans began in the 1820s when Mexico invited American settlers to Texas. The settlers stayed and pushed the Mexicans south of the Rio Grande. After the U.S. annexed Texas and won the Mexican War, Mexico ceded what is now California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado to the U.S. for $15 million in 1848. Nearly all of the 75,000 Mexican nationals living in the ceded territory elected to stay, but they did not fare well. In Texas, Mexicans were lynched and their land was stolen. In California, 200 Mexican families were forced from the 14 million acres of land they owned. By the 1880s, the Mexicans were largely landless and powerless. An 1894 law that required English literacy for voter registration was not struck down until 1970.

"We Are Not Foreigners"

Now, there is a reaffirmation of chicano feeling for what scholar Rodolfo Acuña calls Mexico's Northwest Territory. "We are not foreigners in this land," says Los Angeles political leader Lucy Casado. "The Southwest is a Spanish place. Here, this is our climate. Here is what God endowed us with. Here is where he planted us." Another indication of newfound pride is simply identification with the term Mexican, which once had disparaging overtones and was thus replaced by "chicano." Like Ed

Muskie saying he's Polish or Tip O'Neill saying he's Irish, many chicano politicians now stress their heritage. "I'm not an Hispano," says Denver City Councilman Sam Sandos, 51. "I'm a Mexican."

By far the most controversial issue involving Mexican-Americans in the influx of "illegal aliens"—or "undocumented workers," as chicano leaders prefer to call them. Around the turn of the century, thousands of Mexicans were imported to build U.S. railroads, work the fruit groves and dig in the desert mines. More came to do industrial work during the First World War—but were deported during the Depression. In the mid-'60s, immigration began to soar as poverty and population pressures in Mexico encouraged people to leave. The population of Mexico has soared from 25 million in 1950 to 65 million today and is projected to reach 130 million by 2000. Nearly one-fifth of all Mexicans earn less than $75 a year, and even the most menial migrant laborer can increase his wages tenfold in the U.S. "If I were in Mexico now, I'd be running across that wire as fast as I could," says David Lizárraga. "This is the land of opportunity."

Getting here is relatively easy. The Immigration and Naturalization Service's Border Patrol caught more than 860,000 would-be immigrants at the 2,000-mile Mexican border last year—but a bigger number got through. They run across bridges, slip through drainage tunnels, scramble over fences or simply wade across the Rio Grande, which is only a foot deep in spots between Juárez and El Paso. Some are commuters who sneak across each day to regular jobs as construction workers or domestics. The odds against the Border Patrol are enormous. "Some days we stop catching them because we just don't have any more room to hold them," says El Paso supervisor Mike Williams. Many Mexicans pay "coyotes" hundreds of dollars to smuggle them across the border in vans or trucks. The Border Patrol has been planting electronic sensors on mountainsides and testing a helicopter equipped with infra-red scanners, but so far the new technology hasn't helped much.

Once illegals cross the border, they tend to melt into the great barrios of the Southwest, filling low-wage jobs in restaurants and hotels, car washes and parking lots and the L.A. garment industry. "You couldn't eat at a hotel in this town if a vacuum cleaner scooped up all the illegal aliens," says Julián Nava of Los Angeles. Because they are desperate for work and unable to complain to authorities, they are vulnerable to exploitation; by one account, a quarter of them are paid less than the minimum wage. "I wanted a job and didn't ask how much they paid," says Pedro, a 23-year-old illegal in Los Angeles. "For three weeks I didn't get a check. When I got the first check it was for $12."

Quotas and Residency

They are also sometimes a burden for native chicanos (derisively known as "pochos" in Mexico), who must often compete for the same jobs. And largely because of their clandestine presence, nobody really knows just how many Mexicans are in the U.S. Illegals also require public services—though they often don't seek welfare or medical help because they fear they will be detected by the government. Since the immigrant population is so young, the biggest public cost is education. Most schools around the country simply absorb illegal-alien children without asking many questions. In Texas, however, many school districts charge tuition for such children to

attend public schools; a group of Mexican families in Tyler, Texas, won a court injunction against the tuition requirement this year.

The situation is so chaotic that everyone agrees something ought to be done—either to let more Mexicans in legally or keep them out more effectively. "I think the necessity for legislative action grows every day," says INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, one of the highest-ranking chicanos in the Carter Administration. But Carter's plan—which would, among other things, have given permanent residency to illegals who were here before 1970 and fined employers who knowingly hired illegals—was killed in Congress. Last week, the House population committee announced its recommendations for restricting immigration, including increased aid to Mexico for jobs and family planning and more funds for tighter border enforcement.

Castillo has his own priorities, however. The permanent-residency aspect of Carter's program should be enacted separately, he says, along with a provision allowing illegals already in the U.S. to stay and work for five years as legal temporary residents. He also advocates doubling the Mexican immigration quota to 40,000 and taking steps internally to make INS more efficient. But Castillo himself is somewhat controversial—even among chicanos. Last October, the INS announced it would spend $3.5 million on three fences, 6 miles long and 10 feet high, along the Mexican border. Castillo was promptly picketed—by chicano groups who likened the fence to the Berlin Wall and by labor groups who thought the fences weren't enough of a barrier.

If immigration laws are changed the way Carter and Castillo want, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans would remain in this country legally—their sheer numbers adding to a formidable new power base. But it would still require massive voter-registration and citizenship drives among those who are eligible to overcome the apathy and suspicion so prevalent in the barrio. To many chicanos, American politicians are "Olympians"—because they sprint through the barrio every four years. Chicanos generally are not very savvy about the nuances of the game. "We didn't understand power, clout, trade-offs," says Alatorre. "We are just beginning to understand what the process is all about."

A Spanish Bobby Kennedy?

One example of that awareness is the push for more civil-service jobs, to get chicanos into the bureaucracy where bread-and-butter decisions are made. Now, only 3.4 per cent of Federal civil servants are Hispanic, most concentrated in the lower grades. In the past year, there have also been some tentative first steps toward a chicano coalition with blacks—who have done far better at building power bases and getting the government's attention.

In addition to learning the political fundamentals, Mexican-Americans also see a pressing need to produce political personalities. Ben Fernández, a chicano businessman in Los Angeles, recently announced his candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination; either Alatorre or Art Torres, both assemblymen, may run for governor in California in 1982; and Vilma Martínez of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund has gained a reputation as a spokeswoman. But that's not enough. "We need a Spanish Bobby Kennedy or Martin Luther King," says television executive Villanueva. "Right now he's just not there."

What chicanos do have now is a small but growing middle class determined to

bring its resources, skills and optimism back to the barrio and start the long process of community development. Perhaps the best example of what can result from that ambition is TELACU (The East Los Angeles Community Union), a community-development corporation funded with both government and private money. TELACU has launched several banks, is building a $22 million industrial park that could generate 2,000 jobs and is planning a hotel complex.

Many more such economic initiatives will be needed, combined with political advances, if Mexican-Americans are to succeed in synthesizing their two cultures. The potential is there and, increasingly, so is the will. As Arizona gubernatorial aide Ronnie López puts it: "We're hungry for the future."

D. Assessing Modern America

1. A Soviet Journalist Looks at American Violence (1981)

The United States has not lost its fascination for foreign observers—including those from the Soviet Union. In the following article from the Russian newspaper Izvestia, *a Soviet journalist offers his opinions on the frequently remarked high level of violence in modern U.S. society. (His observations were occasioned by the assassination attempt against President Reagan in March 1981.) What implications does he draw from the facts of American violence? How convincing is his argument? In what ways is he biased?*

New York—The six shots that rang out on March 30 at the entrance to the Hilton Hotel in Washington were heard all over America. The country also saw how it happened. But no matter how important the details are, Americans are interested in something else, too: what made this possible. After the shock of the assassination attempt wore off, people began to think about a typical American phenomenon—the violence that has swept the United States.

Violence has become so common in this country that it arouses little emotion in daily life. But when its victim is a well-known person, especially the US president, violence becomes sensational. Along with the questions of what is happening to America and Americans, there are answers. Politicians and the mass media are trying to convince the public that political assassination attempts have little to do with ordinary violence, so to speak, and that they are an entirely different matter. They also maintain that such crimes are only committed by loners and failures.

Finally, it is alleged that the increase in violence in the US has no connection with the socioeconomic system and with the activities of state institutions. . . .

In the past few years, however, many crimes of an obviously political nature have been committed in the United States. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were mur-

[1] Translation copyright 1981 by *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* published weekly at The Ohio State University by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; reprinted by permission of *The Digest.*

dered because their political activities bothered right-wing circles. The racists feared these people and wanted to intimidate the Negro population and deprive it of prestigious leaders. The recent attempt to kill prominent Negro figure Vernon Jordan was made for the same reasons.

The American press is currently writing a great deal about the fact that J. Hinckley, the man who shot President R. Reagan, is undergoing psychiatric examination. Judging from preliminary data, he is in good mental health. But for some reason, little attention is being paid to another fact: Hinckley belonged to the American Nazi Party, and his former colleagues say that he had "a penchant for killing."

Violence is violence, no matter who its target—the man in the street or the statesman. There has to be a certain political and moral climate in society for violence to become a typical phenomenon and affect its morals. This is precisely the situation that exists in the United States.

Violence is above all connected with society's social structure. Extremes of wealth and poverty always arouse antagonism that is especially aggravated during times of economic hardship. And this is typical of modern-day America. . . .

In its three months in power, the Republican administration has done much to reinforce class inequality in the country. Its first move in domestic policy was to cut the budget for the next fiscal year by $49 billion, above all in the sphere of social services, with even greater cuts in the future. The administration's proposal to reduce income tax is meant to increase the incomes of the wealthy strata of society. Even the American bourgeois press was forced to admit recently that the White House's policy is arousing resentment among people with low incomes and resulting in the greater impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of poor people. . . .

Various scientific studies and police statistics show that Americans' growing feelings of alienation from and lack of faith in state and social institutions often lead to so-called motiveless murders. . . .

Many crimes are committed under the influence of drugs. The addict will do anything to get money to buy drugs. . . .

American television and movies play a considerable role in the forming of morals. . . .

In the majority of films, violence is shown to be the only means of achieving vital success and resolving business and family conflicts. It is not surprising that a 9-year-old imitates his screen heroes by showing up at a bank with a toy pistol and demanding money. The tellers don't argue with him: After all, the gun could be real and what's more, they have grown accustomed to violence. In the US, a serious crime is committed every 2.6 seconds and someone is murdered every 24 minutes.

In the US, it is very easy to buy or order through the mail a handgun or rifle of any caliber in one of 177,000 gun stores. . . . During the recent presidential campaign, the Republican candidate derided those who were demanding that steps be taken to restrict the sale of firearms or at least make gun registration mandatory. The candidate assured them that he himself would never resort to such measures if he were elected President.

Just recently, after winning the election, he reaffirmed his intention. "The lowest level of crime in the United States," he said in a speech to some newspaper editors, "is found in areas where you can walk around with a gun in your pocket." American daily life, full of violence, refutes this idea.

2. A Frenchman Praises the U.S. Example (1971)

In the midst of the upheaval and self-criticism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, French journalist Jean-Francois Revel published an extraordinary book, Without Marx or Jesus: The New American Revolution Has Begun. *The book shocked many foreign observers of the U.S. scene, who had become exceptionally critical of U.S. society, largely because of their disenchantment with the Vietnam War. Even American commentators were surprised at Revel's perspective on the American character. What does he find most remarkable about the United States? What is his prediction about America's future, and especially its future role in the world? How convincing is he?*

The revolution of the twentieth century will take place in the United States. It is only there that it can happen. And it has already begun. Whether or not that revolution spreads to the rest of the world depends on whether or not it succeeds first in America.

I am not unaware of the shock and incredulity such statements may cause at every level of the European Left and among the nations of the Third World. I know it is difficult to believe that America—the fatherland of imperialism, the power responsible for the war in Vietnam, the nation of Joe McCarthy's witch hunts, the exploiter of the world's natural resources—is, or could become, the cradle of revolution. . . .

On the other hand, one of the most striking features of the past decade is that the only new revolutionary stirrings in the world have had their origin in the United States. From America has come the sole revolutionary invention which can be described as truly original. I mean the complex of new oppositional phenomena designated by the term "dissent." Similar movements have agitated western—and eastern—Europe, but these are imitations of the American prototype, or extensions of it, and subsequent to it. In 1964–65, at Berkeley, occurred the first of those student revolts which are a wholly new phenomenon, and which spread rapidly over the country, and then to Europe and the Third World. Even before that, in 1960, there were student strikes, and the first sit-ins in Southern universities protesting racial discrimination and supporting the nonviolent action of Martin Luther King. Dissent, whether it spread by contagion or sprang up simultaneously in different parts of the world, was nonetheless conceived and perfected in the United States. This unprecedented exercise in revolutionary activity, this ubiquitous radicalism, this all-encompassing sedition, has left governments virtually helpless, for the usual methods of repression are practically useless against it. And European dissenters, who represent the only force which has been able to rouse both the Left and the Right, the East and the West, from their academic torpor, are the disciples of the American movement.

Student dissenters are not, of course, the only group who refuse to compromise in their attitude of rejection and of attack. There are also the black revolutionary movement, and the women's liberation movement, among others. . . .

It is difficult to say whether or not dissent will succeed or fail; whether it will

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[2] Excerpts from *Without Marx or Jesus: The New American Revolution Has Begun* by Jean-Francois Revel, translated by Jack Bernard. Translation copyright © 1971 by Doubleday & Company, Inc. Used by permission of the publisher.

persevere until it results in the building of a new society, or serve only to facilitate the triumph of an authoritarian reaction. It is possible, too, that the movement of dissent will become bogged down in intellectual mediocrity and, instead of leading to a real transformation of society, will wander off onto the path of persecutor-persecuted narcissism, and degenerate into a marginal movement so ineffectual that it will come to be tolerated in the industrial states of the world. In other words, it can become either the fulcrum of a new social contract—or a refuge for social deviants. Which of these things it becomes will determine, to a large extent, the answer to the question of whether the second American Revolution will be the beginning of a second world revolution. It will also decide whether or not, even in America, dissent will attain its positive goal. . . .

It is highly significant that the movement of dissent—the only original contribution to the technique of sedition to appear in the past decade, and perhaps since World War II—has originated in the United States. Still, taken by itself, that fact is not enough to warrant our speaking of a New American Revolution, let alone of a subsequent world revolution. But there are other signs. In the midst of dissent in America, certain of the fundamental conditions for revolution have either been fulfilled, or are well on the way to being fulfilled. . . .

My thesis is that, if a second world revolution is to take place, it can have its beginning only in the United States. And I base that thesis on the following conclusions:

(a) This revolution has not taken place in the communist countries, nor can it take place there, either in the U.S.S.R. or in China.

(b) It cannot take place in western Europe; or, at least, not unless the American Revolution takes place first—or, more accurately, continues to take place. (The same holds true for Japan, which will be discussed separately.)

(c) It cannot take place in the so-called developing countries, or in the Third World. On the contrary, the revolution must occur in the United States before it can happen elsewhere. . . .

The United States is the country most eligible for the role of prototype-nation for the following reasons: it enjoys continuing economic prosperity and rate of growth, without which no revolutionary project can succeed; it has technological competence and a high level of basic research; culturally it is oriented toward the future rather than toward the past, and it is undergoing a revolution in behavioral standards, and in the affirmation of individual freedom and equality; it rejects authoritarian control, and multiplies creative initiative in all domains—especially in art, life style, and sense experience—and allows the coexistence of a diversity of mutually complementary, alternative subcultures.

The "hot" issues in America's insurrection against itself, numerous as they are, form a cohesive and coherent whole within which no one issue can be separated from the others. These issues are as follows: a radically new approach to moral values; the black revolt; the feminist attack on masculine domination; the rejection by young people of exclusively economic and technical social goals; the general adoption of noncoercive methods in education; the acceptance of the guilt for poverty; the growing demand for equality; the rejection of an authoritarian culture in favor of a critical

and diversified culture that is basically new, rather than adopted from the old cultural stockpile; the rejection both of the spread of American power abroad and of foreign policy; and a determination that the natural environment is more important than commercial profit. None of the groups concerned with any one of these points, and none of the points themselves, would have been able to gain as much strength and attention as they have if they had been isolated from other groups and other points. The blacks and the feminists—one a racial group and the other a sexual group, both of which comprise several socioeconomic levels—are two categories of Americans which (along with students, of course) have always been most strongly opposed to the Vietnam war. . . .

Today in America—the child of European imperialism—a new revolution is rising. It is *the* revolution of our time. It is the only revolution that involves radical, moral, and practical opposition to the spirit of nationalism. It is the only revolution that, to that opposition, joins culture, economic and technological power, and a total affirmation of liberty for all in place of archaic prohibitions. It therefore offers the only possible escape for mankind today: the acceptance of technological civilization as a means and not as an end, and—since we cannot be saved either by the destruction of the civilization or by its continuation—the development of the ability to reshape that civilization without annihilating it.

Thought Provokers

1. Did the baby boom generation have a unique upbringing, on the average, and thus a historically unique set of values? In what ways has the environment of the modern family changed in the last half-century? Have those changes been for better or worse? What forces have most dramatically affected the status of women in the post–World War II United States?
2. What obligations does a rich society have to its least fortunate citizens? What accounts for the persistent strength of the American belief that the government should restrict its economic and social role to a necessary minimum? Are there different social classes in the modern United States? How are they defined?
3. Is affirmative action justified? Are its beneficiaries more deserving, or simply more lucky, than earlier minority groups (such as immigrants) that had to make their way in U.S. society without the assistance of such positive supports? Should any white (European-derived) minority groups today have a claim on affirmative-action preferences? What might be the social and political implications of the rise of Hispanic-Americans to the status of the nation's largest minority group?
4. What features of U.S. society continue to attract the attention of foreign commentators? Why? Is the United states still, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "the last best hope of earth"?

Constitution of The United States of America

[Boldface headings and bracketed explanatory matter have been inserted for the reader's convenience. Passages that are no longer operative are printed in italic type.]

Preamble

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Department

Section I. Congress

Legislative power vested in a two-house Congress. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives

1. **The people to elect representatives biennially.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors [voters] in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. **Who may be representatives.** No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. **Representation in the House based on population; census.** Representatives and direct taxes[1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, *which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years* [apprentices and indentured servants], *and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons* [slaves].[2] The actual enumeration [census] shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; *and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusettes eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.*

4. **Vacancies in the House to be filled by election.** When vacancies happen in the repre-

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[1] Modified in 1913 by the Sixteenth Amendment authorizing income taxes.

[2] The word *slave* appears nowhere in the Constitution; *slavery* appears in the Thirteenth Amendment. The three-fifths rule ceased to be in force when the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted in 1865.

sentation from any State, the Executive authority [governor] thereof shall issue writs of election [call a special election] to fill such vacancies.

5. **The House to select its officers; to vote impeachment charges (i.e., indictments).** The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. Senate

1. **Senators to represent the states.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the legislature thereof,*[1] for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. **One-third of Senators to be chosen every two years; vacancies.** *Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year,* so that one-third may be chosen every second year; *and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive* [governor] *thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.*[2]

3. **Who may be Senators.** No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. **The Vice-President to preside over the Senate.** The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided [tied].

5. **The Senate to choose its other officers.** The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. **The Senate to try impeachments.** The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside:[3] and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. **Penalties for impeachment conviction.** Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. Election and Meetings of Congress

1. **Regulation of elections.** The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. **Congress to meet once a year.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting *shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.*[4]

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[1] Repealed in favor of popular election in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment.

[2] Changed in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment.

[3] The vice-president, as next in line, would be an interested party.

[4] Changed in 1933 to January 3 by the Twentieth Amendment.

Section V. Organization and Rules of the Houses

1. **Each House may reject members; quorums.** Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. **Each House to make its own rules.** Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. **Each House to publish a record of its proceedings.** Each house shall keep a journal of its proeedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. **Both Houses required to agree on adjournment.** Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges of and Prohibitions upon Congressmen

1. **Congressional salaries; immunities.** The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place [i.e., they shall be immune from libel suits].[1]

2. **Congressmen not to hold incompatible federal civil offices.** No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Method of Making Laws

1. **Money bills to originate in the House.** All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. **The President's veto power; Congress may override.** Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law [this is the so-called pocket veto].

3. **All measures requiring the agreement of both Houses to go to the President for**

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[1] In the 1950s, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was accused of abusing this privilege.

approval. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers Granted to Congress

Congress possesses certain enumerated powers:

1. **Congress may lay and collect taxes**. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. **Congress may borrow money**. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. **Congress may regulate foreign and interstate trade**. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. **Congress may pass naturalization and bankruptcy laws**. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. **Congress may coin money and regulate weights and measures**. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. **Congress may punish counterfeiters**. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. **Congress may establish a postal service**. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. **Congress may issue patents and copyrights**. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. **Congress may establish inferior courts**. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. **Congress may punish crimes committed on the high seas**. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas [i.e., outside the three-mile limit] and offenses against the law of nations [international law];

11. **Congress may declare war, may authorize privateering**. To declare war,[1] grant letters of marque and reprisal,[2] and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. **Congress may maintain an army**. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;[3]

13. **Congress may maintain a navy**. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. **Congress may regulate the army and navy**. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. **Congress may call out the state militia**. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. **Congress shares with the states control of militia**. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. **Congress makes laws for the District of Columbia and other federal areas**. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, be cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of

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[1] Note that the president, although he can provoke war or wage it after it is declared, cannot declare it.

[2] Papers issued to private citizens in time of war authorizing them to capture enemy ships.

[3] A reflection of fear of standing armies earlier expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

government of the United States,[1] and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

Congress has certain implied powers:

18. **Congress may enact laws necessary to enforce the Constitution.** To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX. Powers Denied to the Federal Government

1. **Congressional control of slave trade postponed until 1808.** *The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding $10 for each person.*

2. **The writ of habeas corpus[2] not to be suspended; exception.** The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. **Attainders[3] and ex post facto laws[4] forbidden.** No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. **Direct taxes to be apportioned according to population.** No capitation [head or poll tax], or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.[5]

5. **Export taxes forbidden.** No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. **Congress not to discriminate among states in regulating commerce; interstate shipping.** No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. **Public money not to be spent without Congressional appropriation; accounting.** No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. **Titles of nobility prohibited; foreign gifts.** No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section X. Powers Denied to the States

Absolute prohibitions on the states:

1. **The states forbidden certain powers.** No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal [i.e., authorize privateers], coin money; emit bills of credit [issue paper money]; make anything but gold and silver coin a [legal] tender in

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[1] The District of Columbia, ten miles square, was established in 1791.

[2] A writ of habeas corpus is a document that enables a person under arrest to obtain an immediate examination in court to ascertain whether he is being legally held.

[3] A bill of attainder is a special legislative act condemning and punishing an individual without a judicial trial.

[4] An ex post facto law is one that fixes punishment for acts committed before the law was passed.

[5] Modified in 1913 by the Sixteenth Amendment.

payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law,[1] or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional prohibitions on the states:

2. **The states not to levy duties without the consent of Congress.** No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. **Other federal powers forbidden the states.** No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage [i.e., duty on ship tonnage], keep [nonmilitia] troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II. Executive Department

Section I. President and Vice-President

1. **The President the chief executive; his term.** The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years,[2] and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. **The President to be chosen by state electors.** Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

A majority of the electoral votes needed to elect a President. *The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*[3]

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[1] For definitions see footnotes 3 and 4 on preceding page.

[2] No reference to reelection; clarified by the anti–third term Twenty-second Amendment.

[3] Repealed in 1804 by the Twelfth Amendment.

3. **Congress to decide time of meeting of Electoral College.** The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. **Who may be President.** No person except a natural-born citizen, *or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution,* shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States [i.e., a legal resident].

5. **Replacements for President.** In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. **The President's salary.** The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. **The President's oath of office.** Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section II. Powers of the President

1. **The President has important military and civil powers.** The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.[1]

2. **The President may negotiate treaties and nominate federal officials.** He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. **The President may fill vacancies during Senate recess.** The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Other Powers and Duties of the President

Submitting messages; calling extra sessions; receiving ambassadors; executing the laws; commissioning officers. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may

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[1]To prevent the president's pardoning himself or his close associates.

adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment

Civil officers may be removed by impeachment. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers[1] of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III. Judicial Department

Section IV. The Federal Courts

The judicial power lodged in the federal courts. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. Jurisdiction of Federal Courts

1. **Kinds of cases that may be heard.** The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—*between a State and citizens of another State;*[2]—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. **Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.** In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction.[3] In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction,[4] both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. **Trial for federal crime to be by jury.** The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason

1. **Treason defined; necessary evidence.** Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. **Congress to fix punishment for treason.** The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.[5]

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[1] That is, all federal executive and judicial officers, but not members of Congress or military personnel.

[2] The Eleventh Amendment restricts this to suits by a state against citizens of another state.

[3] That is, such cases must originate in the Supreme Court.

[4] That is, it hears other cases only when they are appealed to it from a lower federal court or a state court.

[5] That is, punishment only for the offender; none for his heirs.

Article IV. Relations of the States to One Another

Section I. Credit to Acts, Records, and Court Proceedings

Each state to respect the public acts of the others. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State.[1] And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved [attested], and the effect thereof.

Section II. Duties of States to States

1. **Citizenship in one state valid in all.** The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. **Fugitives from justice to be surrendered by the states.** A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority [governor] of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. **Slaves and apprentices to be returned.** *No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*[2]

Section III. New States and Territories

1. **Congress to admit new states.** New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. **Congress to regulate federal territory and property.** The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section IV. Protection to the States

Republican form of government guaranteed; also protection against invasion and rebellion. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive [governor] (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Article V. The Process of Amendment

The Constitution may be amended in one of four ways. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided *that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in*

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[1] For example, a marriage valid in one is valid in all.

[2] Invalidated in 1865 by the Thirteenth Amendment.

the ninth section of the first article,[1] *and* that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI. General Provisions

1. **The debts of the Confederation secured.** All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. **The Constitution, federal laws, and treaties the supreme law of the land.** This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. **Federal and state officers bound by oath to support the Constitution; religious tests forbidden.** The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII. Ratification of the Constitution

The Constitution to become effective when ratified by nine states. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by]

G° WASHINGTON
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia
[and thirty-eight others]

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Article I. Religious and Political Freedom (1791)

Congress not to interfere with freedom of religion, speech or press, assembly, and petition. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

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[1] This clause, relating to slave trade and direct taxes, became inoperative in 1808.

Article II. Right to Bear Arms (1791)

The people secured in their right to bear arms. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms [i.e., for military purposes] shall not be infringed.

Article III. Quartering of Troops (1791)

Quartering of soldiers on the people restricted. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. Searches and Seizures (1791)

Unreasonable searches forbidden. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no [search] warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. Right to Life, Liberty, and Property (1791)

Individuals guaranteed certain rights when on trial and the right to life, liberty, and property. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous, crime, unless on a presentment [formal charge] or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use [i.e., by eminent domain] without just compensation.

Article VI. Protection in Criminal Trials (1791)

Accused persons assured of important rights. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process [subpoena] for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII. Suits at Common Law (1791)

The rules of common law recognized. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII. Bail and Punishments (1791)

Excessive bail, fines, and punishments forbidden. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX. Concerning Rights Not Enumerated (1791)

The people to retain rights not here enumerated. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. Powers Reserved to the States and to the People (1791)

Powers not delegated to the federal government reserved to the states and the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI. Suits against a State (1798)

The federal courts denied authority in suits by citizens against a state. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII. Election of President and Vice-President (1804)

1. **Changes in manner of electing President and Vice-President; procedure when no presidential candidate receives electoral majority.** The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before *the fourth day of March*[1] next following, then the Vice-President

[1] Changed to January 20 by the Twentieth Amendment.

shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. **Procedure when no vice-presidential candidate receives electoral majority.** The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII. Slavery Prohibited (1865)

1. **Slavery forbidden.** Neither slavery[1] not involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV. Civil Rights for Negroes, etc. (1868)

1. **Citizenship defined; rights of citizens.** All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. **When a state denies [Negroes] the vote, its representation shall be reduced.** Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. **Certain ex-Confederates ineligible for federal and state office; removal of disability.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. **Public debt valid; debt of rebels void.** The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the

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[1] The only explicit mention of slavery in the Constitution.

United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. **Enforcement.** The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV. Negro Suffrage (1870)

Restrictions on denial of vote. *1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI. Income Taxes (1913)

Congress empowered to lay and collect income taxes. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII. Direct Election of Senators (1913)

Senators to be elected by popular vote. *1.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of [voters for] the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII. National Prohibition (1919)

The manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors forbidden. *1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.*

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the states by the Congress.[1]

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[1] Repealed in 1933 by the Twenty-first Amendment.

Article XIX. Woman Suffrage (1920)

Women permitted to vote. *1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XX. Presidential and Congressional Terms (1933)

1. **Presidential, vice-presidential, and Congressional terms of office to begin in January.** The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

2. **New meeting date for Congress.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

3. **Emergency presidential and vice-presidential succession.** If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such persons shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Article XXI. Prohibition Repealed (1933)

1. **Eighteenth Amendment repealed.** The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

2. **Local laws honored.** The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

Article XXII. Anti–Third Term Amendment (1951)

The President limited to two terms. *1.* No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress [i.e., Truman], and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative [i.e., Truman] from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Article XXIII. District of Columbia Vote (1961)

1. **Presidential Electors for the District of Columbia.** The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

2. **Enforcement.** The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted 1961.]

Article XXIV. Poll Tax (1964)

1. **Payment of poll tax or other taxes not to be prerequisite for voting in federal elections.** The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

2. **Enforcement.** The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted 1964.]

Article XXV. Presidential Succession and Disability[1] (1967)

1. **Vice-President to become President.** In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.[2]

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[1] Passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress in July 1965; ratified by the requisite three-fourths of the state legislatures, February 1967, or well within the seven-year limit.

[2] The original Constitution (Art. II, Sec. I, para. 5) was vague on this point, stipulating that "the powers and duties" of the president, but not necessarily the title, should "devolve" on the vice-president. President Tyler, the first "accidental president," assumed not only the power and duties but the title as well.

2. **Successor to Vice-President provided.** Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

3. **Vice-President to serve for disabled President.** Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

4. **Procedure for disqualifying or requalifying President.** Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department[s] or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Article XXVI. Lowering Voting Age (1971)

1. **Ballot for eighteen-year-olds.** The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

2. **Enforcement.** The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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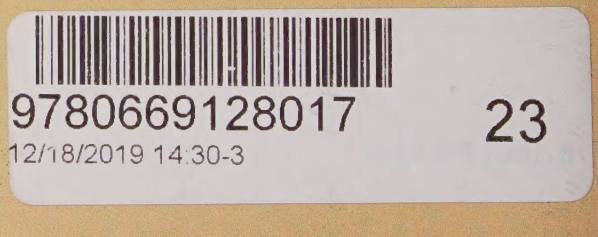
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